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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MINNESOTA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XII.

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PREFACE.

This volume comprises papers and addresses presented before this Society during the last four years, from September, 1904, and biographic memorials of its members who have died during the years 1905 to 1908.

Besides the addresses here published, several others have been presented in the meetings of the Society, which are otherwise published, wholly or in part, or are expected later to form parts of more extended publications, as follows.

Professor William W. Folwell, in the Council Meeting on May 14, 1906, read a paper entitled "A New View of the Sioux Treaties of 1851"; and in the Annual Meeting of the Society on January 13, 1908, he presented an address, "The Minnesota Constitutional Conventions of 1857." These addresses are partially embodied in his admirable concise history, "Minnesota, the North Star State," published in October, 1908, by the Houghton Mifflin Company as a volume of 382 pages in their series of American Commonwealths. It is expected, and is most earnestly hoped by his fellow members of this Society and by all interested in Minnesota history, that Dr. Folwell will later develop his researches in our state history to a much larger publication, for which he has gathered very extensive notes from many original sources.

Professor Newton H. Winchell, in the Council Meeting on February 11, 1907, gave an address, "The Prehistoric Aborigines of Minnesota and their Migrations," which is published in the Popular Science Monthly for September, 1908 (vol. lxxiii, pp. 207-225, with a map). It will also be embodied, in its main arguments and conclusions, in the large quarto work on the Archaeology of Minnesota, now in press, which Professor Winchell has in an advanced condition of preparation, for publication by this Society, based largely on the surveys and collections of the late Hon. J. V. Brower and the late Alfred J. Hill.

Professor Oswald T. Denny, of the Central High School, St. Paul, read a paper, "The Battle of Kaposia, between the Ojibways and the Sioux, 1842," in the Council Meeting of March 9, 1908, which is mostly published in The High School World for December, 1907 (vol. xxiv, No. 3, pp. 9-12).

Warren Upham, secretary of this Society, read in the Council Meeting of March 13, 1905, an address entitled "Explorations of Verendrye and his Sons, from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, 1728 to 1749, related in the Margry Papers." This is published in the Bulletin of the Minnesota Academy of Sciences (vol. iv, No. 2, 1906, pp. 277-281). It is more amply presented also in a new history of this state, in four volumes, published in October, 1908, entitled "Minnesota in Three Centuries," forming Chapter IX (pages 267-278) in Volume I.

It seems proper to state here that the work last noted, written by Warren Upham, R. I. Holcombe, Gen. L. F. Hubbard, and Frank R. Holmes, under an editorial board of four members of this Society, Gen. L. F. Hubbard, Hon. William P. Murray, Gen. James H. Baker, and Warren Upham, though not issued by this Society, and not receiving its patronage nor guarantee of accuracy, was compiled mostly in its Library and by its members as the authors and editors.

Another paper by Dr. Upham, "The San Francisco and Valparaiso Earthquakes and their Causes," read in the Council Meeting on September 10, 1906, is published in the Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, London (vol. xxxix, 1907, pp. 43-54, with a map), followed by discussion (pages 54-60).

Several addresses presented in recent meetings of this Society are reserved, because of the large size of this volume, for a later volume of this series, including "Anecdotes and Views Illustrating the Growth of Minneapolis in Fifty Years," given by George A. Brackett, of Minneapolis, with many stereopticon views, in the Council Meeting on April 13, 1908; "Recollections of the Political History of Minnesota," by Captain Henry A. Castle, in the Council Meeting on May 13, 1907; an account of "The Discovery last Summer of the Site of Verendrye's Fort St. Charles, on the Minnesota Area west of the Lake of the Woods," by Prof. Francis J.

Schaefer, of St. Paul Seminary, read November 9, 1908; and a paper on "Mounds in Goodhue, Rice, and Dakota Counties," by Prof. Edward W. Schmidt, of Red Wing, read December 14, 1908.

The first of the two papers last noted is expected to be published in the third number of Acta et Dicta, the publication of the recently organized St. Paul Catholic Historical Society; and the second, relating to aboriginal mounds, will be mostly included in the archaeologic work by Professor Winchell before mentioned.

Volume XIII in this series, "Lives of the Governors of Minnesota," by Gen. James H. Baker, received from the bindery in November, 1908, is distributed to members of this Society, and to exchanging societies and public libraries, at the same time with the present volume. It may be added that another volume of these Collections, "Minnesota Biography," is nearly ready for publication, comprising short sketches of about 10,000 of the founders, pioneers, and leading citizens of this state, compiled by Mrs. Rose Barteau Dunlap, an assistant in the Library of this Society.

Still another work by Mrs. Dunlap, designed for this series of Historical Collections, is well advanced in preparation, on "The Life and Times of Alexander Ramsey," the first Territorial governor and the second State governor of Minnesota, who, in two prolonged terms, was during twenty-six years the president of this Historical Society, and who is recognized as the foremost of Minnesotans.

The secretary of this Society has also a work in progress of compilation giving the origin and meaning of "Minnesota Geographic Names." A small part of this work has been published in the Magazine of History, New York, for September, October, and November, 1908, on the names of our eighty-five counties.

For two of these proposed publications, the aid of all members of this Society, and of others interested in our territorial and state history, is earnestly solicited. Any members or others having letters written by Governor Ramsey, or having other letters, journals or any manuscript records concerning his life and work, and the political, social and industrial history of Minnesota during the half century of his life here, are invited and urged to loan or to

donate such papers to the Library of this Society, to be used in the biographic work noted.

Likewise, any information from such persons, and from the pioneers of agricultural settlement and occupation of all parts of Minnesota, relative to the date and origin of all place names, as of villages, townships, lakes, creeks, rivers, bluffs, hills, etc., is very respectfully requested to be sent to the Secretary of this Society, to be placed in his alphabetic manuscript catalogue noting the derivations and meanings of these names, to be published as a volume of these Historical Collections.

ERRATUM.

On page 660, in the third and second lines from the bottom, read: The daily difference is greater in summer than in winter, etc.

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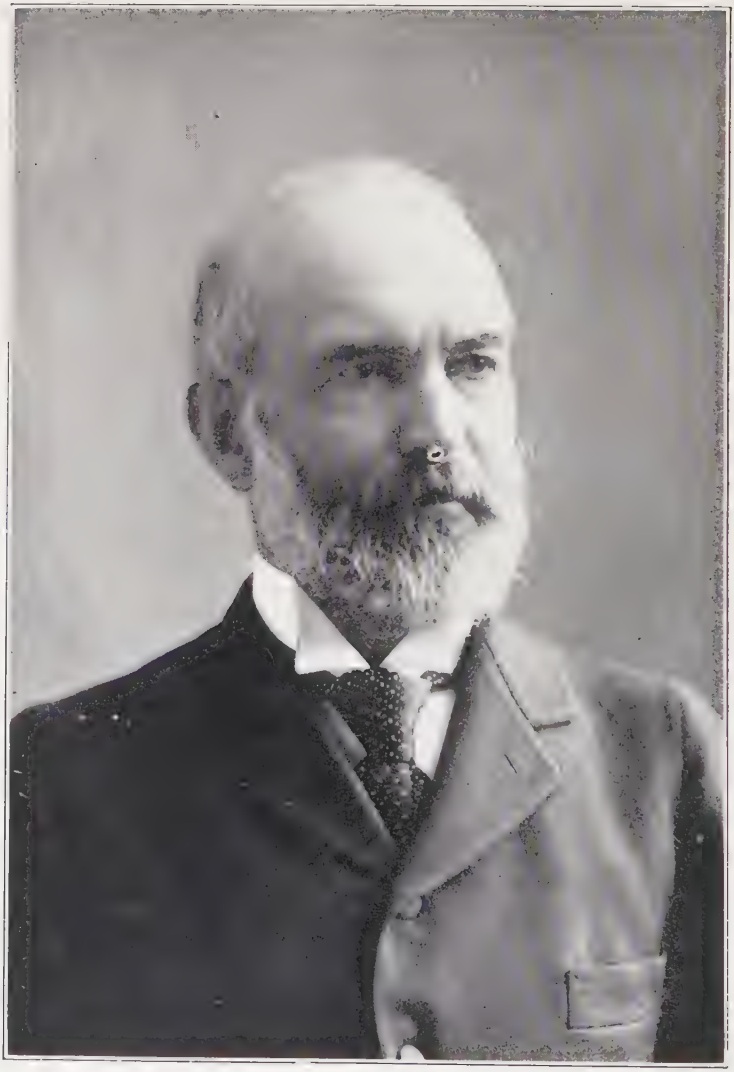

Wm. B. Dean

A HISTORY OF THE CAPITOL BUILDINGS OF MINNESOTA. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLES FOR THEIR LOCATION.

BY HON. WILLIAM B. DEAN.

TEMPORARY LOCATION OF THE CAPITOL BY CONGRESS AND BY THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

The organic act "to establish the Territorial Government of Minnesota," passed by Congress March 3rd, 1849, provides in section 13, as follows:

> And be it further enacted, That the legislative assembly of the territory of Minnesota shall hold its first session in St. Paul; and at said first session the governor and legislative assembly shall locate and establish a temporary seat of government for said Territory, at such place as they may deem eligible; and shall at such time as they shall see proper, prescribe by law the manner of locating the permanent seat of government of said Territory by a vote of the people. And the sum of twenty thousand dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Minnesota, to be applied by the governor and legislative assembly to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government.

The third paragraph of section 5 of the act of Congress authorizing a State Government, passed February 26th, 1857, provides as follows:

> Ten entire sections of land to be selected by the governor of said State, in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for the purpose of completing the public buildings, or for the erection of others at the seat of government, under the direction of the legislature thereof.

---

*An address prepared at the request of the Minnesota Historical Society, and delivered at its Annual Meeting, January 8, 1906. Mr. Dean was a state senator in 1891 to 1894, and drafted the bill which was enacted as a law by the state legislature for building the new capitol.

The Constitution of the State of Minnesota, adopted October 13th, 1857, under the head of "Miscellaneous Subjects," Article XV, Section 1 and Section 6 of the "Schedule," makes the following provision:

ARTICLE XV.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Sec. 1. The seat of government of the State shall be at the city of St. Paul, but the legislature, at their first or any future session, may provide by law for a change of the seat of government by a vote of the people, or may locate the same upon the land granted by Congress for a seat of government to the State; and in the event of the seat of government being removed from the city of St. Paul to any other place in the State, the capitol building and grounds shall be dedicated to an institution for the promotion of science, literature and the arts, to be organized by the legislature of the State, and of which institution the Minnesota Historical Society shall always be a department.

Sec. 6. The first session of the legislature of the State of Minnesota shall commence on the first Wednesday of December next, and shall be held at the capitol, in the city of St. Paul.

The preceding provisions contain all the fundamental legislation relating to the location of the temporary and permanent capitol of the Territory and State of Minnesota, and of the building to be erected.

If it had not been for the disinterested, public spirited action of General Sibley, who was the Territorial delegate at that time, the capital of the Territory would have been fixed by the organic act at Mendota, instead of St. Paul. Mr. Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, in his draft of the bill for the organization of the Territory, designated Mendota as the capital. When the bill was submitted to General Sibley, whose home was at Mendota, where he had large real estate interests, he at once remonstrated, urging that most of the people in the territory lived east of the Mississippi river, and that there was a unanimous wish to have the capitol on that side and at St. Paul. Mr. Douglas reluctantly yielded, but not without first urging the beauty and fitness of Mendota's situation at the junction of the two rivers, with the Pilot Knob peak as a grand place for a capitol building, with its beautiful and extensive view of the valleys of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers.

CENTRAL HOUSE, NORTHEAST CORNER OF MINNESOTA AND BENCH STREETS, ST. PAUL, WHERE THE FIRST LEGISLATURE MET IN 1849.

(Burned August 21, 1875.)

It is interesting to note, that, while the bill for the organization of the Territory was under consideration, instead of "Minnesota," Mr. Douglas proposed that it should be named "Itasca"; Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, "Chippewa"; Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, "Jackson"; and Mr. Hunter, of Delaware, "Washington"; but the choice of the people of the new territory, "Minnesota," finally prevailed.

It was evidently the intention of Congress, in passing the acts for the organization of the Territory and for the admission of the State, and of the electors of the State, in adopting its constitution, that the permanent location of the capital for both Territory and State should be fixed by a vote of the people. The legislature could designate its temporary location, but its permanent place was to be determined by the choice of the people.

It is an interesting question, even if now academic, whether an injunction could have been sustained against the erection of the present permanent building, until after the people of the State had had an opportunity to express their choice whether St. Paul should be the final capital of the State. However, as no move of the kind was ever suggested or made, and the present magnificent building is finished and occupied, it is not conceivable that, so long as it stands, it will ever be abandoned and the seat of government changed to any other point in the State.

ACTION BY THE FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

Upon the organization of the Territory, the contest for the Capitol began, and either openly or covertly the attempts to induce the legislature to remove it from St. Paul never ceased, until after the passage of the acts authorizing the construction of the present building.

On Monday, the 3rd day of September, 1849, pursuant to the proclamation of Alexander Ramsey, the appointed governor of the Territory, the first legislature assembled in the Central House hotel (shown in Plate II), situated on the corner of Minnesota and Second streets, which for the time became the territorial capitol building, as well as a hotel. The site was a most commanding one, affording an extensive view of the valley of the Mississippi, and one

of most surpassing beauty. The Hall of Representatives and the territorial secretary's office were on the first floor, and the library and Council Chamber on the second.

A United States flag, run up on a staff in front of the hotel in the presence of the town people and some blanket Indians, announced the gathering of the first legislature.

The Secretary of the Territory, Hon. C. K. Smith, called the House of Representatives to order, at eleven o'clock in the morning, and the Council at three in the afternoon.

The next day, the fourth of September, the Houses met in joint convention, to receive the Governor's message, which outlined with great sagacity the legislation needful for the government and development of the new territory. A writer in "The Pioneer" says, "Both houses met in the dining room, where the Rev. E. D. Neill prays for us all, and Governor Ramsey delivers a message full of hope and far sighted prophecy to comfort us withal, and then leaves the poor devils sitting on rough board benches and chairs, to make out, as they may, the old problem of self government." Yet no legislature which ever sat in Minnesota was made of better stuff than that which assembled to lay the corner stone of the political edifice.

Among other things, the Governor said, after calling attention to the 13th section of the organic act: "The first division of the clause in relation to the location of a temporary seat of government, makes the duty incumbent on the present legislature; but the legislation involved in the selection of a permanent site for the Capitol I understand, may be had at a future day, and by a future legislature, and, indeed, it would be premature with our comparatively small population, to decide, at this time, so important a question as the location of the permanent seat of government. In fairness to the people who will shortly occupy lands now in possession of the Indians, the decision of the question had better be postponed."

The first session of the legislature was occupied with the subjects that would naturally pertain to the good order of the Territory. Legislation was passed relating to taxes, printing the laws, selling liquor to Indians, granting divorces, granting ferry rights, creation of counties, laws relating to common schools, elections, memorials to Congress, and the incorporation of the Histori-

cal Society. But what seemed the matter of the greatest importance and that secured the most attention from the members, was the location of the temporary and permanent seat of the state government.

On September 26th, Mr. Norris, of Cottage Grove, introduced Council File No. 3, being a joint resolution, fixing St. Paul as the location of the temporary seat of government. This was read the first and second time, and laid on the table to be printed. The resolution was passed by the Council on October 4th, but was unfavorably received by the House of Representatives, and by it indefinitely postponed, on October 8th.

During the discussion, motions were made to amend by substituting for St. Paul "a point on the east side of the Mississippi river, between Rum and Elk rivers, within five miles of a point directly opposite the mouth of Crow river." Mr. Marshall moved to amend by submitting to a vote of the people the question of the location of the seat of government; another motion was made to substitute St. Anthony for St. Paul, and another to substitute Sauk Rapids.

In the meantime, the Hon. Joseph R. Brown, clerk of the Council, had written to the Hon. William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury, in reference to the use of the money appropriated by Congress for the construction of a Capitol building; and the reply of the Secretary was, that the "money could only be expended after the permanent seat of government had been located."

Mr. Burkleo, of Stillwater, from the Committee on Territorial Affairs, to which had been referred so much of the Governor's message as related to the temporary seat of government, made a report strongly urging the selection of St. Paul, and giving many and good reasons for the recommendation.

Nothing further was done by the Legislature until the last day of the session, Thursday, November 1st, 1849, when Mr. Norris introduced a joint resolution in the Council, "That the temporary seat of government shall be at St. Paul, and the Governor is hereby required to rent suitable buildings for the legislature and the territorial officers; to be paid for out of the moneys appropriated by Congress for legislative expenses." The resolution was passed by the Council and the House of Representatives, and was signed

by the Governor on the same day. So the first legislature adjourned without having made any very satisfactory progress in the matter of the location of a seat of government.

THE SECOND LEGISLATURE AND THE BUILDING COMMISSION.

The second session of the legislature met on January 1st, 1851, in the three-story brick building on St. Anthony street, now Third, between Washington and Franklin.

On the 16th of January a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Trask, of Stillwater, for the election of four commissioners, whose duty should be to erect a capitol building at St. Paul and a prison at Stillwater, Washington county to elect one of the commissioners, Ramsey and the counties attached to it as a district, two, and Benton county with attached counties, one. The Governor was to preside at the meetings of the commissioners, and to vote in case of a tie.

No provision was made as to the cost of either building, although an amendment limiting the cost to the amount appropriated by Congress was defeated. The commissioners were to be paid three dollars per day for each meeting attended, and meetings were limited to six in each month.

While the bill was under consideration, motions were made to strike out Stillwater and insert Point Douglas, St. Paul, Little Six's village, an eligible point in Benton county,—all of which were lost. In the House Mr. Olmstead moved to amend the title of the bill as follows: "A bill to provide for carrying out a magnificent scheme of log rolling, by which a presiding officer of this House and a Territorial printer were elected." The Speaker decided the amendment to be highly indecorous, and directed the Clerk to hand it back to the mover.

The bill passed the House January 25th and the Council January 29th, and was approved by the Governor February 7th. No attention appears to have been paid to the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury that the money appropriated by Congress could be used only for the erection of a capitol building at the "permanent" seat of government.

On February 25th, at this same session, an act was passed to incorporate the University of Minnesota, to be located at or near the Falls of St. Anthony, to be governed by Regents who were authorized to select a site and erect buildings.

The passage of bills authorizing the capitol building at St. Paul, the prison at Stillwater, and the University at St. Anthony, all within a month, seems to confirm very clearly the agreement alleged to have been made in the legislature for the distribution and location of the public buildings,—an agreement which from that time to this there has never been an attempt to violate, excepting in regard to the location of the Capitol.

Pursuant to the Act of February 7th, 1851, the Building Commissioners were duly elected, and in their first report to the legislature, February 5th, 1852, stated that D. F. Brawley and Louis Robert were elected from the Ramsey county district; J. McKusick, from Washington county; and E. A. C. Hatch, from the Benton county district.

The Board elected D. F. Brawley building commissioner for the erection of the Capitol building, and J. McKusick building commissioner for the Territorial Prison.

At its second meeting, May 20th, 1851, the Board proceeded to select a site for the Capitol building, whereupon Mr. Robert moved that Block No. 12 of Robert & Randall's Addition be chosen, being the block opposite to the present old Capitol, bounded by Cedar, Minnesota, Ninth and Tenth streets, on which the Central Presbyterian Church now stands. The site was to be donated, and was to comprise at least four acres of ground, including the streets.

On June 27th, Col. Wilkin,* the attorney of the Board, reported the title of the above property to be imperfect, whereupon the Board proceeded to select another site. Commissioner Hatch moved that Block No. 7 in Rice & Irvine's Addition to St. Paul be chosen, provided the owners donate the block and bind themselves to effectually drain the property. This block is opposite the new Post Office, being bounded by Washington, Franklin, Fifth and Sixth streets. The motion, however, was lost, and thereupon Commis-

*Col. Alexander Wilkin was killed, during the Civil War, while gallantly commanding his regiment, the Ninth Minnesota, at the battle of Tupelo, Mi., July 14, 1864.

sioner Robert moved that Charles Bazille's offer of Block 6, Bazille's Addition to St. Paul, be accepted, being the block upon which the old Capitol building now stands. The motion was adopted and the question of site finally settled.

The plans of the Capitol building submitted by N. C. Prentiss were accepted, and an order for $50 in payment therefor was directed to be drawn in his favor. The dimensions of the building were 139 feet front, by 53½ feet deep, with a wing in the rear 44 by 52 feet. A Greek porch fronting on Exchange street adorned the otherwise extremely plain structure.

On May 24th, 1851, five days after the Board was organized an advertisement was published, inviting proposals for the erection of the building, according to the plans; and on July 15th the Board decided the bid of Joseph Daniels, of $17,000, to be the lowest, and directed the attorney to draw up a contract. In its report to the Legislature, the Board stated that the contract was for the completion of the exterior of the building entire, according to the plans adopted, and the Council Chamber, Representative Hall, Governor's, Secretary's and Clerk's rooms to be finished in a suitable manner.

The lowest bid for the completion of the Capitol was $33,000.

The report states that the contract entered into by the Board does not contemplate an entire completion of the building. The Territorial Commissioners were evidently daring cititzens, to let a contract for a building to be paid for from funds which the Secretary of the United States had decided could be used only when the permanent seat of government had been fixed by the people. They contracted to expend, for an incomplete building, almost the whole of the appropriation of $20,000 given by the government to the Territory for its Capitol.

With great frankness they then suggest, in their report to the Legislature, that it memorialize Congress for an additional appropriation of $20,000 to provide funds to complete the building, and suitably to lay out the grounds and enclose them with a stone wall and an iron fence. This the Legislature proceeded to do, at its next session, with a happy response by the government, partially acceding to the request, in granting an additional $12,500 to complete the Capitol building.

FIRST CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA, 1853-1873.

LATER LEGISLATURES AND THE FIRST CAPITOL.

The third legislative session met January 7th, 1852, and assembled in what was known as the Goodrich Block, on Third street below Jackson, which is now a part of the Merchants' Hotel.

The fourth session met on January 5th, 1853, in the two-story brick building on the corner of Third and Minnesota streets.

The new Capitol building (shown in Plate III.) was first occupied by the Legislature in its fifth session, on January 4th, 1854. The Commissioners, in their report to the Legislature, announce the completion of the building, excepting the fitting of the Supreme Court room, which was then in progress. Like all public buildings, more money is reported as needed, and the Legislature is recommended to memorialize Congress for further appropriations to build and fence, and to complete other unfinished details.

Governor Gorman, who had been appointed by President Pierce to succeed Governor Ramsey, occupied the Executive Chamber in the new Capitol on July 21st, 1853.

In looking over the proceedings of the Commissioners, old settlers will be interested in the mention of the names of those connected with the erection of the Territorial Capitol, of Joseph Daniels, I. P. Wright, C. P. V. Lull, Downer & Mason, J. T. Rosser, afterwards a general in the Confederate army, and Secretary Isaac Van Etten, besides the Commissioners already named.

The total cost of the building appears to have been $31,222.65.

ATTEMPT TO REMOVE THE CAPITAL TO ST. PETER.

The Legislature continued to meet and hold its sessions, year after year, with nothing of special note to disturb the placidity of its proceedings, until the memorable session of 1857, when an almost successful attempt was made to remove the Capital to St. Peter. It appears that a company, called the St. Peter Company, had been organized, and, in anticipation of the success of their project, had erected temporary buildings at St. Peter, for the accommodation of the territorial government, with the promise that, upon the removal of the Capital to that point, buildings equal or superior to the ones occupied at St. Paul would be erected and donated to the Territory.

The scheme was well organized, and, if the reports current at that time were well founded on fact, some of the territorial officers, as well as members of the Legislature, were placed in a position by the promoters of the speculation to enjoy the expected profits in St. Peter stock and the enhanced value of St. Peter real estate.

The bill for the removal was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Thomas, of Steele county, on February 5th, 1857, and, after considerable debate and notwithstanding all the obstructions the friends of St. Paul could interpose, was passed on February 18th, by a vote of 20 ayes to 17 noes. Our honored fellow citizen, Mr. William P. Murray, who is still with us hale and vigorous, led the fight in opposition.

The bill came up for consideration in the Council on February 6th, when the proceedings of that body became of the most exciting and dramatic character. The fight for the bill was led by Mr. St. A. D. Balcombe, of Winona, and was opposed most vigorously by Mr. Henry N. Setzer, of Taylor's Falls, Mr. Ludden, of Marine, still living and a citizen of St. Paul, Mr. Rolette, of Pembina, and the presiding officer, President Brisbin, of St. Paul.

All kinds of dilatory motions were interposed, without avail, as the bill progressed through the Council, until its passage on February 12th, by a vote of 8 ayes to 7 noes, when it seemed that the advocates of removal had carried the day, and that St. Paul had gone down in defeat. The temper of the discussion upon the bill is revealed by the tone and spirit of some of the resolutions and motions offered. Among others, on February 6th, Mr. Setzer offered the following: "I give notice of a motion for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal so much of the organic act of this Territory as will enable His Excellency, Governor Gorman, to locate the seat of government at St. Peter."

On February 23rd Mr. Setzer introduced the following Preamble and Resolution:

Whereas, There exist reports at the present time injurious to the fair fame and reputation of members of this Council, charging them with bribery and corruption in voting for a bill to remove the Capital to St. Peter, therefore be it

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to investigate the truth of these charges, with power to send for persons and papers, and administer oaths, to take testimony in the matter, and report at as early a day as possible.

On February 26th a similar Preamble was introduced, followed by a resolution directing the Committee on Enrolled Bills to retain in their possession the bill for the removal of the Capital, until otherwise ordered by the Council.

All of these motions and resolutions were voted down by the majority, and nothing more was necessary to complete the action of the legislature but for the Committee on Enrolled Bills to make their report. The bill having passed on February 12th, and no report having been made up to the 28th, the advocates of the measure began to feel uneasy, and on that date Mr. Balcombe offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Hon. Joseph Rolette be very respectfully requested to report to the Council Bill No. 62, Council File, entitled "A bill for the removal of the seat of government for the Territory of Minnesota," this day; and that should said Rolette fail so to do before the adjournment of the Council this day, that the Hon. Mr. Wales, who stands next in the list of said Committee on Enrolled Bills, be respectfully requested to procure another truly enrolled copy of the said Bill, and report the same to the Council on Monday next. And be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Council is very respectfully requested to give said bill, after it has been signed by the Speaker of the House and President of the Council, to the Hon. Mr. Wales, to deliver to the Governor for his approval.

The resolutions were read by Mr. Balcombe, and before they were read by the Secretary, or in his hands, Mr. Balcombe moved their adoption by the Council, and then moved the previous question. Mr. Setzer then moved a call of the Council, and Mr. Rolette was found to be absent. Mr. Balcombe moved to dispense with further proceedings under the call, on which there were 9 ayes and 5 noes. The Chair decided the motion to dispense with further proceedings lost, two-thirds not voting in the affirmative. It was upon this occasion that Mr. Balcombe attempted to demonstrate to the Chair and the Council that nine was two-thirds of fourteen; but the Chair, whose mathematics were more exact, insisted that 9 1-3 would be required to make the desired two-thirds, and, the third of a man not being available, that the decision must stand and the motion be lost.

A motion to adjourn was lost, and a motion to reconsider the motion to adjourn was also lost. The Council had tied itself up completely, the objecting five members refusing to consent to any suspension of the rules, for which a two-thirds vote was necessary. This condition of affairs continued from February 28th until the 5th of March, when the Council consented to adjourn under the call, after having been in continuous session for one hundred and twenty-three hours.

The Council met on March 6th and continued in session through the day under the call, adjourning to meet on Saturday, March 7th, still under the call, and so continued until within a few minutes of the legal expiration of the session.

During this time a great many motions were made to dispense with further proceedings under the call, although, after the loss of the first motion to do so, the President refused to entertain the subsequent ones, because no business had been transacted in the meantime. Numerous unsuccessful motions were also made to suspend the rules and to adjourn, some of which were lost by vote of the Council, and some the President ruled not to be in order, refusing at the same time to entertain an appeal from his decision.

Finally, towards the end of this most protracted session, a truce appears to have been reached between the warring factions. This is not disclosed in the council journal itself, excepting as may be inferred from the action of the Council, but the daily papers of the day state such to be the case. Mr. Setzer, having voted with the prevailing side, moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the Council refused to dispense with further proceedings under the call, which motion was carried, and further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

Reports of committees being in order, the Secretary read several reports from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, when Mr. Balcombe inquired why the report of the committee on C. F. 62, the Capital Bill, was not read with the other reports. The Secretary thereupon stated to the President that several reports of that description had been offered him, and that some had been left on his table and were then lying there, but he had refused to accept them because the enrolled or engrossed bill did not accompany them. The President decided the Secretary had acted correctly.

Mr. Balcome then moved that Mr. Rolette be excused from further attendance on the present session of the Council, which the other side evidently interpreted as a violation of whatever the understanding may have been, for a call of the Council was at once ordered, upon motion of Mr. Setzer.

The motion to adjourn was then made and carried, the call still pending.

When the Council met on Saturday, the President declared the call as still pending, and without transacting any business the Council took a recess until four o'clock in the afternoon. Immediately upon assembling at that time, they again took a recess until half past seven o'clock, when the session was resumed. A committee from the House of Representatives appearing, the President decided that no communication could be received while the call was pending, and the committee withdrew. Mr. Setzer being in the chair, Mr. Ludden, having voted with the prevailing party, moved to reconsider the motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call, which was agreed to, and, upon motion, the call was dispensed with, when Mr. Freeborn, from the Committee on Enrolled bills, made the following report:

The Committee on Enrolled Bills would respectfully report that owing to the absence of the Chairman of this Commitee, Bill No. 62, Council File, being a bill for the removal of the seat of government of the Territory of Minnesota, introduced by Mr. Lowry, on the 6th of February, 1857, has not been reported by this Committee back to the Council. Your Committee would further state that the above named bill might have been reported back to the Council at this time, but that, after examining the enrolled copy of said bill, by the Secretary of the Council, in the presence of the Enrolling Clerk of the Council, and carefully comparing the same, we find numerous errors in the enrolled copy, and matter being inserted in the enrolled copy, which is not in the engrossed bill. Your Committee cannot, therefore, report the said Bill No. 62, Council File, as correctly enrolled, but retain the same in our possession, subject to the order of the Council, all of which is respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH ROLETTE,
WILLIAM FREEBORN,
Committee on Enrolled Bills.

A call of the Council was ordered, and at 12 o'clock President Brisbin resumed the chair and announced the expiration of this historic session by legal limitation, and declared the Council adjourned without a day.

During the memorable contest all sorts of motions were made both in the House and Council, with the purpose of delaying final action, but without avail. Motions were made at various times to strike out St. Peter and insert Belle Plaine, Monticello, Mankato, "the other side of Jordan," Shakopee, St. Cloud, and Nicollet Island. A special police force was detailed to be on guard at the Capitol to preserve peace. The Pioneer and Democrat of March 5th says:

> Alongside each member's desk was a cot bedstead on which the honorable might snatch a few hours repose when too sleepy to sit any longer in his seat. Scattered here and there through the room were baskets containing ample quantities of provisions, showing conclusively that there was no danger of the Councilors suffering from lack of food. The gentleman from Winona was still seated by his desk, endeavoring to demonstrate by figures that three times five is just fourteen.

While the Council was still under the call and it became apparent to the St. Peter removers that the original bill would remain in the pocket of the Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, unreported, another bill, an alleged copy of the bill already engrossed, was procured and enrolled; but President Brisbin of the Council, and Mr. Furber, Speaker of the House, refused to sign it, endorsing on it their reasons. The bill, however, was signed by the Governor and printed in the laws of the session.

During the following summer the President of the St. Peter Company applied to Justice R. R. Nelson for a writ of mandamus to compel the Territorial officers to remove to St. Peter. Judge Nelson, however, after reviewing the evidence relating to the passage of the act, decided that no law had been passed by the legislature for the removal of the Capital.

One of the veteran survivors of this memorable contest informs the writer that the St. Paul friends had abandoned all hope of preventing the removal of the Capital to St. Peter, after the final vote in the Council, and that the move of Rolette in secreting himself and the engrossed bill was originally only intended as a prac-

tical joke, to scare the Capital removers. When the Council became tied up under the famous call, the possibility of defeating the scheme dawned upon the opponents of removal, with ultimate victory as the result.

Joe Rolette, the Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, who defeated the attempt at removal to St. Peter, was comfortably enjoying his accommodations in an upper room in the Fuller House, while the sergeant at arms of the Council was searching for him with blinded eyes in all the places where he was not likely to be found. Rolette became St. Paul's mascot, and there was no tribute of devotion its citizens were not willing to lay at his feet as an evidence of their gratitude. His portrait, in life size, occupies a conspicuous place on the walls of the Historical Society, and his son became one of the caretakers in the new Capitol which his father preserved to St. Paul.

PROPOSED CHANGES OF BOUNDARIES OF MINNESOTA.

Connected with the Capital removal scheme was an attempt to change radically the terms of the bill then pending in Congress for the admission of Minnesota as a State. This bill, introduced by Hon. Henry M. Rice, defined the western boundary of the proposed State about as it now runs, although not exactly. His bill fixed the Big Sioux river as a part of the western boundary, instead of the present line running due south from Big Stone lake to the northern boundary of Iowa.

A memorial to Congress, introduced into the Minnesota legislature on January 19th, 1857, was passed by the House on January 20th, by a vote of 25 to 10, and the Council on January 22nd, by a vote of 11 to 4 (the four being Freeborn, Ludden, Setzer, and President Brisbin), protesting against the division of the Territory by the line proposed in the pending bill, and asking for another bill to authorize the people to frame a Constitution, with such territorial limits and boundaries as the people represented in the Convention may prescribe, preparatory to admission into the Union as a State.

In an "Address" published on March 9th, 1857, after the adjournment of the legislature, "by the majority members of the Legislature to the people of Minnesota," they say, "It was found

that there was a diversity of interest and opinion respecting the proper line of division. While St. Paul and that small portion of the Territory lying east of the Mississippi river was in favor of a north and south line, as being more favorable to their particular interest, all southern, western, and northern Minnesota was in favor of an east and west line, as being best for the interests of the State as a whole." Further on in this "Address" they say, "as before stated, one of the principal reasons for the immediate removal was the influence it would have upon the boundary line question." The "Address" proceeds to recount the steps taken by the majority members to accomplish their aims, as follows:

First, "To memorialize Congress protesting against the St. Paul division, and asking to be permitted to form our own boundaries."

Second, "The removal of the Capital to some more western point."

Third, "The passage of an apportionment bill for the election of delegates."

The scheme was to divide the territory on the line of the 46th degree of latitude, west from the Wisconsin boundary to the Missouri river. This line would have passed near Hinckley, Little Falls, Elbow Lake, and about midway betwen Breckenridge and Lake Traverse, and just north of the line dividing North and South Dakota. The country south of this line was to be the State of Minnesota, and that north of it the Territory of Superior.

The memorial alluded to was passed by the Minnesota Legislature in January, was duly submitted to Congress, and on February 21st, 1857, Senator Jones, of Iowa, in the Senate, offered an amendment to the bill then under discussion, to authorize the people of the Territory to decide the question whether the State shall embrace all the territory south of the 46th degree of latitude. The amendment was not adopted, and the bill introduced by Delegate Rice was passed. This terminated the agitation for the division of the territory on an east and west line.

FIRST CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA, ENLARGED, 1873-1878.

ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE THE CAPITAL TO KANDIYOHI COUNTY.

The Legislature of 1858 passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint one or more commissioners to assist him in selecting the lands granted to the State for public buildings under the act of Congress authorizing a State government, passed in 1857. Governor Sibley appointed Messrs. James D. Skinner, of St. Paul, W. C. Johnson, of Stillwater, and Robert Boyle, of Hastings, as commissioners. In the performance of their duty, they selected 6,399.14 acres in Kandiyohi county, and these have ever since been designated as the Capitol lands.

During the session of 1858, an abortive attempt was made to remove the Capital to Nicollet Island, but it met with little favor, and nothing was accomplished.

In the legislature of 1861, Mr. Kennedy introduced a bill to locate the Capitol of the State, as the permanent seat of government, on the Kandiyohi lands, and on February 21st the bill passed the House of Representatives, by a vote of 25 to 12. The bill, however, was defeated in the Senate. The Capitol question was now permitted to rest quietly until the session of 1869, when a determined attempt was made on the part of the country members, combined with Winona, Stillwater, Minneapolis, and St. Anthony, to fix the permanent Capitol of the State on the Kandiyohi lands, and, on February 24th, a bill for that purpose passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 39 to 7, and the Senate on March 7th, by a vote of 13 to 8. Fortunately for St. Paul, Governor Marshall, who at former times had labored and voted to remove the Capital to other pionts in the State, saw the absurdity of locating it on these lands, and he vetoed the bill, giving as his reasons for so doing, that there was no public sentiment in favor of the removal; that the question was not before the people at the last election; that the location was not central, and the time not opportune for the State to go into an expenditure of a million of dollars or more.

Another attempt at removal was made in the Legislature of 1872. A bill was introduced by Mr. Kitchell, of Chippewa county, in the House of Representatives, to locate the Capital of the State, according to the provision of Section 1, Article XV of the

Constitution, in the town of Stanton, in Kandiyohi county. The bill was referred to the appropriate committee, where it still sleeps the sleep that knows no waking. (See also page 23.)

CHANGES OF THE FIRST CAPITOL.

From the time of its completion in Territorial days, no change was made in the Capitol building until 1866, when gas was introduced, and candles ceased to shed their lustrous light upon legislative dignity. Old settlers will well remember the huge iron box stoves, one in each of the four corners of both Senate and House, large enough to take in sticks of cord wood length, modifying, if not wholly warming, the almost zero temperature which often prevailed in the chambers. In 1871 the stoves were dispensed with, and a steam heating apparatus was installed, rendering the whole building warm and comfortable. At the same time city water was introduced, so that the occupants of the building began to enjoy some of the comforts of civilized life. Each legislature, however, still continues to elect its firemen, who wander through the chambers and halls of the Capitol in a vain search for the ancient stoves, while the per diem is still gathered in by their willing hands.

In 1872, the increased representation required an enlargement of the building, and a wing fronting on Exchange street was ordered. To preserve, as far as possible, a symmetrical appearance of the building, changes were then also made in the roof and cupola, all being completed at a cost of about $15,000. (See Plate IV.) Other changes were made in 1878, by the erection of an extension or wing on Wabasha street, accommodating the House of Representatives, and adding space for the use of the administrative affairs of the State. This work was completed in 1878, at a cost of $14,000, making the total cost of the building about $108,000. (See Plate V.)

The dimensions of the Territorial building had grown from the original size of 139 feet front, and 53½ feet deep, to 204 feet front, and 150 feet deep, with about fifty apartments. The business of the State was conducted in the enlarged building with more or less discomfort and inconvenience until the first of March, 1881, when during an evening session of the legislature the building was discovered to be on fire.

FIRST CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA, AGAIN ENLARGED, 1878-1881.

BURNING OF THE FIRST CAPITOL.

Notwithstanding the most heroic efforts of the fire department, the flames spread with such rapidity that it was only possible to save some of the contents of the building. The most valuable records and papers of various offices and of the legislature were carried out, but the valuable law library, the supply of state laws, documents, reports, and stationery were destroyed. Fortunately, the Historical Society's library was mostly saved. No lives were lost, although a large crowd of spectators and visitors was in the building, and several very narrow escapes by members occurred.

The origin of the fire remains unknown. The flames were first discovered bursting from the dome, to which they had probably found their way through the partitions from the lower part of the building, but no one has ever been able to give any reasonable explanation of the mysterious disaster.

HISTORIC REVIEW TO THE TIME OF THE CAPITOL FIRE.

Thus passed away, upon its own funeral pyre, the first official home of the Territory and State. Within its walls were laid the plans and projects of the mighty State whose prosperous borders now compass great cities, thriving towns, fertile farms, and happy homes. Upon the face of the State the names of many of its founders happily remain stamped to remind us of the work they did so well. The names borne by the counties of Ramsey, Sibley, Rice, Marshall, Wilkin, Stevens, Becker, Olmsted, Freeborn, McLeod, Murray, Kittson, Faribault, Goodhue, Mower, Brown, Swift, Hubbard and others will remain to recall the work of these sturdy pioneers as they laid deep and solid the foundations of the government we enjoy today. Many of their contentions were sharp and bitter, but the end they patriotically sought was the welfare and development of the new State.

While the building no longer remains, history preserves the record of the work done within its walls. The Constitution itself, the labor of the dual Republican and Democratic conventions sitting in separate chambers, yet whose work was identical in every letter and line of its provisions, still remains the fundamental law of the Commonwealth.

The lines of railroad projected by the early legislators over the prairies of the new State, whose only roads then were the trail of the Indian and the march of the buffalo, are the very lines over which now move in every direction the commerce of our people and the restless multitudes of travelers. And in the dark and troublous days of the civil war, out through the doors of the old Capitol, with unfaltering steps, came our gallant officers, bearing their commissions from the Governor and in their hands the muster rolls of our brave soldier boys, ready to lead them in the long hard fight for the preservation of the nation. After the contest was over, returning through the same portals of the old building, came the victorious survivors, clasping the precious colors of their regiments, riddled and battle-stained, that they might rest under the dome of the Capitol as a shrine of devotion for all patriotic hearts.

The steps of the old Capitol will always be famous as the spot upon which Senator William H. Seward stood, when, on that delicious September day, in 1860, in addressing the assembled multitude, he gave expression to that wonderfully prophetic declaration which at the time seemed like the extravagance of rhetoric, but in these later days more like foreknowledge of the future, when he said:

> In other days, studying what might perhaps have seemed to others a visionary subject, I have cast about for the future of the ultimate central seat of power of the North American people. I have looked at Quebec and at New Orleans, at Washington and at San Francisco, at Cincinnati and at St. Louis, and it has been the result of my best conjecture that the seat of power for North America would yet be found in the Valley of Mexico; that the glories of the Aztec Capital would be renewed, and that city would become ultimately the Capital of the United States of America. But I have corrected that view, and now I believe that the last seat of power on this great continent will be found somewhere within a radius not very far from the very spot where I stand, at the head of navigation of the Mississippi river, and on the great Mediterranean lakes.

To realize how rapidly this is being fulfilled, we have only to look upon the multitudes pressing into the Northwest in our own country, and the greater numbers finding their homes in the Canadian Northwest, far away towards the Arctic circle.

SECOND CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA, OCCUPIED 1883-1905.

From a Photograph by E. A. Bromley, July, 1899.

OCCUPATION OF THE MARKET HOUSE.

While the old Capitol was still in flames and its destruction evident, Mayor Dawson telegraphed to Governor Pillsbury, who had gone home to Minneapolis, offering the new and commodious market house, which the city of St. Paul had just about completed, for the use of the legislature and State officers until the Capitol could be rebuilt. Fortunately, the building was admirably adapted for the use tendered. The second story had two large halls, that could be used for the Senate and House of Representatives, and the first floor could be suitably partitioned for the State officers. Extraordinary efforts were made during the night by the city officers and citizens, and by the morning of March 2nd the halls were ready for occupancy by the legislature, which met at the regular hour and continued the business interrupted by the fire. As but two days of the session remained, the members were all anxious for the fate of the bills still on the calendar. Before the day was over the Governor and other State officers were as comfortably accommodated as the extraordinary conditions permitted.

THE SECOND CAPITOL.

Governor Pillsbury secured estimates at once for the rebuilding of the Capitol, using the old walls. An act was passed appropriating $75,000 for that purpose, and the work of clearing up the ruins and preparing for the new building was at once commenced. It was found, however, that it would not be safe to use the old walls, and at an extra session, in September, 1881, which was also held in the city market house, a further appropriation of $100,000 was made, and a tax of one-third of a mill was levied on all taxable property, for raising the money. Further appropriations were made, and when the new Capitol was completed the cost was about $275,000. It was occupied for the first time by the legislature which met in January, 1883.

The new building (shown in Plate VI) was in the form of a Greek cross. The Senate chamber was in the wing fronting on Wabasha street, and the House of Representatives was in the rear wing, fronting on Tenth street. The Supreme Court was in the Exchange street front. The building was much more commodious and convenient than the old Capitol.

It was fairly well adapted for its purposes, excepting that the ventilation was very deficient, and there was not a sufficient number of committee rooms. All excepting the principal committees were obliged to hold their meetings in the rooms of members at the hotels, or in such corners and vacant places as could be secured.

This new and second capitol was not rebuilt without the St. Paul delegation and the citizens suffering serious nervous chills. A most vigorous move was set on foot, the morning after the destruction of the old building, to remove the capital from St. Paul, and great inducements were said to have been offered to members of the legislature to consider the proposition. Some of the most influental members were approached, urging them to assist in such movement. Governor Pillsbury, however, was inflexible in his refusal to entertain any consideration of the question, and an honorable sense of fairness with a majority of the members caused the leaders in the scheme finally to desist from their attempt, and the legislature adjourned, after having made all necessary provisions for the construction of the second capitol.

After completion, the building continued to be used through successive administrations without any special changes, excepting that during the administration of Governor Merriam substantial granite steps were erected in place of the wooden ones at the four principal entrances. Convenient toilet rooms were also installed on the second floor, much to the comfort of the members of the legislature and the state officers.

From the time the new capitol was finished, in 1883, until the meeting of the legislature of 1891, there was no active agitation of the question of the seat of the state government. The matter of its removal from St. Paul was, however, always a valuable element of strength with those members of the legislature who desired the help of the Ramsey county delegation in their legislative schemes.

The writer was a member of the Senate of the legislature that convened in January, 1891. A very short service only was necessary to impress anyone with the inadequacy of the building for the business of the state. The offices were all crowded to repletion. Several departments of the state had their offices in business blocks remote from the capitol. Every nook and cranny in the building was converted into a closet for storage of documents

or a place for another desk. The ventilation, if there was any, was most imperfect. During the session seats were constantly vacant in each chamber, because of the illness of members suffering from the noxious air. The secretary of the State Board of Health was called in to test the quality of the air in the senate chamber, and he pronounced it utterly unfit for human beings to breathe. For legislation to be well considered and carefully discussed under such conditions was wellnigh impossible. Besides all these discomforts, the Ramsey county delegation was subjected to the same uneasy fear that frequent intimations of capital removal schemes always produced.

Notwithstanding all these unfavorable conditions, it did not seem at all likely that a legislature, of which the majority of the members were elected on a platform of retrenchment and reform, would give the slightest consideration to any project looking towards the construction of a new and third capitol, especially as the building in use had only been occupied about eight years. Yet there was withal an uneasy element in the legislature, ready and anxious for capital removal agitation, as evidenced by the resolution offered by Senator Dedon, of Chisago county, on March 2nd, "that a joint committee of nine be appointed, three from the Senate and six from the House, to confer with the owners of the Minneapolis Exposition building, with a view of securing the same for a permanent state capitol," and the bill introduced by Senator Glader, of Kandiyohi, "For the sale of lots in the city of Mennetaga on the state capitol lands in Kandiyohi county, and the erection of buildings thereat and the removal of the state capital thereto."

Both resolution and bill were disposed of in a parliamentary way so that they still remain unreported.

WORK OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW CAPITOL.

One day in March, 1891, during a session of the senate, the Hon. F. G. McMillan, representing the 30th senatorial district, in Hennepin county, adjoining the Ramsey county boundary, and a member of the majority party, came to the writer and submitted the following resolution, with a request to read and give him an opinion on it:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the president of the senate to investigate and report its findings to the next session of the legislature, as to what in their judgment is the most desirable capitol site, and if the present location is not of sufficient size for said capitol building, and also to report if the best interests of the state could be better served by the removal to a new location where larger and better accommodations could be obtained, and a capitol building erected commensurate with the dignity of a great and prosperous state; to the end that the state at large may be informed as to merits of the different proposed sites, and that the next legislature may, if thought advisable, adopt a site and create a commission and instruct them in an intelligent manner as to the wants of this state and the amount that will be required to erect a suitable capitol building; also to obtain information as to size, style, material used, and cost of capitol buildings of other states, if thought advisable, together with a statement of their estimated cost, and the sum total of the complete building, and all other information that may come to them in this investigation of this subject, with the view that this state may avoid the errors and mistakes of other state commissions, who are known to have in a great many cases exceeded their authority, and spent large sums of money in excess of the amount originally set apart for that purpose, and that a commission when appointed, shall enter knowingly into a contract for a building complete in every respect, to be built in a reasonable length of time, and for a definite sum of money, and also held to a strict accountability and a distinct understanding that, for the sum named and set apart to be expended for a capitol building, the state expects a completed building, ready for occupancy, and all within the limits of the amount appropriated for that purpose.

It seemed like a gift from Greeks, and it was not possible to exclude from one's mind the suspicion that beneath lurked another plan for an agitation of the whole capitol question. There is now no doubt of the sincerity of Senator McMillan's purpose, but the writer after reading the resolution handed it back with the remark that its purpose was not then practicable.

Mr. McMillan, however, offered his resolution, when notice of debate was given, and later, upon motion of Senator Crandall, of Owatonna, it was promptly laid upon the table. A quiet conference of the Ramsey county senators was held soon after, when it was determined to encourage Senator McMillan to make another effort for the favorable consideration of his resolution, and on April 3rd he offered it again, and favorable action was secured by a vote of 25 to 18, Senator Crandall, upon whose motion it was laid upon

the table, voting in the affirmative. On April 15th, the president of the senate, Hon. G. S. Ives, of St. Peter, announced the committee to be appointed under the resolution as follows: Senators F. G. McMillan, of Minneapolis; William B. Dean, of St. Paul; and Jay LaDue, of Luverne. A few days later, upon motion of Senator Oscar Ayers, the number of the committee was increased to five, and Senator Ayers, of Austin, and Henry Keller, of Sauk Center, were added. As developed afterwards, all the members of the committee were found to be favorable to a new capitol building, and all, excepting Senator McMillan, thought that it should be located at St. Paul, not far from the site occupied by the old capitol.

During the time from the adjournment of the legislature in April, 1891, until the meeting of the committee, in November, there was a great deal of quiet discussion among the people of St. Paul, concerning the most eligible site for a new building in the event of favorable action by the legislature, in 1893. Almost every part of the city had its advocates. A most determined effort was made in behalf of the midway district, in Merriam Park, and many reasons were advanced why it should secure the recommendation of the committee.

The committee held its first meeting on November 4th, 1891, at the Merchants' Hotel, in St. Paul, all the members being present. Senator McMillan was elected chairman, and F. N. Van Duzee, late secretary of the senate, was chosen as clerk. A short discussion disclosed the fact that, in the opinion of every member of the committee, a new capitol building should be erected as soon as practicable, and at a cost of not less than $2,000,000, nor more than $3,000,000, and that, as far as possible, it be built of Minnesota stone. All the members of the committee were decidedly of the opinion that the new building should be located in St. Paul, and, with the exception of Senator McMillan, that it should be upon the site of the old capitol or not very far distant from it. Holding to this opinion, the committee adopted the following resolution, Senator McMillan alone dissenting:

Resolved, That in the report which this committee will make to the senate, we shall recommend that the square upon which the present capitol stands is in all respects the most eligible situation for the new building. If the plans finally adopted should require a greater

area for a building than the site named, we then recommend that sufficient ground adjacent to the present square should be obtained.

If, however, the committee should advise a removal in order to obtain a greater area than may be practicable at the present location, or to secure a more conspicuous situation, we recommend, on account of public convenience, that the new site shall not be more than three quarters of a mile from the present capitol.

The writer was then appointed a committee of one on the financial question of the new capitol, and Mr. McMillan on plans and designs.

Before the meeting of the legislature of 1893, the committee visited the Iowa state capitol, at Des Moines, as well as some of the granite and other quarries of Minnesota, so that, in preparing their report for the senate, they might be able to furnish as much information as possible. On February 3rd, 1893, the committee made two reports to the senate. Senators Dean, La Due, Ayers and Keller submitted the following majority report:

To the Honorable, the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Your committee, appointed by resolution of April 3rd, 1891, to investigate and report to this honorable body its findings: First, as to whether, in its judgment, a new capitol building is necessary; second, if it appeared necessary to build a new building, where it should be located, together with facts and figures relative to the cost, size, etc., of the capitol buildings of other states, begs leave to report as follows:

The committee held its first meeting on November 4th, 1891, and was organized by the election of Senator F. G. McMillan, chairman, and Frederic N. Van Duzee, secretary. The committee has held numerous meetings and has taken a trip to Des Moines, for the purpose of examining the capitol of Iowa. At these meetings the committee has given exhaustive consideration to the questions placed before it by the resolution under which it was appointed.

It is unanimous in the opinion that a new capitol building is necessary on the grounds of proper consideration for the convenient and expeditious discharge of the public business, the care and preservation of the public records, the health and safety of the public servants, and the standing and credit of a great and prosperous commonwealth.

The present capitol was erected under the exigency caused by the destruction by fire of the old building, at a time of great financial depression in the state, caused by a succession of crop failures. Time and money were both lacking, and it is certain that the present capitol is the best that could have been erected under the limitations which the circumstances imposed.

Equally certain is it that the state has completely outgrown the capacity of this building, and with the crowding together of the offices have come other evils. For more than a decade it has been a constant bill of expenses for repairs growing out of faulty and hasty construction, and has required almost annual remodeling to furnish increased room for the old departments, or an abiding place in some obscure corner for the new machinery made necessary by the growth of the state, until every available inch of space, including in some instances what was originally intended for air and light shafts, is occupied. Vault space is utterly inadequate, and a vast quantity of the valuable public documents and records of the state are now stored away in the basement, absolutely without protection from fire. The assembly halls of the legislature are poorly adapted to their uses, and legislation is impeded by the lack of proper committee rooms, while any increase in the popular representation in the senate or house is absolutely prohibited, because there is no room for another member on the floor of either house. It has been impossible to keep up with the most improved methods of heating, lighting, ventilation, and sewerage, and as a result the public business is carried on at a great risk of health. In a few years some of the departments will be crowded out of this building; and in this connection it must be remembered that, even if this legislature takes the initial steps looking to the erection of a new capitol, it will be at least ten years before it will be ready for occupancy, so that whatever is done to relieve present conditions should be done speedily.

So plain did these considerations appear to the committee, that at the first meeting it was unanimously resolved to embody in this report a recommendation that a new capitol building be erected, and that the minimum limit of expenditure be $2,000,000.

The next matter in order for consideration was a site for the new capitol, and the question of recommending the present location, or one in its immediate vicinity, of removal to an interurban point, or a location still further removed from the state's center of population, was reviewed by the committee.

The capitol is essentially designed for the convenient dispatch of the public business. This end can only be reached by its location as nearly as may be at the center of population, not only of the state, but of the capital city, convenient of immediate access and within easy reach of the best hotel and railway facilities. For these reasons the committee rejected the latter alternative, and at the first meeting the following resolution was made part of the record:

"Resolved, That in the report which this committee will make to the senate, we shall recommend that the square upon which the present capitol stands is in all respects the most eligible situation for the new building. If the plans finally adopted require a greater area for a building than the site named affords, we recommend that sufficient

ground adjacent to the present square be obtained. If, however, the committee should advise a removal in order to obtain a greater area than may be practicable at the present location, or to secure a more conspicuous situation, we recommend on account of public convenience, that the new site shall not be more than three quarters of a mile distant from the present capitol."

In order that the burden of cost may fall as lightly as possible upon the people of the state, your committee recommends that small appropriations be made, not larger than the annual amounts usually granted to the educational and other institutions of the state. We recommend that for the preparatory work $5,000 be set aside in each of the years 1893 and 1894, to defray the expenses of the commission to be appointed to enable it to invite and select plans for a suitable building. After the year 1894 we recommend that an amount equal to two-tenths of one mill upon the assessed valuation of all the property of the state be set aside from the general fund to the credit of the capitol commissioners, to defray the expenses of construction then to be undertaken. This can be done and still permit of a large reduction of the present rate of taxation, so that no increase of the tax levy for state purposes may be anticipated in consequence of favorable action on this recommendation. We believe that this amount appropriated annually during the period of ten years will enable the commissioners to construct a capitol building commensurate with the dignity and wealth of this great and growing state, and equal to all requirements of the public service for many generations.

We cannot believe that appropriations extending thus through many years, and at such moderate amounts, will be complained of by our generous people, or press upon them with perceptible weight. The value of the property of the state now subject to taxation is, in round numbers, $600,000,000, more than half of which is derived from the three most populous counties of the state, an increase within the past ten years of $324,000,000. The average values of the farms of the state, including improvements, is less than $7 per acre. The sum recommended to be annually set apart for building purposes would, at this valuation, amount to about ten cents upon every eighty-acre farm in the state,—an amount so insignificant that we are constrained to believe that every citizen of Minnesota would ratify your favorable action.

In the visit made by your committee to the capitol of the state of Iowa, we were impressed by the noble edifice the patriotic people of that enterprising state had erected to mark their appreciation of what was befitting the dignity and importance of the official home of their commonwealth. The building was undertaken in 1870, when the total assessed valuation was less than $300,000,000, made up almost wholly of the rural property of the state, there being no city of a larger population than 20,000 or 25,000 people to share the cost of the outlay.

The work was completed in about twelve years when the entire assessed valuation of the state of Iowa amounted only to about $426,000,000, or nearly $200,000,000 less than that of Minnesota at the present time. The cost of the building was $2,800,000,—a sum very much beyond the amount we believe it will be necessary for Minnesota to spend. We believe, under the restraint embodied in the bill submitted with this report, that a capitol worthy of our commonwealth and one of which every citizen will be proud, can be built for a sum less than the limit set in the bill. We therefore recommend this report most heartily to your favorable action and urge the passage of the bill herewith submitted.

(Signed)

WILLIAM B. DEAN.
JAY LA DUE,
OSCAR AYERS,
HENRY KELLER.

Senator McMillan submitted the minority report, as follows:

Many interesting and important meetings have been held by this committee, and it is with a feeling of regret that your minority committee finds itself unable to agree with the majority upon a report to be presented to this body. The principal point of difference is upon a question which is of great interest and importance to the citizens of this state, as well as of interest to those within whose borders said capitol site is to be located, and is also a question which this committee, as a whole, entirely ignored and refused to investigate, as contemplated by the provisions of the above resolutions. At the beginning of this investigation,—in fact, at its first session,—your minority committee found itself powerless to act by the adoption of a resolution limiting the investigation as to a capitol site to the site now occupied by the present building, or to a point within one half mile of the same. This resolution was afterwards reconsidered and the limit placed at three fourths of a mile distant. Your committee believes that such action on the part of the majority was not in accordance with the spirit and interpretation of the above resolution, which specifically stated that the commission was to present a report based upon an investigation of the different proposed sites, with the end in view that the state at large might be informed as to the merits of each. Such an investigation your committee believes would have thrown much light upon this important question, and would have given to the citizens of this state a large amount of valuable information relative to the size, cost and location of sites in other parts of the capital city. Your committee believes that in no sense would the advantages in favor of the present site, or sites adjacent thereto, have suffered by a comparison with those situated beyond the imaginary lines drawn by the majority of the committee. In view of these facts, your

committee would dissent from the report of the majority, and would, therefore, recommend that no restriction be placed in the bill limiting the commission in this respect, and would further recommend, in order that all interested may be heard upon this question, and that a capitol site may be selected that will be easy of access, commanding in view, with the grounds, in point of size, suitable to the future wants of this great state, and that a site may be obtained that will reflect credit upon the good judgment of its citizens as well as the members of the commission; that said capitol commission when appointed, shall be authorized to further investigate as to the capitol sites, their location, size, cost, etc., with power only to report with recommendations to the next session of the legislature, and to receive from that body the authority to designate the site for the said capitol building. Your committee would also report that it has spent much time in seeking information as to the size and location of grounds occupied by capitol buildings in other states, and it has been unable to find a single state in which the idea has been that the state capitol was other than the home of the state, or where it was a business building, especially located for the convenience of a few who were fortunate enough to live under the shadow cast by its great dome; or did it find a state where there was the remotest probability that in a few years at most the adjoining property would be occupied for business purposes.

Noble architecture and large and commodious grounds have been the rule followed in other states, namely: California, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri. Iowa and Pennsylvania, ranging from five acres in the smallest tract to forty-three in the largest; the average was fourteen and a quarter acres. Your committee would therefore recommend that when the state decides to erect a suitable capitol building for the future wants and to be a permanent home for the state, not less than ten acres be acquired for a capitol site, and that it be so far removed from close proximity to the business district of the city that future generations will not wonder at the lack of wisdom displayed by her capitol commissioners, or by the legislature which will be responsible for such a blunder, if one is made.

Your committee would also recommend that said capitol commission should be restricted by law from adopting any plans or letting any contracts for the whole or a part of said building until it has been definitely ascertained that the cost of supervision, labor, material, and all other expenditures necessary for the erection and completion of said building, including heating apparatus and ventilating furnishings, and all other fixtures of the same, will in no event exceed the sum of $2,000,000 for a completed building.

It would therefore be necessary in order to make an accurate itemized estimate of the cost of such building, which can be relied on with any degree of accuracy, to have the general plans, elevations, and sections, together with minute specifications and full detail drawings

of all parts that go to make a complete building, from which may be obtained the amount and quality of all material. No accurate estimate can be made without them, and even then an estimate may fail of verification on account of a change in the value of labor or material, or from errors in judgment; but in no event, with such restrictions as outlined, if the spirit and letter of the law were followed, should such a building exceed ten per cent of the original estimate.

Your committee would also recommend that the competition for the plans of said capitol building be limited to the architects of this state, and that in the event said capitol building shall cost more than the sum of $2,000,000, said architect shall not be entitled to any commission on the sum such building costs in excess of such amount.

Your committee would further recommend that, in case a site is selected other than the site now occupied for capitol purposes, the present capitol building shall not be abandoned, but shall remain under control of the state for its present uses until such time as the capitol commission shall turn over to the state a completed building ready for occupancy. An abandonment of the present building and the scattering of state officials over different parts of the city, and the necessity for properly providing for the accommodation of the state legislature for a period of ten years would, in the opinion of your committee, be detrimental to the best interests of the state. In the report of the majority of the committee your minority committee would agree except as to the recommendations made above.

Respectfully submitted,

F. G. McMILLAN.

The minority report, besides dissenting from the majority on the subject of location, also urged that the competition for plans be limited to architects within the state.

Many of the newspapers in the state gave the most hearty support to the project for a new capitol, advocating it in the strongest terms, as a matter of the greatest necessity; others, on the contrary, were violent in their opposition, in many cases charging the most unworthy motives to all concerned in promoting the enterprise.

LEGISLATION FOR BUILDING THE NEW CAPITOL.

On the same day that the committee made its report to the senate, the writer introduced a bill for the construction of a new capitol. It must be confessed that the bill was introduced with considerable trepidation. For it seemed like the wildest flight of fancy to suppose that with the Republicans

in control of the House, and the Democratic Alliance members in control of the Senate, such a bill from a minority senator should be considered with any favor. The majority of the senate had been elected upon a widely heralded platform of economy and reform, and it seemed almost incredible that the senate majority would permit a bill to be passed appropriating the unprecedented sum of $2,000,000, besides, at the same time, forever settling the burning question of the permanent capital of the state.

It was the first time within the history of Minnesota legislation that the St. Paul delegation assumed an aggressive attitude on the capitol question. But the prize was worth the fight; for, if successful, it would forever settle the location of the seat of government, besides releasing the St. Paul delegation from the constantly recurring fears of removal, which often in times past had made it so subservient to the most unworthy demands.

The bill embraced the main features of the majority report as to selection of location, cost of building, and the way in which the funds were to be provided. The next day, February 4th, a similar bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Hiler H. Horton, member from the 27th District, St. Paul.

In both houses the bills were referred to the appropriate committees. The bills were advanced as rapidly as possible, and on March 17th the substitute reported by the Committee on Public Buildings, making some minor changes in the original bill, was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 68 to 41. The substitute was reported in the senate on March 21st, and on April 6th passed that body by a vote of 34 to 20, and was approved by the governor on April 7th. The contest in both houses was severe. In the House of Representatives the brunt of the fight fell upon the Hon. Patrick H. Kelly, member from the 25th District, St. Paul. He was equal to the occasion. By his skillful management, great energy, and happy adaptability, he won friends for the measure from all parties, and it is not too much to say that to him, more than to any other person, we are indebted for the success that has forever settled the question of the location of the capitol of the state of Minnesota.

In the Senate the contest was no less vigorous, but a fortunate situation, involving the consideration of several other measures of general public interest, together with the generous support of patriotic and liberal minded senators, of all parties, who appreciated the urgent necessity for a new building, enabled the senators having the Capitol Bill in charge to secure its favorable reception and its final passage by a large majority. And so, after years during which the location of the state capitol was made a legislative foot-ball and a matter of constant anxiety to the people of St. Paul, this completed legislation forever sealed the tripartite action of the territorial legislature of 1851, when it passed acts fixing the University at Minneapolis, the state prison at Stillwater, and the capitol at St. Paul. While there has never been any vote of the people fixing the permanent seat of the state government, as required by the constitution, one cannot resist the conviction that the capitol may now be considered as quite permanently fixed for all time to come.

WORK OF THE STATE CAPITOL COMMISSION.

As soon as the act became a law, Governor Nelson advised with Mr. Kelly and the writer as to suitable persons to be appointed the commissioners, for which the law provided. Channing Seabury, of St. Paul, H. W. Lamberton, of Winona, George A. Du Toit, of Chaska, John De Laittre, of Minneapolis, C. H. Graves, of Duluth, E. E. Corliss, of Fergus Falls, and James McHench, of Martin county, were appointed and were confirmed by the senate. Mr. Edgar Weaver, of Mankato, occupied the place of Mr. McHench, who died not long after his appointment. The remaining six members of the Board are the original appointees of Governor Nelson.

It is no fulsome praise to say that no public work was ever committed to a more able and efficient body. For integrity of purpose, critical taste for the beautiful in architecture, and honesty in the discharge of their intricate duties, no state has ever been more loyally served. Minnesota and its citizens will forever rest under a burden of obligation to these gentlemen which it may strive in vain to repay.

The commissioners all accepted the appointment and at once entered upon the discharge of their duties, by holding their first meeting on May 13th, 1893. The biennial reports of the commissioners made to the governor of the state relate in great detail the operations of the Board in the performance of its duties. It is not within the purpose of this paper to repeat the story of the work which their reports so faithfully set forth.

The requirements for the selection of plans for the new building and of an architect, as provided in the original act of 1893, were found to be altogether too rigorous and impracticable. The financial scheme too was greatly impaired by the diminishing assessments of the property within the state, which, instead of increasing yearly as was anticipated, were so seriously affected by the wide spread financial depression from which the whole country suffered, that it was very evident the tax provided for in the law would not furnish the amount of money appropriated for the building within the time limited.

All these difficulties in the original act were remedied by subsequent legislation in 1895, 1897 and 1899. By these amendments the commissioners were given greater liberty in the choice of an architect, and the selection of plans, and were permitted to issue their certificates in anticipation of future revenues, as might be necessary, to furnish the funds as their work progressed.

In the meantime, as the country recovered from the effects of the financial troubles, the prices of labor and of all kinds of materials advanced very rapidly. If the commissioners had been free to proceed with their work at the time they assumed their duties, the new capitol as originally planned could have been built within the sum appropriated by the act, as the commissioners themselves very clearly show in their second report to the governor.

NEW CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA.

From a Photograph by C. P. Gibson.

THE ARCHITECT AND THE NEW CAPITOL.

Upon the invitation of the commissioners, architects from all over the United States, many of them of the most distinguished reputation, submitted plans and drawings, forty-one in all, for the new capitol, and all anonymously. These were exhibited in public for two weeks, as the law required. After a most critical examination by the members of the Board, assisted by Mr. Wheelwright, a distinguished architect of Boston, and an almost unanimous expression by the general public, the plans offered by Mr. Cass Gilbert, of St. Paul, were chosen, although at the time he was not known as the author, and he was selected as the architect. A better selection could not have been made. Mr. Gilbert had lived in St. Paul from childhood. His ability, skill, and artistic taste were well known, and his integrity, an important element in an architect's character, was his priceless possession. The new capitol building (shown in Plate VII) is the pride of every citizen. It will remain Mr. Gilbert's most enduring monument, and will proclaim his name among the great architects of all the ages.

The plans and designs submitted by Mr. Gilbert, and accepted by the commissioners, were for a building of the most stately and dignified character, well befitting the official home of a prosperous and cultured people. The architecture is the Italian Renaissance. It commands admiration at once by its classic simplicity, and, surmounted by a superb and majestic dome, recalls to the beholder those celebrated structures of Europe that have been the study of lovers of the beautiful in architecture, since the days the great masters created them. As Dante on his famous seat sat for hours lost in contemplation of the perfection of the beautiful cathedral of Florence, so may we and our children for generations to come sit and study and learn what is most beautiful and classic in art in our admiration of Mr. Gilbert's great creation.

The extreme length of the building is 432 feet 10 inches. The width through the central portico is 228 feet 3 inches. The extreme height of the dome is 220 feet. In the interior ample provision is made for the two houses of the legislature and their committees; for the supreme court, the governor,

and all officers of the state. Special attention has been given to the heating, lighting, and ventilating systems, everything throughout being of the most complete and substantial character. The building is as nearly absolutely fireproof as human ingenuity can make it.

The commissioners proceeded at once to select a site for the building within the limits prescribed by the law. They encountered many vexatious and unreasonable obstructions. The property they desired to purchase became at once very valuable in the minds of its owners, and it was only after the most patient and perplexing efforts that they were finally able to secure the commanding location the capitol now occupies.* The grounds embrace an area of nearly eight acres and cost $367,161.98. The site is a most admirable one. The elevation is 199 feet above low water mark, and 88 feet above the site of the old capitol. The view from the lantern of the capitol dome, extending for miles over the surrounding country, and compassing the two great cities, presents the most magnificent panorama to be found anywhere within the state. Being remote from the business center of the city, the beauty of the capacious grounds and the noble building itself are the conspicuous features of the landscape, while it is readily accessible in a few minutes from any part of the city by the numerous street car lines.

Following the selection and purchase of the capitol site and the adoption of the plans and designs of Mr. Gilbert, the active work of construction began at once. The contract for the excavation and foundation was awarded to Mr. George J. Grant, of St. Paul. Ground was broken on March 6th, 1896, and the first stone was laid on June 23rd of the same year. The foundation was completed on November 24th, 1896.

In the performance of their duties, the commissioners adhered rigidly to the terms of the law under which they were

*In securing the present capitol grounds, the commissioners were very ably assisted by Hon. Henry M. Rice, Hon. Alexander Ramsey, and Mr. H. S. Fairchild. Their efforts with the owners of the various pieces of real estate, and their final success in obtaining them at something near their real value, place the state under great obligation to these gentlemen.

acting. The zeal of the legislators in their efforts to protect the interests of the state and to limit the cost of the building had caused the insertion of provisions in the act without which it would not have passed the legislature, that continued seriously to impede the work of the commissioners, especially in the matter of anticipating future revenues for the payment of the progressing work. The legislatures of 1897 and 1899 relaxed the law in this respect, and gave to the commissioners the necessary freedom in the anticipation of funds, so that the work could be carried on without interruption. On August 31st, 1897, the contract for the exterior and interior walls, up to but not including the dome, was awarded to the Butler-Ryan Company, of St. Paul. They were contractors not only of expert ability but of great fidelity in the execution of all their undertakings. The state was exceedingly fortunate in finding among its own citizens men so capable of successfully accomplishing a work of such magnitude.

It was at this point in the work of construction that the architect made the first departure from the general expectation of the public. With so many kinds of building stone to be found within the state, from the everlasting granite to the friable limestone, it was the common belief, and indeed had been the promise of the promoters of the legislation, that only Minnesota stone would be used to build its capitol. But with a courageous devotion to the artistic and beautiful, and a consistent adherence to the fitness of a classic structure, all considerations of state advertisement were set aside and the only material adapted to the architecture of the building was selected. The beautiful marble of the Grecian mountains was not possible, but hardly less beautiful than that of Pentelikon was the marble found in the quarries of Georgia. It had already been used in the Art Gallery of Washington, and the state capitol of Rhode Island with admirable effect, and, despite manifold criticism, the commissioners determined to adopt the advice of the architect and to use it for our capitol. The completed building in its pure magnificence confirms and vindicates the wisdom of the commissioners.

LAYING THE CORNER STONE.

On July 27th, 1898, the laying of the corner stone was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies. The day itself was bright and auspicious. Elaborate preparations were made for the comfort of the great multitude that assembled to witness the interesting event. A large number of public men whose names are identified with the history of the state, many of them from its earliest days, were present. The whole city of St. Paul was adorned in holiday attire. The pageantry of the parade, the waving of the flags, and the inspiring music of the bands, stimulated the enthusiasm of the crowd, and made the day one that will be long remembered.

The exercises began by Governor Clough requesting Archbishop Ireland to invoke the Divine benediction upon the proceedings, after which Mr. Graves on behalf of the Commissioners made a clear and most happy statement of the work of the Board, from the breaking of the ground to the completion of the foundation, ready for the corner stone. Governor Clough then introduced United States Senator C. K. Davis, who delivered an oration of great eloquence, commemorative of the occasion. Upon the conclusion of the address of Senator Davis, Judge Flandrau, one of the first Supreme Judges of the state, in a most fitting address presented to ex-governor Ramsey a silver trowel, to be used in the laying of the stone, which the venerable governor most appropriately acknowledged. Upon request of Governor Clough, Mr. N. P. Langford then read a list of the various articles and memorials deposited in the corner stone, "indicative of the progress of the state in art, literature, and agriculture."*

*In the sealed and soldered box that lies in the corner stone the following articles were placed, to lie for unknown hundreds of years:
Holy Bible.
Statutes of the State of Minnesota, Vols. 1 and 2.
Last published annual report of the secretary of state of Minnesota.
Last published annual report of the Minnesota state auditor.
Last published annual report of the Minnesota state treasurer.
Legislative manuals of Minnesota for the years 1893, 1895, and 1897.
History of Minnesota Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, Vols. 1 and 2.
Volumes 4 and 8 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections.
Minnesota Historical Society publication, "How Minnesota Became a State."
Congressional directory of the Fifty-fifth Congress of the United States.
History of the new capitol legislation.
The original draft of the bill drawn and introduced in the legislature by Hon. William B. Dean, of St. Paul, for the erection of a new capitol.

When the list had been read, Governor Clough asked the commissioners to place the box in the cavity prepared for it in the corner stone, and then proceeded to call upon the hon-

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Neill's History of Minnesota.
History of the Sioux War of 1862-63, by Isaac V. D. Heard.
Minnesota Year Book for the years 1852 and 1853.
Photographs of the new capitol.
Photographs and engravings of Minnesota cities and villages.
Minneapolis Through a Camera.
Copies of the last issued daily newspapers of St. Paul and Minneapolis.
Badge of the Daughters of Veterans, Tent No. 1, St. Paul, Minn.
Report of the Grand Army of the Republic for Minnesota.
American flag and roster of St. Paul Camp No. 1, Sons of Veterans, U. S. A.
One $20 gold coin, one $10 gold coin, and one $5 gold coin, and one each of all the silver, nickel, and copper coins of the United States of this date.
Portrait of Alexander Ramsey, first governor of the Territory of Minnesota.
Portrait of Henry Hastings Sibley, first governor of the State of Minnesota.
A copy of the introductory address by Hon. Charles H. Graves.
A copy of the oration delivered today by Hon. Cushman K. Davis.
Copper plates of the seal of the Territory and the State of Minnesota.
Copper plate etchings of south front elevation and principal floor plans of the capitol.
A copper plate on which are engraved the names of the capitol commissioners, secretary, architect and assistants.
A copper plate on which is engraved an epitome of memorable events in the history of the organization of the Territory and State of Minnesota (copied below).
City Directory for the year 1898 of St. Paul, capital of Minnesota.
Northwestern Gazetteer and Business Directory.
A list, engrossed on parchment, of the contents of the corner stone.
A copy of the program and ceremonies of laying the corner stone.

One of the copper plates that lie in the stone bears the following inscription:

EPITOME OF MEMORABLE EVENTS

In the History of the Acquisition and Organization of the Territory and State of Minnesota.

1784.—March 1—Cession by the State of Virginia to the United States of that portion of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi river.

1803.—April 30—Treaty concluded with France for the cession of Louisiana to the United States, embracing that portion of Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi river.

1805.—Sept. 23—Conferences with different bands of Indians.

1837.—Feb. 18—Convention with Wahpaakootah and other Sioux Indians.

1838.—June 15—Treaty with Chippewas, by Henry Dodge, proclaimed.

1838.—June 15—Treaty with Sioux, by J. R. Poinsett, proclaimed.

1838.—The first pre-emption claim to land at St. Anthony Falls made by Franklin Steele.

1849.—March 3—The United States congress passed the organic act creating the Territory of Minnesota.

1849.—June 1—The governor, Alexander Ramsey, by proclamation, declared the territory duly organized. Population, 4,940.

1853.—Feb. 24—The treaty of Traverse des Sioux, made by Alexander Ramsey and Luke Lea, with the Sioux Indians on July 23, 1851, and the treaty of Mendota, made by Alexander Ramsey and Luke Lea, with the Sioux Indians on Aug. 5, 1851, were proclaimed by the president.

1857.—Feb. 26—The act authorizing the territory to form a state government passed by congress.

1857.—Oct 13—A state constitution was adopted.

1858.—May 11—Congress passed the act admitting Minnesota into the Union, Henry Hastings Sibley being the first state governor. Population, 150,037.

1862—July 2—The first railroad in Minnesota was operated, the train running from St. Paul to St. Anthony.

1861 to 1865 Minnesota furnished more than 25,000 men for the War of the Rebellion.

1890.—June 1—Population, United States census, 1,301,826.

1895.—June 1—Population, state census, 1,574,619.

ored father of the commonwealth, Ex-Governor and Ex-Senator Ramsey, the first territorial governor of Minnesota, to lay the stone in its place, and while he was performing with his silver trowel this most interesting duty the bands played and the people sang the national hymn, "America." Governor Clough having announced the stone as well and properly set, the multitude was dismissed with the benediction by Bishop Gilbert.

DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME AND THE BUILDING COMPLETED.

Following the laying of the corner stone, the work of construction continued with great activity. The commissioners, however, began to feel hampered by the reduced amount of funds coming into their hands from the annual tax levy of two-tenths of a mill upon the assessed value of property in the state. These assessments, as stated before, steadily diminished, instead of constantly increasing, as was the expectation at the time the Act was passed. It became apparent that the work would have to stop unless the legislature relieved the conditions.

The Commissioners in their report of January 1st, 1899, directed the attention of the legislature to the situation that confronted them, and prayed for the necessary relief. This the legislature of 1899 granted, by passing an act which authorized the Commissioners to anticipate future revenues by issuing certificates of indebtedness as might be necessary. Throughout the years of 1899 and 1900 the work progressed without interruption. The beauty of the growing building became more and more apparent, but the very splendor of the rising walls,

> "The princely dome, the column and the arch,
> The breathing marble and the sculptured gold,"

only brought embarrassment to the Commissioners. For while the building could be completed with all its appointments comfortable and useful and within the sum fixed by the act, yet that limit would preclude the expense of the interior classic finish so necessary to appropriately conform to the exterior.

Impressed by the situation, the Commissioners, in their report of 1901 and 1903, frankly state that "owing to the rise

in prices, adherence to the original limit of cost would compel the use of inferior material and workmanship." They then proceed to specify their meaning more clearly, in detail. Wooden instead of stone floors must be used for the rotunda, corridors and rooms; tin instead of tile roofing; plain plaster finish instead of mosaic ceiling and vaulting; the grand stairways with only empty halls and plain plastered walls, instead as now of the beautiful ceiling supported by marble columns and walls embellished with marble wainscoting and pilasters; and plain oak doors for the main entrance, instead of the present massive ones of bronze. To avoid such a plain and unattractive finish, the commissioners recommended an increased appropriation, in order to carry out the more artistic plans of the architect, as well as to permit the installation of the latest and most improved methods of lighting, heating, and ventilation; and also to purchase additional lots required to complete the symmetry of the capitol grounds. Besides these important changes in the plans and designs, the architect was not unmindful of those artistic embellishments so necessary to fittingly crown this splendid symbol of the people's sovereignty. With a courage that should command our admiration and our thanks, he recommended a bronze Quadriga to surmount the main entrance pavilion, marble statuary of heroic size, and mural decorations, all by the most famous artists, and stately and dignified granite approaches to the main entrances of the building. Many of these recommendations that might have been received in the cultured centers of the world as the obvious artistic furnishings of such a noble structure, seem somewhat startling when suggested to the new people of a frontier prairie state. But the members of the legislature, inspired and educated doubtless by the presence of such magnificent architecture, rose grandly to these recommendations, and increased the original appropriation $1,000,000 in the session of 1901, and $1,500,000 in the session of 1903, making the total appropriations $4,500,000.

The total expenditure up to January 1st, 1905, is $3,975,860.33. The amount yet to be paid on uncompleted contracts, when finished, is $361,989.51, making the total cost of grounds and building $4,337,849.84.

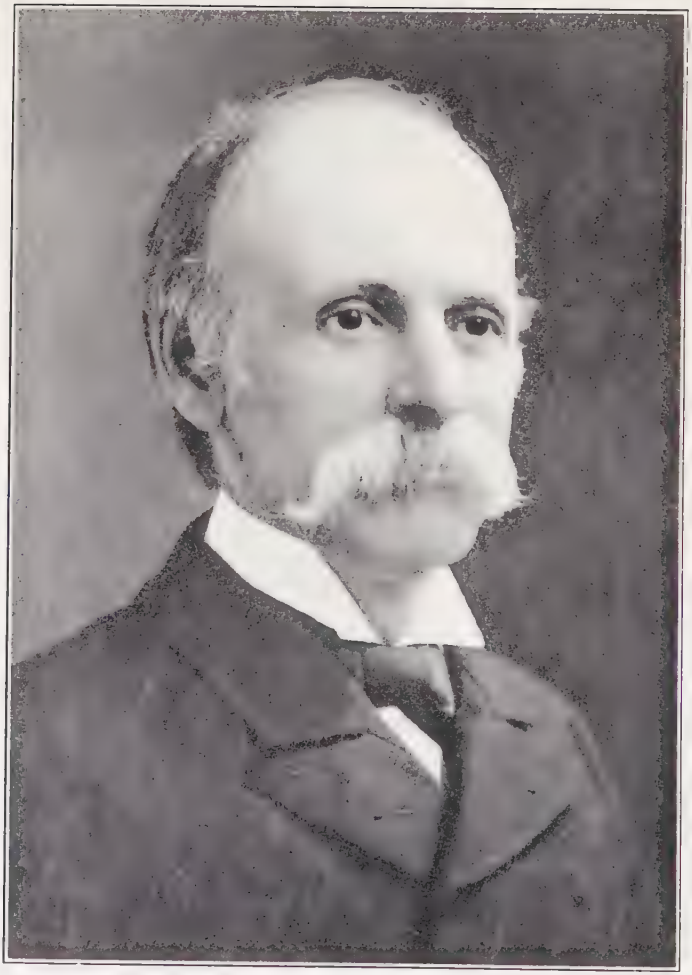
Although the cost of the new capitol far exceeds the sum fixed in the act for its construction, yet nothing has been done and no money has been spent that has not been fully authorized by the legislature. With a laudably ambitious purpose to erect a building of the most stately and impressive dignity, the Commissioners at the same time have been true to the law under which they acted. They are now prepared to acquit themselves of their trust, with a consciousness of work well and faithfully done. That the people of the state have accepted the result of their labors with the most justifiable pride and the greatest satisfaction, there can be no doubt. It would be a most graceful and meritorious act on the part of the state, if the legislature in its wisdom should recognize the valuable labors of the commissioners by an appropriation for their services, more in keeping with their value than the meager compensation allowed them in the original act.

There yet remain two things for the state to do, in order to round out the completeness of the work already done:

First, to purchase the property adjoining the capitol grounds and convert it into a grand park-like approach to the capitol, as already proposed in the plans submitted by Mr. Gilbert; and

Second, to provide a state mansion on or near the capitol grounds, for the residence of the governor during his term of office, while absent from his own home, so that he will not be compelled to find an abiding place, as best he can, in some hotel or boarding house.

In conclusion, to another must be committed the pleasant duty of some time placing on the records of this Society a minute and critical description of the wealth of artistic beauty to be found illustrated in this royal home of our commonwealth. The spendid conception of Gilbert, the architect, realized in the building itself, the sculptures of French, the decorations of Garnsey, the mural paintings of La Farge, Blashfield, Simmons, Walker, Cox, Millet, Volk, Pyle, and Zogbaum, never will cease to delight our people and educate them to a better appreciation of the true and beautiful in art.



J. B. Gilfillan

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.*

BY HON. JOHN B. GILFILLAN.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

Seeing may be knowing, but only the superficial mind can accept the "dead result" of our laws or institutions as knowledge of them. The leaven of "know thyself" must ever work through the individual to the conditions which are his opportunity of vivid, progressing life. So more and more we seek to understand the historical origin of institutions peculiar to us as a nation, whether they have sprung from necessity, the great mother of invention, or whether we brought the nucleus across the Atlantic, whether they are American or Americanized. Nothing, of our many valued possessions, has been more generally conceded our own, than our system of education. For the sake of a clear understanding of its growth and the laws protecting it, and that our appreciation of results may be the outcome of basic, historical information, not superficial observation, we will venture to trace the derivative and American elements in a system which by its form of support has become, before the world, our own.

While Frederick II. was warring for Jaffa and Jerusalem, and Edward I. was fighting for the Stone of Scone, the Dutch were establishing at Dordrecht, ten miles from Rotterdam, a Latin School, which was the beginning of State School systems (founded in 1290). This school became one of the most famous in northwestern Europe, having frequently six hundred pupils, coming from all parts of the continent. Of the first colonists landing in Massachusetts, one-thirtieth were graduates of Cambridge. Of this number those who had been voluntary exiles in Holland must have

* Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, December 11, 1905. This Address has been published also by the University in a pamphlet (46 pages, 1906), with the following dedication: "To its two presidents, Dr. William W. Folwell and Dr. Cyrus Northrop, whose life work has made the University what it is, this paper is respectfully dedicated by the Author."

known the Dordrecht School and the laws controlling it. England had no provision for general education, for two hundred years after it was thoroughly established in Holland.

Martin Luther in 1524 wrote in a letter to magistrates:

> If there were no soul, no heaven, no future after this life, and temporal affairs were to be administered solely with a view to the present, it would yet be sufficient reason for establishing in every place the best schools, both for boys and girls, that the world merely to maintain its outward prosperity has need of shrewd and accomplished men and women.

At this time, on this basis, the parochial schools of Germany were established. About the same time, John Calvin at Geneva gave a similar system to the Cantons of Switzerland. John Knox, learning from these men, introduced a system of schools in Scotland. This was in the last half of the sixteenth century, fully a hundred years before definite free schools had been established in the American Colonies, Virginia, New York and Massachusetts each claiming a priority in this.

In 1619, three years after the death of William Shakespeare, Sir Edwin Sandys, President of the Virginia Company in England, moved in Parliament the grant of 15,000 acres of land for the establishment of a University in Virginia, 10,000 of this to be set aside for an Indian College, the remainder "for the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English." The same year the Bishops of England raised £1,500 for the education of the children of the barbarians in the colony of Virginia. Tenants were sent to occupy the lands, and Mr. George Thorpe, of His Majesty's Private Chamber, came over to be superintendent of the University. This was in 1621, and in 1622 came the Indian massacres. From that time, though efforts were constantly made, moneys raised, and lands granted, nothing was done for sixty years, except on paper, towards the public establishment of schools in Virginia. In 1688 £2,500 ($12,500) were subscribed, by wealthy gentlemen in the colony and their English friends, towards an institution of higher education. Rev. James Blair was sent to England in its interests, and appealed directly to Queen Mary. King William was interested, through her, in the aspiration of the Colony, and they allowed "£2,000 out of the quitrents of Virginia," for building the college,

which was to be called the College of William and Mary. The English government decided to give 20,000 acres of land and £2,000 in money, with a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia. To this they added all fees and profits arising from the office of Surveyor General, these fees to be controlled by the president and faculty of the college, which gentlemen were to appoint "special surveyors for the counties whenever the Governor and his council thought it necessary." These conditions dating from 1693 had a vivid influence on the development of the colony, placing the entire land system in the hands of a collegiate land office. After the Revolution and until 1819, one-sixth "of the fees of all public surveyors continued" to be paid into the college treasury.

Virginia had revenues established and lands granted for a State University in 1621, but in the years required for this Colony to rebound from the Indian massacres of 1622, the freemen of Massachusetts established a system of education, which has been unbroken in its course. In 1635 the people of Boston, in town meeting assembled, made provision for the employment of schoolmasters for the teaching and nurturing of children, and voted lands for their support. This was only five years after the founding of the town. In the same year the Public Latin School was established, and for it has been claimed the distinction of being the oldest existing school within the bounds of the United States. Other Massachusetts towns soon manifested a like liberal spirit for culture, Weymouth in 1643, Ipswich and Salem in 1641. By the Massachusetts Statute of 1642 the duty of establishing and maintaining schools was made general and obligatory. Five years later this law was amended, enlarged in its scope to make it more effective, and at this time, 1647, it is claimed the school system of Massachusetts had its birth.

While the initial spirit was that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, other New England neighborhoods, adopting the essence of the Massachusetts law, soon followed in her footsteps. When people from the Boston community emigrated to Hartford, Windsor and Weathersfield, founding the Connecticut Colony, they were a unit in their determined interest for general education. New Hampshire inherited these institutions by virtue of being under

Massachusetts law until 1680, and the spirit which made public education a part of her governmental administration spread into the Colonies of New Haven, Plymouth, and Rhode Island. It was during this time that Ezekiel Cheever, through seventy years of teaching, stamped his spirit and method upon the schools of New Haven, Ipswich, Charlestown, and Boston.

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized, and nine years later received instructions from the States General in the founding of colonies, which of course included New Amsterdam, to exert themselves, "to find speedy means to maintain a clergyman and a schoolmaster, in order that divine service and zeal for religion may be planted in that country." And to that end it was required that "each householder and inhabitant should bear such tax and public charge as should be considered proper for their maintenance."

Under these provisions the educational policy of New Amsterdam was begun and continued unbroken. As early as 1633 the school of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church was organized, and has had since then a continuous history. This would seem to give some color to "Brooklyn's claim to have had the first free public school in the United States."

This triangular discussion regarding the homing of our American school system seems then to resolve itself into Virginia being its mother in 1621, but her effort made abortive by the Indian massacres of 1622, New Amsterdam twelve years later having the second claim, through her parochial school, while Massachusetts, though founding no free school until 1635, began then and has continuously conducted educational institutions supported by the State. Virginia, New York, and New England, thus became each in their characteristic way the nucleus of a continent's civilization.

The early action with reference to these schools depended largely upon the character of the majority of the settlers, their previous education (religious or otherwise), the purpose of their coming, and the controlling spirit of their leaders. It would seem safe to say that a large percentage of them were inspired by religious zeal and the hope of finding here the enjoyment of religious freedom. This was undoubtedly true in New England, and in certain portions of Virginia extension of the service of the Church of England was

a controlling motive. In either event the main purpose of the colonial schools was to fit young men for the ministry. It was in this spirit that the Boston Latin School and the Dutch Reformed School in New Amsterdam were established. Cotton and Eliot, Davenport and Eaton, were among the aggressive pioneers in this work. "Lord, for schools everywhere among us," was the universal prayer. The year after the Boston Latin School began, Harvard College was projected and founded. "The General Court voted £400 toward a school or college, and the next year twelve of the most trusted men of the colony were selected to execute the official mandate" for a college at New Town.

Inspired by the prevailing enthusiasm, John Harvard, styled a "godly gentleman then living in the Colony," gave half of his estate of about £1,700 toward the erection of a college, and all his library was added to the gift. Others gave according to their ability and the state added the rest. Such was the early and small beginning of Harvard College, but it marked the spirit of the colonists.

The enthusiasm of its founders and the influence of its instruction were felt in the settlements clustered near the coast, and schools were established at Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Roxbury, Braintree, and so on as the settlements extended. The colleges and primary schools were supplemented by academies, until in 1770 thirty-four had already been established in New England.

In New York, at the time of the surrender of the Dutch in 1664, so general was the educational spirit, that almost every town in the Colony had its regular school; but after the occupation by the English little attention was given to education. The new government had no sympathy with schools under the control of a nonconforming church. It was not until 1732 that a school after the plan of the Boston Latin School was established, which became, as is claimed, the germ of King's College, now Columbia University.

During the colonial period the whole condition in New York was in sharp contrast to that of New England. In 1762 Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, writing to the English Archbishop, complained that while royal patents were granted for large tracts of colonial lands, no provision was made for religion and schools. It is also curious to note, that Lieut. Governor

Colden, petitioning for aid for King's College, refers to the fact, "that dissenters from the Church of England had the sole education, not only in seminaries of learning in New England, but likewise in New Jersey and elsewhere;" and he argues it to be "highly requisite that a seminary founded on the principles of the Church of England be distinguished in America by particular privileges, not only on account of religion, but of good policy, to prevent the growth of republican principles which already too much prevail in the colonies." This would seem to give some color of truth to the charge, "that the founding of Harvard College hastened the Revolution half a century."

In New Jersey the first educational impulses came from several distinct sources. The first was the Dutch overflow from Manhattan Island, which settled near the Hudson; second, the immigration which came from New England and settled Passaic and westward; third, the English and Scotch, who spread over the central portions of the state; fourth, the Friends, who, following the fortunes of Penn, settled the southern and western portions. These each brought with them the customs and institutions of their earlier homes. Prominent among them were the Scotch, who inherited their love of learning from the days of the Reformation. They brought with them their Book of Discipline, which provided, among other things, "that it was imperatively necessary that there should be a school in every parish, for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar and the Latin tongue," and it was further proposed that a college "should be erected in every notable town, in which logic and rhetoric should be taught, along with the learned languages."

Richard S. Field, in an address printed in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, says: "There is no portion of our ancestors of whom we may feel more justly proud than of those who came hither from Scotland." Graham, himself a Scotchman and the author of by far the best colonial history of the United States, observes that "a great many inhabitants of Scotland emigrated to East Jersey and enriched American society with a valuable accession of virtue refined by adversity, and of piety invigorated by patriotism. Many of them were men of property, of family, and of education. * * * * The same convictions about education

were brought by the immigrants into the New World. Education was scarcely less essential to these hardy immigrants than religion." It was in such an atmosphere as this that Princeton College had its early beginnings and subsequent growth.

The settlements of the Friends in West Jersey and in Pennsylvania were not indifferent to education, but their schools were schools of the Society, some of them of a high order, as for instance the Penn Charter School of Philadelphia, established in 1698. Half a century later, urged by the interests of the large German population, Dr. Franklin and others were instrumental in organizing the "German Society" in Philadelphia, whose purpose was "to found and maintain schools for the numerous children of German settlers."

Although the original Penn Charter required the Governor and Provincial Council to erect and order all public schools, and "reward the authors of the useful sciences and laudable inventions in said province," and although the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 declared that "a school or schools shall be established in each county by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices, and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities," yet it is a singular fact that the establishing and support of free public schools in Pennsylvania was postponed until the days of Thaddeus Stevens and the early life of Alexander Ramsey.

While as a matter of fact there was no defined public school system in any colony south of New England before the Revolution, nor any worthy of mention until well into the following century, yet in many places it was found in embryo.

North Carolina during the first sixty-five years of its colonial history had few schools and these were illy attended. But upon the arrival of the Scotch-Irish immigration which began in large numbers in 1736 and continued till the beginning of the Revolutionary War, there was a marked advancement in educational interest. Almost invariably as a neighborhood was settled, provision was made for preaching the Gospel. Wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school. These

were under Presbyterian auspices, both church and schools being under the charge of missionaries, graduates of Princeton. For more than half a century Princeton influence was dominant in North Carolina. The most noted school for higher education in the colony was the classical school established at Charlotte in 1767 by Rev. Joseph Alexander, a graduate of Princeton. The community in which this school was located was noted for its intelligence. The school flourished, and to meet the demand of the growing and prosperous community it was decided to enlarge its scope. By an act of the Assembly it was chartered as Queen's College in 1770. It was in fact twice chartered, and the grant was twice repealed by royal proclamation. The principles of presbyterianism and democracy were not acceptable to George III. However, his disfavor had its natural results, for Charlotte came to be termed by Cornwallis "the hornets' nest of the Revolution." Queen's College continued to thrive, and in its halls were held the significant and decisive debates ending in the adoption of the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence of 1775.

Enough has been recited to show that the love of learning had taken deep root here and there, and was fast spreading among the colonists. Nearly a century before the Revolution, William and Mary's College had taken on new life. As early as 1660 the Virginia Assembly, moved by the growing spirit of the time, enacted that, "for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and the promotion of piety, there be land taken for a college and free schools." Subscriptions were also solicited, and they came from all classes in varying amounts. A quarter of a century later, certain wealthy planters subscribed £2,500. Royal aid and a charter were sought and obtained, with a grant of twenty thousand acres of land. The college became wealthy and prosperous. Jefferson and four other signers of the Declaration of Independence, three Randolphs, Monroe, and Chief Justice Marshall, were among its graduates.

In harmony with the spirit of the times, other colleges sprang into existence as the years went by: Yale, founded in 1701; the University of Pennsylvania in 1749; King's College, now Columbia, in 1754; Brown in 1764; Dartmouth in 1769; Queen's (Rutgers) in 1770. All these were pre-revolutionary, so that no less than

nine colleges were in active work prior to 1775, and no doubt hastened the belief "that all men are born free and equal," and established the determination to stand for that belief through sacrifice and suffering.

EARLY LEGISLATION BY CONGRESS FOR EDUCATION.

It is interesting to note the change in the American idea of education, its object and scope, as modified by time and events. In the early days the purpose was to educate men for the Christian ministry. As a natural result, of the nine colleges established prior to the Revolution, all but one, the University of Pennsylvania, were sectarian in their organization and management, and this one was upon a basis which embraced all denominations. But as time went on and the love of civil liberty, local self-government, and perhaps of independence, began to grow among the colonists, it became manifest to them that education must have a broader horizon in order to promote a growing fitness for self-government.

Men needed to become fitted for civil affairs as well as affairs ecclesiastical, for the service of the state as well as the church. So the friends of liberal education multiplied and were more aggressive. Not only the early New England statesmen, but in the more southerly localities such men as Jefferson, Madison, and Franklin, became its advocates. The eminent Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, voiced the spirit of the times, when in 1786 in a memorial to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, he maintained that a thorough system of popular instruction was "favorable to liberty, as freedom could only exist in the society of knowledge; that it favors just ideas of law and government; that learning in all countries promotes civilization and the pleasure of society; that it fosters agriculture, the basis of national wealth; that manufactures of all kinds owe their perfection chiefly to learning; that its beneficial influence is thus made co-extensive with the entire scope of man's being, mortal and immortal, individual and social." And on a later occasion the same broad-minded man, addressing a member of Congress, said, "Let us establish schools in every township in the United States, and conform them to reason, humanity, and the state of society in America," and then

will "the generations which are to follow us realize the precious ideas of the dignity and excellence of republican forms of government."

One of Washington's maxims was, "Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

As one of the results of the tendencies of the times, it may be of interest to note that of the colleges established in the colonies before the Revolution, all but one were sectarian; of the four established during the Revolution, two were non-sectarian; and of the eleven established after that event and prior to the end of the century, eight were non-sectarian.

That education and sovereignty should be co-extensive is no new doctrine. It is the favorite maxim of aristrocracy the world ever, but aristocracy would have a restricted education, because it would have a restricted sovereignty. The fathers of the republic wished to clothe the people with education as well as sovereignty, and make them co-extensive by making both universal.

It will thus be seen that the American idea of education had expanded until it involved the welfare of the state as well as the welfare of the church. In fact the former would seem to be of primary importance in order to make possible the latter, securing to every man, through the state, the inestimable right to worship according to the dictates of his conscience.

Although we had at the date of our independence a liberal supply of colleges and preparatory schools, there was still a serious defect in our educational method. We were sadly lacking, except perhaps in New England, in schools for elementary instruction. The academies or grammar schools could fit advanced students for college, but we had no elementary schools to prepare them for this intermediate work. The theory of general education found no favor in the aristocratic social constitution of the mother country, and even in some of the colonies were to be found influences hostile to it. Planting the leaven of democracy among the people was followed by the natural development of its principles, especially in the direction of popular education, as essential to self-reliance and independent manhood.

After achieving our independence and before the adoption of the Constitution, the Continental Congress, in harmony with the growing spirit of equal privilege to all, seems to have assumed without question, that the government had the right and was vested with the power to meet the necessity of public education. So the question of the endowment of institutions of learning by the government, to aid the cause of education, met with no serious opposition in the Congress. The establishment of a common school system was first undertaken. In the ordinance of May 20, 1785, "for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory," this specific provision is found: "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township." This endowment of 640 acres of land in each township six miles square, for the support of public schools within the township was the inception of the government policy to reserve certain sections of land for school purposes. This reservation for the support of schools was definitely provided for in the organization of each new State and Territory, until that of Oregon. In the act constituting the Territory of Orgeon, August 14, 1848, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, inserted an additional grant for school purposes of the thirty-sixth section in each township, making the reservation for schools the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections, or 1,280 acres, in each township, in all public land states and territories, thereafter organized. The grant was to be confirmed in the act of admission to the Union. Under such conditions have all public land states coming into the Union since that date been admitted. Minnesota, admitted in 1858, received her two sections in each township or about three million acres in all, for public schools, confirmed to her by the enabling act of February 26, 1857.

Congress, two years after providing by law for common schools, undertook the endowment of universities. In the act for the government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River, passed July 13, 1787, this provision is found:

> Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

By the act of July 23, 1787, in the "Powers to the Board of Treasury to contract for the sale of Western Territory," it is provided:

> That not more than two complete townships be given perpetually for the purpose of an university, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers as near the center as may be, so that the same shall be of good land, to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the State.

This inaugurated the plan of taking for the support of a state university at least two townships in each of the states containing public lands. In the legislation admitting the public land states into the Union, from the admission of Ohio in 1802, to the admission of Minnesota in 1858, grants of two townships, or 46,080 acres, for university purposes, are made. Ohio, Florida, Wisconsin and Minnesota are exceptions, each having more than two townships, the quantity granted to Minnesota being 82,640 acres. This was secured under the enabling act of Congress of February 26, 1857, and the acts of March 2, 1861, and July 8, 1870. The newer States and Territories have had or will have the benefit of this provision upon their admission into the Union.

LEGISLATION BY THE TERRITORY OF MINNESOTA FOR SCHOOLS AND A UNIVERSITY.

The Territory of Minnesota was organized under and by virtue of the act of Congress of March 3, 1849. The organic act provided for the appointment of a Governor and a Secretary, and for the election of a Legislative Assembly of two houses. It also contained a reservation of the sections of land numbered sixteen and thirty-six for school purposes. At the first session of the Assembly it enacted a school law of liberal provision for carrying out the objects of the reservation.

Governor Ramsey, in his message to the Legislature that assembled in January, 1851, called attention to the importance of establishing a university, and recommended the Legislature to memorialize Congress for a grant of 100,000 acres of land for its endowment. Acting upon this recommendation, the Legislature passed an act, approved February 19, for the establishing of a university to be styled the University of Minnesota. The act provided

that the proceeds of all lands that may hereafter be granted by the United States to the territory for the support of a university should be and remain a perpetual fund, to be called the "University Fund," the interest to be appropriated to the support of a university, and that no sectarian instruction should be allowed in such university. Its object was declared to be to provide the inhabitants of the territory with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of literature, science, and the arts. Its government was vested in a board of twelve regents to be elected by the Legislature. The Regents were empowered to appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and a Chancellor, who should be ex-officio president of the Board of Regents; and to appoint the requisite number of professors and tutors. It was also provided that the university should consist of five departments: The department of science, literature and the arts; the department of law; the department of medicine; the department of the theory and practice of elementary instruction; and the department of agriculture. It was provided too that the University of Minnesota should be located at or near the Falls of St. Anthony, and that the Regents, as soon as they might deem it expedient, should procure a suitable site for the University buildings and proceed to the erection of the same as soon as funds might be provided for the purpose. They were also authorized to establish a preparatory department of the University, as soon as money could be procured for it.

This act is understood to have been the work of Hon. John W. North, chairman of the House Committee on Schools, one of the best and ablest men the state ever contained. Northfield was named for him. It was an admirable charter and believed to be far in advance of those adopted in the earlier states.

A few days later the Legislative Assembly passed a memorial to Congress, approved February 10, 1851, for a grant of 100,000 acres of land to endow a University. But other agencies had evidently been at work, for on the 19th of the same month, instead of granting the 100,000 acres, Congress passed an act similar to those of Michigan and Wisconsin, reserving from sale, out of the public lands within the Territory, a quantity of land not exceeding two townships for the use and support of a University.

The Legislature, in joint session, on March 4th of the same year, elected a Board of twelve Regents, viz: Isaac Atwater, J. W. Furber, William R. Marshall, B. B. Meeker, Socrates Nelson, Alexander Ramsey, Henry M. Rice, Henry H. Sibley, C. K. Smith, Franklin Steele, N. C. D. Taylor, and Abraham Van Vorhes.

THE REGENTS ERECT A UNIVERSITY BUILDING.

At a meeting of the Regents held in St. Anthony, May 31, 1851, the Board organized by electing Franklin Steele, president; Isaac Atwater, secretary; J. W. North, treasurer; and William R. Marshall, librarian. At this meeting the Board deemed it expedient to take steps for the immediate erection of a building for a preparatory department, and, being without funds, voted that offers of land for a site be solicited, and also that subscriptions be asked for the school's support. They began at this time the work of selecting lands granted by Congress for the support of a University.

At a meeting on June 14th following, the Regents, after viewing the several pieces of land, voted to accept that offered by Mr. Franklin Steele. The site so selected was nearly identical with the present Richard Chute square, between Second Street and University Avenue, and between Central Avenue and First Avenue Southeast.

Enough subscriptions were received to erect a frame building of 50 by 30 feet and two stories high with basement, which was completed in the fall of 1851, and a school was opened on the first of December, under the superintendence of Rev. E. W. Merrill, with an enrollment of about twenty-five students, which increased to forty during the year. The school, maintained by tuitions, existed three years in high repute, with an enrollment of about eighty-five the second year and one hundred and seventy the third year. Prof. Merrill being called to another field of work, it was then discontinued. From this time the building was used by D. S. B. Johnston and others for private schools until 1864, when it burned down. For more than a decade no further attempts were made to establish a University school.

Inquiry having been made as to the title of the ground upon which the University building had been erected, it was reported at a meeting of the Board held October 29th, 1852, that no deed for

the same had ever been given. It was thereupon voted that a committee of three be appointed to inquire into the propriety of a new location. At a meeting of the Board October 24th, 1854, the committee reported negotiations pending with Arnold W. Taylor and Paul R. George for a new site. This consisted of about twenty-seven acres of the present campus, the price being $6,000, payable $1,000 cash, the remainder on mortgage in six, twelve and eighteen months, with interest at 12 per cent. These terms were accepted, and the President and Secretary were authorized to make out the necessary papers. Messrs. Taylor and George, being present, executed their deed of the property to the Regents, and the notes and mortgage of the Board were given to secure the payment of the remainder of the purchase money. The $1,000 paid down was raised by subscription. Mr. Steele proposed to pay into the Treasury the amount which had been expended in the erection of the preparatory building on the site donated by himself, in lieu of donating the land, and at a later day the sum of $2,500 was realized by the Board on this matter, in the liquidation of its debts. Up to this time the University had no income except gratuitous subscriptions.

At a meeting of the Board held January 12, 1855, a building committee of three was appointed to confer with an architect and procure suitable designs for University buildings. At a subsequent meeting the committee was increased to five. On the 28th of February, 1856, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Regents to issue bonds in the name and under the seal of the University in the sum of $15,000, bearing interest at 12 per cent, $5,000 to be applied in liquidation of the debt incurred in the purchase of the site, and $10,000 to be expended by the Regents in erecting buildings for the University, and for no other purpose. The bonds were to be secured by mortgage on any lands belonging to the University. In view of the fact that the University had no lands outside the unselected lands granted by the congressional act of 1851, except the site they had just bought for $6,000, which was still under mortgage for the purchase money, the scheme seemed to be inspired by the spirit of thrifty frontier enterprise.

At a meeting of the Board held at the office of General Sibley in Mendota August 26, 1856, the building committee announced that they had advertised for proposals for the erection of University buildings, but since all bids received exceeded the sum which the committee understood the Regents were authorized to expend, they reported the whole subject back to the Board and asked to be discharged from its further consideration. The report was adopted, the committee was discharged, and a new building committee was appointed. At the same meeting Governor Ramsey offered the following resolution:

> Resolved, That inasmuch as this Board has not adopted any plan for the conducting of the University, it is the opinion of this Board, the expenditure for University buildings at this time should not exceed $15,000.

Regent Fridley moved to strike out all after the word "Resolved" and insert the following:

> That the building committee be instructed to accept the bid of Messrs. Alden, Cutter and Hull, and contract with them for the erection of the extension, and one wing, at the price for which they bid viz.: $49,600.

Upon this question the yeas and nays were called for, and were as follows: Yeas, Fridley, Meeker, Stevens, Atwater; nays, Ramsey, Sibley, Nelson, Black.

Mr. Steele, the president, broke the tie by giving the casting vote in the affirmative, and the resolution as amended was adopted by the same vote. With this action of the Board, carried by a bare majority against the strenuous opposition of the more conservative members, began trouble for the University which none can ever realize except those who were obliged to wrestle with it. The action was destined to cripple it in its work for a decade and a half, imperil its existence, and ultimately cost the Board $125,000. Looked at from the standpoint of after events, the step was extremely injudicious and unwise. It is said in justification of the Regents that they figured assets and liabilities thus:

Assets.		Liabilities.	
Campus	$25,000	Contract for building	$49,600
Notes from sale of stumpage cut from lands granted	20,000	Security for bonds	15,000
Due from Mr. Steele for old building	2,500	Total	$64,600
Bonds authorized by Legislature	10,000		
Total	$57,500	Excess of liabilities	$ 7,100

But this was fallacious financiering. The campus was not an available asset for any sum. The stumpage notes, even if paid, would be a sacred fund, part of the permanent endowment, only the income from which could be used.

Then the crash of 1857 came, and the bottom dropped out of everything. The stumpage notes were not paid. The campus did not increase in value as expected, and no money could be realized by further incumbering it. However, the building went on, debts rapidly accrued, and interest began its riotous career. At a meeting of the Board January 20, 1858, Mr. Rice and Mr. Steele were appointed a committee to superintend and negotiate the issue and sale of $45,000 of bonds of the University, payable in ten years with interest at 12 per cent and not to be sold at less than par.

At this time the construction of the University building had been nearly completed, and the contractors were pressing the Regents for the money then due. In the meantime large payments had been made to them out of moneys borrowed by the Regents on temporary loans at interest of two and three per cent per month.

As a last resort, by an act of the Legislature approved March 8, 1858, the Regents were empowered to issue bonds in the name of the University, and under its corporate seal, to an amount not exceeding $40,000, with interest at 12 per cent per annum. To secure the payment of the same they were to execute a mortgage, in the name of the State, on any lands belonging to, or which might thereafter belong to, the University. This was evidently an attempt to mortgage the lands granted by Congress for a permanent endowment of the University, only the income from which might be used.

and was of itself, if effective, an infraction of the grant and a violation of the trust reposed in the State, both by the terms of the grant and the acceptance thereof by the State.

In a meeting at the State Capitol, February 22, 1859, the Board by resolution authorized the building committee to make settlement with the contractors, Alden, Cutter and Hull, allowing twenty per cent interest on deferred payments, also they were to give the notes of the Board payable in three, four and six months for the amount of $16,000, with interest at 12 per cent. At the close of the year 1859 the Regents found the following outstanding indebtedness against the Board:

Bonds issued under the act of Feb. 28, 1856	$15,000
Bonds issued under the act of March 8, 1858	40,000
Notes to Alden, Cutter and Hull	16,000
Total	$71,000

It may be interesting to mention that the report of the Treasurer of the Board submitted December 15, 1860, states the amount of interest expense to December 1st of that year to be $33,958.64, and that the "alleged liabilities" at the same date were $81,900.61. Aside from this there was some $12,000 indebtedness for accrued interest. It is also interesting to quote from the report of the Secretary submitted at the same time, as follows:

> It would be improper, after the examination of the transactions which we have made, to conclude this report without a distinct expression of our belief that there was no design on the part of the Territorial Regents to injure the cause of learning or aggrandize themselves, but that, blinded by the glare of imaginary riches, so prevalent in 1856 and '57, they supposed that the University, like themselves, could never be embarrassed for the want of money.

With this the writer heartily agrees. It would be difficult, if not impossible, now, even for those who lived through the experience, to realize the height of speculative, balloon, prosperity existing in the Territory prior to the financial crash of 1857, or the depth of financial collapse and gloom that followed it. The action of the Board was simply the fruitage of the over-zealous and over-sanguine temperament of some of its members. The contractors for the building were all men of good standing living among us. Mr. Alden was an architect of high rank, Mr. Cutter a far-sighted

mechanic, Mr. Hull a practical stonemason, and the firm were the most prominent builders of the day. The rates of interest paid, large as they seem to us now, were simply the going rates in the market. The plan of building designed by Mr. Alden included two wings four stories high, with a main connecting part five stories high, and surmounted by an observatory, all facing to the north, nearly in the direction of the Falls and the growing town as it then was. In its day, it was a fine scheme and would have been an honor to an older state. The west wing reaching toward the river was completed in 1858. The writer, a young law student, teaching a part of the time, often visited the building during its construction.

GREAT FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED.

At the time of the passage of the enabling act by Congress, February 26, 1857, it was generally understood that because of the existing debts, the grant made to the Territory for the support of a university had been dissipated, lost beyond redemption. Mr. Rice, our delegate in Congress and a Regent of the University, was familiar with the situation. He was also an intimate friend of Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, and succeeded in having a clause embraced in this act, making a second reservation, granting to the State seventy-two sections of land for the use and support of a State University. This was entirely independent of the former grant to the Territory. The Constitution of the State adopted in 1857 provides as follows:

> Sec. 4 (Art. VIII). The location of the University of Minnesota, as established by existing laws, is hereby confirmed, and said institution is hereby declared to be the University of the State of Minnesota. All the rights, immunities, franchises and endowments, heretofore granted or conferred, are hereby perpetuated unto the said University, and all lands which may be granted hereafter by Congress, or other donations for said University purposes, shall vest in the institution referred to in this section.

Encouraged by these provisions of the enabling act and of the Constitution, the friends of the University in 1860 undertook to reclaim the institution and save it to the people of the state. Accordingly a bill was prepared, and was enacted by the Legislature, entitled, "An act to provide for the government and regulation of

the University of Minnesota," approved February 14, 1860. This was in fact a new charter for the University under the authority of the State, by the terms of which it was to be governed by a Board of Regents, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Chancellor, and five electors of the State appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. Under this act, in addition to the ex-officio members, the following were made Regents by appointment, viz: John M. Berry, E. O. Hamlin, Uriah Thomas, Jared Benson and William M. Kimball. The new Board met and organized April 5th, as follows: Alexander Ramsey, president; Uriah Thomas, secretary; W. M. Kimball, treasurer; E. D. Neill, chancellor.

By this and subsequent acts, the Regents of the State University succeeded to all the rights and endowments of the Territorial University. The main portion of the lands granted to the Territorial University in 1851 having been selected by the former Board, the Regents provided for the selection of the unfilled portion of the grant. They also sold some stumpage, paid current bills, and made futile efforts to liquidate the old indebtedness, but were without funds to accomplish it.

This condition of things continuing, Governor Ramsey, in his message to the Legislature of 1862, recommended that a commission be appointed with full power and authority to dispose of all the lands and property of the University in payment of its indebtedness. In pursuance of this, the Legislature passed an act approved March 8, 1862, authorizing and empowering the Regents in their discretion to arrange or compromise any existing indebtedness contracted by the former regents, and to sell and convey to the holders of any such indebtedness, upon such terms as may be agreed upon, any or all of the lands granted by Congress for the support of the State or Territorial University. But it was carefully provided in the act, that nothing contained in it should be construed as an admission of the validity of the bonds and mortgages of the former Regents, or of any notes executed by them.

In spite of the best efforts of the Regents, nothing material was accomplished under this legislation, and the reports of the officers of the board for 1861 and 1862 show simply a continuing of former conditions. In the fourth annual report of the Board, to the Leg-

islature of 1864, is found the report of Hon. Richard Chute, who had become a member of the Board and its Secretary. In this report Mr. Chute says:

> The indebtedness of the institution remains the same as at the date of the last report, with the addition of accumulated interest.
>
> Many have supposed that the endowment of two townships of land granted to the Territory of Minnesota would be lost to the State; we do not so believe. It is true that large liabilities hang over it, yet we think with prudent management an adjustment can be made of all proper demands which will leave the buildings and grounds at St. Anthony free of incumbrance, and leaving something over, with which to start the institution. Then with two townships clearly given to the State by the enabling act, a sufficient fund will in time be realized to secure the youth of our State who may desire it, a complete University education.

Continuing he says further:

> The educational interests of our State demand that at an early day provision should be made for putting an University in operation, and we trust some efficient steps will be taken to secure this result.

Dear old time friend: if you had never done any thing more for the University than to speak forth these brave and inspiring words from amid the gloom of the situation, your name would be deserving of the enduring gratitude of the State.

It was at this point that friends of the University again rallied around the institution, perhaps inspired by arguments like those advanced by Mr. Chute. John S. Pillsbury had been appointed a Regent by Governor Swift in the fall of 1863, and, about the same time elected to the State Senate from the St. Anthony district, he was a member of the session of 1864. At his request the Hon. John M. Berry, also a member of the Senate, prepared a bill entitled, "An act relating to the University of Minnesota," which passed both houses and was approved March 4, 1864. By this act O. C. Merriman, John S. Pillsbury, and John Nicols, were appointed Sole Regents for the term of two years; and the act of February 28, 1866, extended this term two years. Each was required to give a bond with sureties, in the sum of $25,000, for the faithful performance of duty. They were clothed with authority to adjust and pay all claims and demands of whatever nature against the University or Regents, and for that purpose to sell and convey any lands not

exceeding 12,000 acres donated to the Territory for University purposes. This amount was increased to 14,000 acres by act of February 28, 1866. The act of 1864 also required the former Regents to turn over to the Regents thereby appointed,

> all books, records, papers, claims, notes, bonds, stocks, and personal property of every description belonging to said University or the Regents thereof, and the care of all lands belonging to the University and the University buildings and grounds, and the collecting of all claims due the University.

The precautionary clause of the act was that nothing contained in it should be construed as an admission of the validity of any claims. Because of the doubtful value of the mortgage, the bonds had been selling in the market as low as fifteen and twenty cents on the dollar.

Clothed with complete authority, this triumvirate undertook the herculean task of freeing the University of its embarrassments, and such was the devotion applied to the task through the years 1864, '65 and '66, that they were enabled to report to the legislative session of 1867 the payment and discharge of every obligation against the University (except about $6,000) with the proceeds of 11,110 acres of land, leaving intact the campus, and buildings and some 32,000 acres of land of the Territorial grant.

The people of Minnesota can never sufficiently recognize or compensate the services of these three men of the state, nor acknowledge the toil they endured and the sacrifice they made in the accomplishment of this great work, but they will receive, as is most justly due them, the love and gratitude of the friends of education in this state, through all coming time. By their zeal and effective labors, instead of a total loss, as seemed probable, the prophecy of Mr. Chute was fulfilled and there was saved to the University, after paying all the debts, two-thirds of the original Territorial endowment, to which was added the endowment of two townships granted by the enabling act and confirmed to the State by act of Congress of July 8, 1870.

In the meantime, nothing worthy of mention had been done for the support of a school, and the building had been going to decay. But the University was again on its feet financially and the Legislature of 1867, at the request of the Regents, made an appropriation

of $15,000 to cover repairs and the employment of teachers commencing the grammar and normal department. With this fund the building was repaired, and October 7, 1867, the preparatory department was opened with W. W. Washburn, B. A., as principal and instructor in Greek; Gabriel Campbell, B. A., instructor in Latin and grammar; and Ira Moore, Ph. B., instructor in mathematics. About seventy students were enrolled during the year, both girls and boys.

ADDITIONAL LAND GRANTS BY CONGRESS.

We now arrive at another epoch marking a period in the life of the University. July 2, 1862, Congress enlarged the national educational endowment system. Every state was to have a donation of 30,000 acres of public land for each senator and representative to which such state would be entitled under the apportionment of 1860. This endowment was for the support of colleges for the cultivation of agricultural and mechanical science and art. Under this act Minnesota became entitled to 120,000 acres, but, through some technicalities in the selection realized only about 96,000 acres.

The friends of the University were anxious to consolidate this grant with the University endowment, as the original charter of the University had provided for an Agricultural Department, and the union of the endowments would give a strong support to both. The Regents in their report of 1867 had recommended the consolidation. A bill modeled largely upon the charter of Michigan University was therefore prepared by Morris Lamprey, Esq., at the suggestion and by the aid of Senator Pillsbury. The bill was enacted by the Legislature and approved February 18, 1868. By this act the University was entirely reorganized. It provided for five or more colleges or departments, specifically naming a department of elementary instruction; a college of science, literature and the arts; a college of agriculture and the mechanic arts, including military tactics; a college or department of law; and a college or department of medicine. It placed the government of the University in a board of nine Regents, of whom the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction should be ex-officio members, and seven remaining members were to be appointed by the Governor and con-

firmed by the Senate. The act conferred on the new Board the rights, franchises, and endowments of the former Board, and, in addition, all the interest and income of the Agricultural College grant, and such gifts, grants and contributions to the endowments as might be derived from any sources.

The Board realized about 94,000 acres from the agricultural grant. By this act, in 1868, it was made a duty of the Board to secure suitable lands for an experimental farm and to improve and maintain the same for experimental purposes in connection with the course in the Agricultural College.

By an act of March 1, 1872, the Legislature provided for a Geological and Natural History Survey of the State and placed the same under the control of the University, appropriating $1,000 annually for expenses. The following year, in order to carry out such survey, the Legislature, by an amendatory act of March 10, 1873, increased the money appropriation to $2,000 annually, and transferred to the Board of Regents certain "salt spring lands," so-called, which had been donated by the General Government to aid in the development of the brines in the State. These lands were to be sold by the Board and the proceeds held in trust and applied in carrying out such survey. Under this Salt Springs Grant and its transfer to them, the Regents realized some 34,114 acres of land, the proceeds of which were to be applied as stated above.

An act of Congress, approved March 2, 1887, granted $15,000 annually from the sale of public lands, for the support of an experiment station in each state in connection with the agricultural college. Another Congressional act of August 30, 1890, supplements the income from the permanent Agricultural College fund, with an additional grant of $15,000 to each state, and with an increase of $1,000 a year till it reaches a maximum of $25,000. This also is only payable out of the proceeds of public land sales, and of course is contingent upon there being such a fund from which it can be paid. These several grants complete the land endowment of the University.

THE BOARD OF REGENTS UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1868.

Under the new charter of 1868, the Board was constituted as follows, the three Regents previously existing being made members of the new Board: William R. Marshall, governor (ex-officio); Hon. Mark H. Dunnell, superintendent of public instruction (ex-officio); General H. H. Sibley, St. Paul; Prof. E. J. Thompson, Rushford; Hon. O. C. Merriman, St. Anthony; Hon. John Nicols, St. Paul; Hon. John S. Pillsbury, St. Anthony; Col. R. S. Donaldson, Farmington; and Hon. A. A. Harwood, Owatonna.

Mr. Pillsbury was made president; Mr. Nicols, secretary; and Mr. Merriman, treasurer. The Board was increased to ten in 1872, and to twelve in 1889.

With the reorganization act of 1868, the protracted struggle to save the corporate existence of the institution and its properties was brought to a successful close, and the real life and history of the University began. As has been seen, a school had been opened with three professors in the fall of 1867. It was successfully conducted, and in 1868 the roll of instructors was increased to five and the attendance was 109.

PRESIDENCY OF WILLIAM W. FOLWELL.

Before the beginning of the school year of 1869-70, William W. Folwell was called to the presidency of the University. Dr. Folwell graduated from Hobart College in 1857; was a brilliant student and served for a time as assistant professor of mathematics in his Alma Mater, after which he studied and traveled abroad. The stirring events of 1861 found him in the Fiftieth New York Regiment of Engineers, with the rank of First Lieutenant. He served through the war in the Army of the Potomac, being promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After the war he was professor of mathematics in Kenyon College, from which position he was called to the presidency of the University, at the age of thirty-six. By a peculiar coincidence, Colonel Folwell and the writer met on a railroad train, as he was coming to the state to begin his work here. This was the commencement of an exceedingly pleasant acquaintance, which, I am happy to say, has continued ever since unbroken.

It was a serious problem that confronted the Regents, to select a man who in scholarship and executive ability would be able to erect a University out of chaos, and to successfully launch it in a

new and untried sea. But after careful search they had chosen their man and shifted the responsibility to him. Colonel Folwell had not only a fine equipment in education, but an experience beyond his years in serious affairs. Having faith in the future, he assumed the task with an evident design of making it his life work.

The preparatory school, opened in September, 1867, under the principalship of Prof. Washburn, had brought a small company of young men and women to a point where they could be provisionally ranked as freshmen. Most of them, however, had no hope of completing a college course. The first college work in the University was begun September 15, 1869. The faculty for the year was composed of W. W. Folwell, president, and eight professors.

Then followed fifteen years of steady and inconspicuous work on the part of the faculty, laboring together to build up the college and carrying cheerfully the heavy load of preparatory teaching necessary under the circumstances. It was, in fact, founding upon a rock an intellectual and moral building, laying deep and broad the basic things on which the superstructure of the future institution could safely rest. How well their work was done has been fully attested by the experience of the years following. The preparatory school, conducted by the University professors, was so successful in its work and management that it was adopted as a model for the high schools of the state—then unsystematized and immature. There was, of course, no thought of any other ultimate work than the development of the academic departments.

In anticipation of the future growth and the addition of professional schools, the Regents adopted a general plan of organization, formulated by Dr. Folwell. By this plan, it was intended to merge the elementary instruction of all the departments which might later be created into one so-called "Collegiate" Department, which should carry the students up to the end of the sophomore year. From this point they would separate to the respective colleges from which they desired graduation. The plan was truly scientific, but it was novel in our country and met with opposition. The Regents, however, in 1872 after a full consideration, decided to continue this method, and did continue it in its formal shape for many years. Upon a change in the executive it was allowed to lapse. The University of Chicago, upon its reorganization, adopted a similar

plan and has found it a successful basis of work for students of the first and second years, and in "Junior Colleges." The plan made but slight innovations in the kind and range of studies. It affected the adjustment of departments, it reorganized secondary education and implied its ultimate relegation to the "Secondary Schools." One object of this method seems to have been to bring the University into complete articulation with the general school system of the state, so that, as soon as practicable, the first two years of ordinary college work could be left to the high schools, and students of the University could begin work in the various colleges there with the usual junior year. This would have enabled the University, ultimately, to devote more of its time and strength to higher University work and original research.

Of the little band of freshmen setting out in 1869, but two reached the end of the four years' course, and were graduated in June, 1873. These were Henry Martyn Williamson, son of Thomas A. Williamson, the early and well-known missionary to the Dakotas; and Warren Clark Eustis, a member of a well-known St. Anthony family. Both are still living. The first commencement was celebrated with becoming ceremonies, at which many of the dignitaries of the state were present. It was in fact a more notable event to the University than any similar one in its further history.

During this period there were two colleges in the University, aside from the preparatory department, viz., the Academic, and the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The enrollment of students was variable, changing from 230 in 1869-70 to 308 in 1879-80 and 310 in 1884-85, those in the preparatory classes gradually growing less, while the college students were generally on the increase. The English course of the preparatory school was discontinued in 1871, and the others through the following years, until at the end of the decade but one sub-freshman class remained. This was finally dropped in 1891. In 1871 the faculty had increased to double its original number.

EXPERIMENTAL FARM OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

In 1869 the Regents, in pursuance of the plan of reorganization, secured a tract of 120 acres of land near the University for experimental work in agriculture. The cost of this tract was $8,500, and work was commenced under the supervision of suitable instructors, and was maintained continuously. But the quantity of land was deemed inadequate and the quality not suited for the best work. The growth of the city finally began to encroach upon the locality. The Regents, therefore, in view of these conditions, decided it was best to make a change. To that end in 1881 they procured the passage of an act by the Legislature, authorizing them, at their discretion, to make sale and conveyance of the experimental farm, and to reinvest the proceeds in other lands suitable in character and location. They were also permitted to survey and plat the old farm, if it was deemed best.

In December following, the Regents referred the matter to their executive committee, which in the month of June, 1882, reported a plan for the platting and sale of the experimental farm, and for the purchase of the Bass farm so-called. This land, 155 acres near Lake Como, had been examined by the professor of Agriculture and the Regents. They found it satisfactory, and had agreed provisionally to purchase it at $200 an acre, the amount to be paid as soon as funds could be realized from the sale of the experimental farm. The action of the executive committee was approved and they were authorized to buy the land. The plat was thereupon executed by the officers of the Board and recorded. They first had a careful appraisal of the lots made and a minimum price fixed, sufficient to bring at least $50,000. Then they proceeded to sell at public auction, and realized the remarkable sum of over $150,000.

The fortunate outcome of this venture enabled the Regents to pay at once for the Bass farm, and also to purchase from Mr. N. P. Langford an additional tract of 94 acres adjoining. This was bought for $300 an acre. With the remaining funds the Regents began to improve the lands and erect a farm house, a barn, and sheds. A plant house was built for the Horticultural Department. A school building with heating apparatus and laboratory was constructed; a water plant was installed by sinking wells and erecting wind mills and water tanks. All that seemed to them then neces-

sary for a well equipped experimental farm was done. This land, to the great advantage of the students, was only about two miles from the University, and it adjoins now the grounds and plant of the State Agricultural Society.

By act of March 8, 1878, the Legislature provided for the purchase of 116 acres of land at Lake Minnetonka, known as the Gideon fruit farm, for experimental work in fruit culture. They placed the same under the supervision of the Regents, appropriating $2,000 for payment and $1,000 for support. After ten years' experience the Legislature, upon the advice of the Regents, authorized the sale of the property and the use of the proceeds in experimental work on the farm bought in 1881, which was accordingly done.

RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT FOLWELL.

We now come to a new epoch in the history of the University. Dr. Folwell's fourteen years of quiet, persistent, and constant work had been eminently successful, but had also proven a severe strain upon him physically. In view of this, and as a solemn duty he owed to himself and his family, he resolved to free himself from the burden of the executive work of the institution. Therefore, in February, 1883, he sent to Gen. H. H. Sibley, president of the Board, his resignation as president of the University from the end of the current year. The resignation came before the Board at its next meeting, March 8, 1883, and was accepted provisionally, to take effect when a successor could be elected. At the same meeting it was considered and decided, in view of the need the University felt of his services, to tender to Dr. Folwell the chair of Political Science, and he was accordingly unanimously elected. Dr. Folwell kindly consented to act as president until his successor should be chosen. In 1884 he accepted the position tendered by the Regents, the chair of Political Science, which he has ever since continued to fill with eminent satisfaction to all concerned.

I cannot pass from the presidency of Mr. Folwell without a few words of approval and just praise for the work done by him in the dull and arduous years of his administration. At the beginning the task was especially difficult. A plan had to be created and work done according to a meager equipment, but always with the thought of possible future growth. The scheme of organization had to be

wrought out in a school that as yet knew no regular lines of work. The instructors were required to be general utility men, ready for any employment that might come to them. But order and system was the result. Primary work was gradually dropped, and collegiate work advanced. A close relationship with the high schools of the state was established, and a consistent foundation was laid for future college and University work. The result is an educational system, combining the common school, the high school, college and University, that is the power and glory of the state. We cannot place too much honor upon those who have contributed to this noble work.

PRESIDENCY OF CYRUS NORTHROP.

Upon the resignation of Dr. Folwell the Board appointed a committee consisting of its president, Governor J. S. Pillsbury, and Judge Greenleaf Clark, to visit the different colleges of the country with the view of finding a suitable man for the presidency. So great was the interest that in practice this committee was enlarged and embraced every member of the Board. The search, far and wide, was finally narrowed to the professor of English Literature in Yale University. Some members of the committee had visited the professor, seeking information, but not distinctly stating their purpose, and reported their conclusions. Another and larger representation of the Board paid him a subsequent visit, and after eliciting all the information possible, surprised the professor by offering him the position. The proffer was not received with much enthusiasm. After two hours of persuasion, with the use of every glowing picture for the future, within the capability of Northwesterners, all he would grant to us was a reluctant consent to come out and look over the University, the people and the country. Well, he came, he saw, and he was evidently conquered, for Cyrus Northrop, LL. D., became the new president of the University, commencing his work with the beginning of the college year of 1884-5.

The remaining story of the University must rest in its minutiae with the historian of the future. It is not yet enough in perspective to be historically told. We can only enumerate the facts of its wonderful development. It is too much a part of our active life and intense interest, to measure what these facts mean for the years to come.

President Northrop came to an institution with an enrollment of 310 students, nearly half of whom were in secondary school work. In 1890 the number had risen to 1,002; in 1895 to 2,171; in 1900 to 3,236; and in 1905 to 3,790. The degrees conferred during this period correspond with the enrollment. In 1885 there were 19; in 1890 there were 120; in 1895 there were 296; in 1900 there were 404; and in 1905 there were 547. Of these graduates some three thousand reside in the State.* The total attendance and degrees conferred year by year will appear in tabular form in the appendix.

This phenomenal growth is, with very few exceptions, unprecedented in the history of educational institutions in this country or any other. During this period the following colleges have been created: Medicine in 1884; Law in 1888; Mining in 1891; Pharmacy in 1892; Dentistry in 1893; and Chemistry in 1904. A separate department for graduate work is now being considered. The faculty and teaching force of the University now engaged in its work numbers about 230. The Libraries now contain about 100,000 bound volumes, and one-fourth as many pamphlets, magazines, and reports. The Museums, general and technical, compare favorably with those usually found in similar institutions.

THE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS.

With an appropriation of $50,000 by the Legislature in 1873, a main building was constructed, attached to the old wing, not according to the original design, but facing to the east instead of north. About the same time an agricultural building was erected on the campus. This was burned in 1888. In 1875 the sum of $25,000 was appropriated for finishing and furnishing the University buildings. Through appropriations by the Legislature of $18,000 in 1877, $20,000 in 1879, and $20,000 in 1881, the campus was enlarged and improved in form and accessibility to streets, and it now consists of about fifty acres of land.

*Compare the published address of Prof. David L. Kiehle, "History of Education in Minnesota," given at the Annual Meeting of this Society, January 19, 1903, (Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. X, 1905, pages 353-398), and his book of the same title, in two parts (pages 120 and 101), published in the late part of 1903, by the H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis. A table on page 396, Volume X cited, shows the enrollment and graduations in the several departments of the University of Minnesota from 1868 to 1902.

The Legislature of 1881 appropriated $180,000, made available in six equal annual installments, for new buildings to be erected upon a plan devised by President Folwell, who wanted $300,000. This appropriation was not accomplished without much hard work by the friends of the University; but when the Legislature came to understand the situation, they gladly voted the sum required, and a brighter day dawned for the institution. The burning of the State Capitol and two state institutions soon after this appropriation, made an unusual demand upon the Treasury, so that the funds could not be realized until two or three years later.

Subsequent appropriations by the Legislature, for buildings, equipment, and support, on the campus and at the agricultural farm, amount, including the foregoing, to the sum of $1,846,000 for buildings, $2,703,600 for support, and $553,200 miscellaneous, as will appear fully in detail in the appendix to this article.

The permanent University fund arising from the sale of lands granted is $1,400,000, the income from which for the year 1904-5 was $54,100. 36,310 acres of the lands still remain unsold.

The main building of the University and the old wing were burned in September, 1904. The Legislature at its last session appropriated $450,000 towards the construction of a new main building and it is in process of erection. The University buildings now clustered upon the campus and at the experimental farm, with their cost values, are as follows:

ON THE CAMPUS.	Erected.	Cost Value.
Mechanic Arts Building, $30,000 and $10,000	1886	$ 40,000
Pillsbury Hall and Equipment	1889	145,000
Law Building, $30,000 and $28,000	1889	58,000
Boiler House	1890	20,000
Chemical Laboratory	1891	90,000
Main Medical Building	1893	56,000
Laboratory, Medical Chemistry	1893	10,000
Library and Assembly Hall	1895	156,000
Ore Testing Works	1895	7,500
Observatory	1896	2,266
Laboratory, Medical Science	1896	40,000
The Armory	1896	75,000
The Clinical Building	1899	15,000
Electrical Building	1900	20,000

	Erected.	Cost Value.
Engineering Shops	1900	32,000
Anatomical Building	1900	15,000
Physics Building	1901	55,600
The Barn	1901	1,200
School of Mines Building	1903	61,000
		$899,566

ON THE EXPERIMENTAL FARM.

	Erected.	Cost Value.
Farm House	1884	$ 15,000
Farm Barn	1884	15,000
School of Agriculture (frame)	1888	18,000
School of Agriculture (brick)	1890	30,000
Chemical Laboratory (frame)	1891	8,000
Dairy Building	1892-6	30,000
Dining Hall and Dormitory	1896	12,500
Drill Hall	1896	37,500
Girls' Dormitory	1898-02	37,000
Heating and Lighting Plant	1898-00	28,000
Plant House	1899	4,600
Horticultural Hall and Physical Laboratory, including Equipment	1900	35,000
Veterinary and Live Stock Building	1902	25,000
Agricultural Chemistry Building	1902	25,000
Blacksmith Shop	1902	6,000
Meat House	1902	7,500
Swine Breeding Building	1902	3,000
Live Stock Pavilion	1902	29,000
Machinery Building	1902	5,000
		$401,100

DONATIONS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

The first donation, other than those on subscription lists, was made to the University in 1872 by friends who contributed $720 to purchase Ward's casts of fossils for the Museum.

In 1884 the University was in great need of a building for the natural sciences, which according to estimate would cost about $150,000. The funds appropriated by the Legislature were insufficient for this and other buildings imperatively needed. Hon. John S. Pillsbury came to the rescue at this time with the most generous offer to erect the building himself and present it to the state, providing the Legislature would put itself on record as "forever in

favor of the integrity of the University" through making the Agricultural College one of its departments. This most gracious offer was accepted by the Regents with profound gratitude. The building was erected at a cost of $131,000 and paid for by Mr. Pillsbury. It was first called "Science Hall," but by the action of the Regents the name was changed to "Pillsbury Hall," by which it will ever be known.

In 1885, $12,000 was raised by subscription through the state for the erection of a Students' Christian Association building on the campus. The building was presented to the Regents at its dedication in 1887.

In 1892, the citizens of Minneapolis gave $5,000 for the erection of Ore Testing and Milling laboratories in connection with the School of Mines and Metallurgy. The same year the City Council did work amounting to $7,000, in sidewalks and curbing on the campus, which they presented to the University.

In the year 1893, the Regents desired to procure by purchase from Samuel H. Chute, Esq., fractional Block 1 of the Mill Company's Addition at the corner of University Avenue and Eleventh Avenue S. E., in order to bring the campus out to the street line, whereupon Mr. Chute generously tendered them a free gift of this tract, which greatly added to the beauty and symmetry of the campus. Its reasonable value was about $1,500.

In 1901, the Hon. John D. Ludden, of St. Paul, gave a trust of $5,000 to the Board of Regents, the income to be used for the assistance of students of either sex in the School of Agriculture.

The same year a trust of $50,000 known as "the Gilfillan Trust" was established. The interest from this sum was to be used for "youths of our state struggling for an education beyond their means of attaining."

In 1902, Mr. Caleb D. Door, of Minneapolis, erected a beautiful drinking fountain on the campus, at a cost of several thousand dollars. The same year Mrs. E. C. Gale expressed to the Regents her wish to enclose the University Avenue side of the Campus, by building a stone and iron fence, which should be a memorial to her father, Gov. John S. Pillsbury. This was done at an expense of $8,000. The beautiful gateway and artistic construction are a great addition to the grounds.

In 1904, the heirs of Governor Pillsbury carried out his intention of giving to the University six lots, thus enlarging Northrop Field to a suitable size for military drill and physical training. This gift was valued at $15,000.

In 1904, the Hon. John D. Ludden increased his gift $5,000, thus making a trust of $10,000, the interest from this amount to be used as he had previously requested.

In 1904, Mr. Alfred F. Pillsbury had that part of the campus known as Northrop Field enclosed by a substantial brick wall, making the athletic grounds of the University among the best in the country. This was done at a cost of $15,000.

The Alumni created a fellowship of $250 a year, in 1887, which they have maintained since by subscriptions. The class of 1889 contributed a fund of $500. The income from this yields an annual prize in history, known as "The '89 Memorial Prize."

The Gillette Herzog Manufacturing Company have offered since 1891 two prizes a year, $50 and $30, to the College of Engineering, Metallurgy and Mechanic Arts, which is now being continued by Messrs. L. S. and G. M. Gillette.

The Prof. Moses Marston Scholarship in English, which is the interest on $1,000, was established in 1892.

The Albert Howard Scholarship was established in 1893. The amount, $4,500, was invested in government bonds, yielding $160 a year, and is at the discretion of the Executive Committee, who recommend its recipient to the Faculty.

In 1895 a college fellowship of $200 annually was announced in the College of Engineering, Metallurgy and Mechanic Arts.

Hon. J. T. Wyman since 1900 has contributed an annual prize of $25 for an essay on an economic subject in the department of Political Science.

A fund of $5,000, yielding a scholarship of $250 a year, was given in 1901 by Mrs. Mary H. Elliott, to be used as a "scholarship loan fund for assisting young men in the School of Mines." This was done as a memorial to her husband, Dr. A. F. Elliott, in fulfillment of his wish.

In 1904, Mrs. Martha S. Cutts gave $500, known as the Rollin E. Cutts fund, to maintain a prize in the College of Medicine and Surgery.

The will of Mrs. A. F. Elliott left a bequest to the University from which the Regents expect to realize $125,000. The heirs have requested that this fund be used to erect a hospital in connection with the Medical Department. The decision relating to this use of the bequest is held in abeyance, at the suggesiton of Governor Johnson, until it is known what action the Legislature will take relative to the support of the hospital.

The primary gift of the present year is that of Mr. Thomas H. Shevlin. He donates $60,000 for the erection of a woman's building on the campus. This building is to be known as the Alice Shevlin Hall.

Through the history of the University there have been many gifts of much value to the Library and Museum. The Hon. Frederick Weyerhaeuser met for five years the expense of a professor of Semitic Languages, hoping that in this way a permanent chair might be established for this work.

Thus we arrive at the very interesting summary that $460,995 has been given in donations to the University in the last thirty-three years.

Of this, $46,500 was to improve the campus; $323,000 was for buildings; $720 was for museums; $60,000 was in trust funds to help students; $11,500 was in trust funds for scholarships; $3,560 is interest on these scholarships; and $7,215 is the cumulated amount from annual scholarships.

This is more than one-fourth of the entire amount appropriated by the Legislature for buildings, both at the Agricultural College and on the campus, during the same time; which speaks well indeed for the comparative interests of the individual and the state in education in Minnesota.

SERVICE FOR THE UNIVERSITY BY JOHN S. PILLSBURY.

The most devoted friend and generous giver the University has had was John S. Pillsbury, who from 1863 to the close of his life was tireless in his efforts to promote its interests. One potent cause of its great prosperity has been his skill and watchfulness in the management of its financial affairs. In recognition of the long and invaluable service of Mr. Pillsbury, in the interest of the University, the Legislature in 1895 made him Regent for life, an honor

without precedent in the history of the state. His decease in 1901 was an irreparable loss to the University and to the community in which he lived so long.

This, then, is the story, imperfectly told, of the University of Minnesota, the work it has done, and the equipment it has for the work it is now undertaking to do. What is claimed for it, is, that it is doing good, substantial work in whatever it undertakes, work equal to that done in any similar institution in the country, especially in scientific lines.

THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

The Agricultural Department, with its school of agriculture, experiment station, and sub-stations at Crookston and Grand Rapids, is probably superior to that of any other state. The school, opened in 1888 and maintained ever since, had an enrollment for the year 1902-3 of 638 students, 513 of whom were men, and 125 women, and in the year 1903-4 an enrollment of 705, 562 men and 143 women. The curriculum includes practical work in dairying, farming, stock breeding, horticulture, chemical analysis of soils, soil products, etc. All this work is of a high order and most practical kind.

THE GEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SURVEY.

The Geological and Natural History Survey of the state, inaugurated in 1872, has from that date to the present time cost about $278,000, which, excepting a few small sums appropriated by the state in the early years, has been paid from the proceeds of sales of salt lands, which have now become exhausted. This survey has proven of immense value both to the University and the state. Its reports, sent to every part of the world, have been published in twenty-four annual reports and seven final quarto volumes of the Geological Survey and eight volumes of the Botanical and Zoological Surveys. The explorations and reports of the geological work have been the means of opening up one of the richest and most extensive mineral regions in the world, some portion of which has been saved to the State before being entirely lost by sale to private parties. These mines have already yielded a revenue to the state of $900,000.

CAUSES OF THE GROWTH OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The past of the University is full of encouragement, and its future bright with promise. It was located by its organic act "at or near the Falls of St. Anthony," and this location is confirmed by the constitution of the state. It occupies a place in the city of Minneapolis, beautiful for situation, upon a broad plateau on the high east bank of the Mississippi river, which sweeps in curving lines at its feet far below. The grounds, about fifty acres in extent, command a fine view of the falls, and a long vista of the river and gorge below, as well as of the city and region round about. But the institution is sufficiently remote from the business center, not to be disturbed by the buzz of machinery or the hum of traffic.

Its marvelous growth may be traced to several causes, among which are the rapid increase of the state in population and material wealth; the magnificent support it has received from the government, both state and national; the like generous aid given to the common schools and high schools of the state, and the development of them as part of an educational system equal if not superior to that of any other state; the sectarian and the other preparatory schools of a more private character; and the superior facilities afforded in the two cities for employment of students dependent more or less upon their own efforts in gaining an education. These are some of the conditions contributing to swell the column marching toward the University. But above all this and more than all this, has been the rare wisdom and skill of its President, Dr. Cyrus Northrop, possessing, as has been so truly written of him, the unusual "combination of statesman, scholar, man of affairs, and leader of men," whereby this mass of applicants to the University has been received, arranged systematically in classes, and carried successfully through to graduation, free from clamor without or friction within.

One most fortunate circumstance in the life of the institution has been that only once in all the years of its active work has there been a change in the presidency. Then the incoming policy was in utmost harmony with the work which had preceded, each supplementing the other to the profound advantage of the University. Its

administration stands a consistent unit, from its beginning until now, never working away from its original tenets, but developing and adding to them. Dr. Folwell deserves, as he most justly receives, the meed of all praise for his foundation work; and Dr. Northrop merits every encomium for the matchless manner in which he has met and controlled this unexpected and marvelous expansion, and builded it, upon the old foundations, into the splendid institution of learning which is the pride of the state today.

It was the fortune of the writer to come to the Territory in 1855, and he has been an interested spectator of the growth and development of the state and its educational institutions; he was elected to the State Senate in 1875, and for ten years, as a friend of the University, and as chairman of the joint committee of the Legislature, had to do with whatever legislation affected the institution; in 1881 he became a regent, and for eight years was active as one of the executive committee, in the management of its affairs. At the end of this time a protracted residence abroad made him feel the expediency of declining a re-appointment.

HOPES AND QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

It is unnecessary for me to say that I have an unbridled ambition for our State University and its future, and the greatest hope in what it shall be able to do for the people. Minnesota, with its rich natural resources of field, forest, and mine, and with a fast growing, enterprising and aggressive population of varied origin, needs just such an educational system as we have, to mould and assimilate the different nationalities into one complete and homogeneous people, fit material for the upbuilding of a great state. In this work the University must have the culminating share.

When we look back to the years 1785 and 1787, we must indeed admire the prescience of the men, who in those now famous ordinances laid the foundation of commonwealths by providing for education in this vast empire. The ordinance of 1787, styled by Webster the Magna Charta of the Northwest, was the handiwork of a man born and bred in an atmosphere of learning, Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts.

During the last half century, and especially since the practical results of the grant of 1862 have begun to be seen, the great value of that beneficent ordinance has come to be more fully realized. Minnesota is one of the states that has been most highly favored in carrying out the provisions of the ordinance, and this places upon us a corresponding obligation. We as a people must so care for this trust that we can render to ourselves and our community an acceptable account of our stewardship. The state has made a good beginning. To use Huxley's figure, she now "has an educational ladder reaching from every home, however humble, within her borders, up through the common schools and high schools, ending at the University." Every boy and girl who will, may climb. We must see to it that they find an institution at the top which yields them not only greater information, but nobler standards, giving to them, besides knowledge, wisdom in knowledge. To that end we must save it free, as it has thus far been, from the virus of political intrigue, supplement its already generous support with whatever else it may need, and make it all we would have it to be. It should be not only the center of learning, but the radius of culture for the commonwealth, standing to those who belong within its colleges as the "open sesame" to the best that life may know,—not an institution doing some good to great numbers, but the greatest good to each one who names it Alma Mater.

In our aspiration to accomplish this, it would be the part of wisdom to pause occasionally and determine whether we are pursuing altogether the best course, either for the individual or the state. Are we trying to carry too large a percentage of our youths up through the higher grades of learning? Might it not be better, both for the individual and the commonwealth, to scrutinize more carefully the masses seeking entrance to our higher schools and the University, and, by the formula of admittance, to select those for advanced courses of study who are by ability and temperament qualified and susceptible for them, diverting to careful study in the trades and more manual callings those who by taste and ingenuity are best suited to succeed in these lines? The problem is one for the best thinkers and statesmen to solve, the ultimate point to be gained being the development of a people composed of the two elements,

the artistic artisan and the scholarly student. This seems to have been the spirit inspiring the land grant of 1862, in aid of agriculture and the mechanic arts. The question is, does our system of education give to every one taking advantage of it "that love of learning which is better than learning itself?" Has instruction improved our education? Facts massed do not represent knowledge. Assimilation is the mental process of growth, as well as the physical. "Education is the unfolding of the whole human nature, the growing up, in all things, to our highest possibility." Its trinity is the cultivation of the mind, the morals, and the manners.

It will require time to reach the best solution of these things, but experience is a great teacher and will lead to the truth in due course. In all the states in the Union, striving, through their institutions of learning, to elevate their sons and daughters to a higher manhood and a truer culture, may our own beloved commonwealth and her great University ever be found, as now, among the foremost and the best.

APPENDIX.

Statistics of the University of Minnesota.

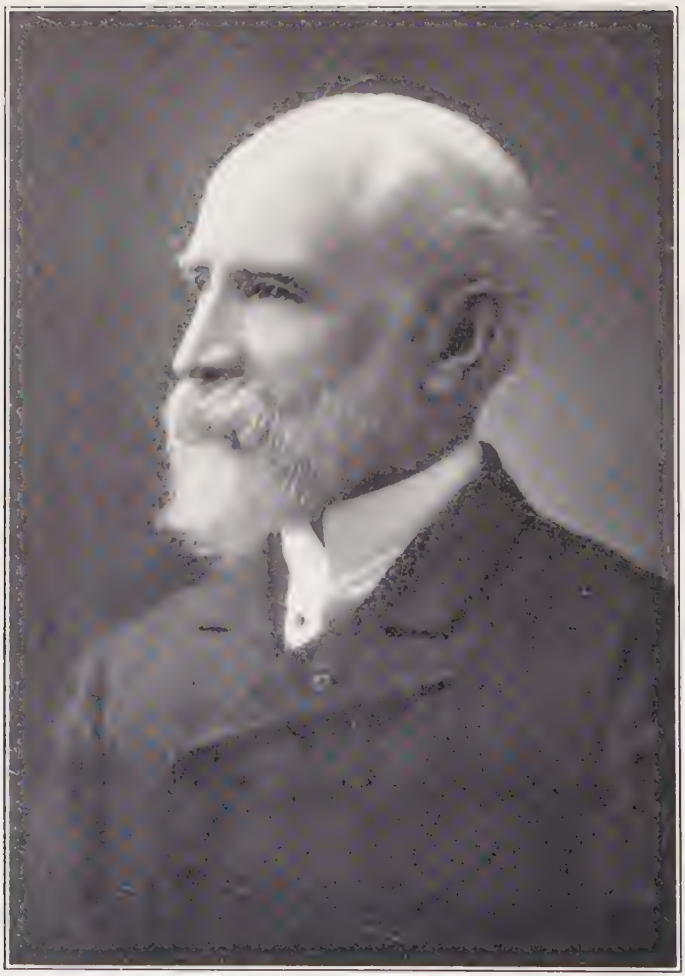
Year.	Annual Expenditures out of Appropriations for Buildings.	Support.	Miscellaneous Appropriations.	Attendance by Years.	Degrees Conferred.
1867	$ 8,000.00	.....	$ 500.00	....	
1868	7,000.00	.....	.....	72	
1869	.....	$ 11,508.20	.....	146	
1870	.....	22,500.00	.....	212	
1871	10,000.00	17,500.00	.....	225	..
1872	.....	21,000.00	.....	265	..
1873	15,000.00	16,500.00	.....	278	2
1874	61,500.00	30,000.00	2,500.00	287	2
1875	7,850.00	30,000.00	.....	237	9
1876	18,500.00	36,135.00	1,000.00	267	12
1877	.....	39,000.00	18,000.00	304	16
1878	4,500.00	43,700.00	.....	371	16
1879	.....	45,980.00	28,000.00	386	26
1880	2,000.00	31,500.00	.....	308	18
1881	.....	47,000.00	20,000.00	271	28
1882	1,000.00	43,881.41	.....	253	34
1883	.....	46,091.67	.....	223	25
1884	39,000.00	59,706.83	.....	278	26
1885	15,720.00	72,140.08	.....	310	19
1886	28,000.00	71,357.71	.....	406	22
1887	36,000.00	84,100.17	.....	412	30
1888	40,000.00	54,990.59	.....	491	38
1889	35,930.00	85,740.18	5,650.00	781	52
1890	160,353.30	185,406.25	.....	1,002	120
1891	73,488.03	166,781.10	11,000.00	1,183	129
1892	43,787.45	184,624.15	9,500.00	1,374	162
1893	44,096.89	202,586.13	9,500.00	1,620	250
1894	114,330.10	223,687.45	4,500.00	1,828	247
1895	111,950.07	254,117.98	37,000.00	2,171	296
1896	140,224.26	244,101.97	9,500.00	2,467	346
1897	68,626.75	283,716.26	24,000.00	2,647	320
1898	73,995.45	288,375.50	49,500.00	2,890	324
1899	.....	335,742.89	34,500.00	2,925	335
1900	74,833.99	374,075.39	23,500.00	3,236	404
1901	42,294.35	398,350.47	61,600.00	3,413	421
1902	172,661.38	415,104.71	35,450.00	3,656	458
1903	114,104.20	420,745.16	63,000.00	3,788	434
1904	115,040.34	438,589.43	27,500.00	3,845	473
1905	166,213.44	455,596.33	77,500.00	3,790	547
	$1,846,000.00	$5,781,933.01	$553,200.00		

NOTE.—The footings for "Support" include amount appropriated by the Legislature - - - - - - $2,703,600.00

Also appropriations by the General Government, including interest on Permanent Fund, as well as Receipts from the University,—students' fees, sales, etc., amounting to - - - 3,078,333.01

Total as above, - - - - $5,781,933.01

The author desires to acknowledge the very valuable assistance of Mr. D. W. Sprague, Accountant for the University, in the preparation of the foregoing table.



David L. Kingsbury.

THE OLD FRIGATE MINNESOTA.*

BY DAVID L. KINGSBURY.

THE STEERING-WHEEL DONATED TO THIS SOCIETY.

The receipt of the steering-wheel of the United States steam frigate Minnesota, by this Society from the Secretary of the Navy, suggested that something concerning her history would be of interest to the members of the society and the citizens of the state for which she was named, and which she honored by her record.

The acquisition of the wheel by this society originated through correspondence by Mr. Edwin S. Chittenden, of this city, with Senator Moses E. Clapp, in which Mr. Chittenden suggested securing the figurehead, on learning that the old frigate was to be sold, or had been sold, to the highest bidder for old junk. Senator Clapp, in a letter to Mr. Chittenden, dated February 4, 1902, wrote as follows: "I find that it is going to be impossible to get the figurehead of the old 'Minnesota,' as the department has determined that it shall be a part of the Naval Archives. The best I can do is, possibly, to get the steering-wheel. If you think they [the society] would care for that, let me know." To this Mr. Chittenden replied, "I have been assured that they [the society] would be pleased to obtain, through your efforts, any part of the old vessel; the wheel is surely a very important and interesting portion, and I should think it second in interest alone to the figurehead."

On February 21, 1902, Senator Clapp again wrote: "The Secretary of the Navy is having the proper steps taken to provide for the sale of the wheel, which has to be done where

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 12, 1904.

authority of Congress is granted to donate it, and I have introduced a resolution authorizing the donation of the wheel." On March 27, 1902, Senator Clapp wrote: "I think the 'wheel' matter will go through all right; I got it through the Senate without trouble." June 19, 1902, he says, "In regard to the steering-wheel, it has gone to the House, and Stevens is looking after it." The foregoing is but a small part of the correspondence, during the past two years, pertaining to the acquisition of the wheel; but it is sufficient to show the interest of the movement, and it is only necessary to add that the bill authorizing the donation of the wheel passed both branches of Congress, by which the Secretary of the Navy was given authority to send it to the Minnesota Historical Society. The wheel was received August 18, 1904.

BUILDING THE FRIGATE.

On April 6, 1854, Congress passed the following act.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause to be constructed for the United States Navy, at as early a day as practicable, consistently with a due regard for economy and efficiency, six first-class steam-frigates, to be provided with screw-propellers, and properly armed and equipped for service; said vessels and machinery to be built by contract, or in government navy yards, as the Secretary of the Navy may think most advisable for the public interest.

Section 2. **And be it further enacted,** That there be, and is hereby appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, for the purpose above specified, and for altering, completing, and launching the frigates Santee, at Kittery, and Sabine, at New York, the sum of three millions of dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Approved April 6, 1854.

The six frigates constructed under this act were the Merrimac (later converted by the Confederates into an ironclad and called the Virginia), the Wabash, the Minnesota, the Roanoke, the Colorado, and the Niagara. The last named, however, was not properly a frigate, but a sloop of war. In these days, when the cost of a single battleship equals, or exceeds, the cost of the six, with the repairing of two, the amount appropriated seems insignificant.

The total cost of the Minnesota, including armament, was $691,408.14; her engines and boilers cost $169,786.34, nearly twenty-five per cent of the whole. Her keel must have been laid soon after the appropriation was made, as we find her reported on the stocks in the navy yard at Washington in December, 1854. The following is the official description of the vessel:

Builder, Government; material, wood; length from knightheads to taffrail, two hundred and eighty-five feet, five inches; length between perpendiculars, two hundred and sixty-four feet; breadth molded, fifty feet and two inches; breadth, extreme, fifty-one feet and two inches; depth of hold, twenty-six feet and two and one-half inches; propulsion, screw; rig, ship; the area of the ten principal sails, consisting of the courses, topsails, top jib sails, top gallant sails, jib and spanker, two thousand three hundred and ninety-eight feet; tonnage, three thousand two hundred.

The engines were built at the Washington Navy Yard from designs prepared by Engineer-in-Chief D. B. Martin, and were of the Penn trunk style, of two horizontal cylinders of seventy-nine and one-half inches diameter and three and one-half feet stroke, the trunks being thirty-three inches in diameter. There were four furnace Martin's vertical water tube boilers of iron, except the tubes which were brass; the grate surface of all boilers, three hundred and thirty-three and one-half square feet; and total heating surface, twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-seven square feet. The single smokestack was eight feet in diameter. Propeller was a two-bladed true screw of brass, seventeen feet in diameter, twenty-three feet pitch, made to disconnect and hoist up in a well in the stern. Speed, steam and sail, twelve and one-half knots per hour. Coal per hour, six hundred and twenty-eight pounds.

Battery: two ten-inch pivot guns on spar deck, bow and stern; fourteen eight-inch guns on spar deck; twenty-four nine-inch guns on gun deck; total weight of main battery, with side tackles, etc., one hundred and seventy-nine tons.

LAUNCHING THE FRIGATE.

The Minnesota was launched on December 1, 1855, one year, seven months and twenty-four days after the act authorizing her construction. Under the conditions existing at that time, this can be considered rapid work. The Secretary of the Navy, Hon. James C. Dobbin, in his report for 1854, mentions the difficulty of obtaining seasoned timber, as there was but a small amount at the various navy yards.

Under date of December 15, 1855, the following brief notice of the launching appears in the Daily Minnesotian:

The United States Steam Frigate Minnesota was launched at Washington Navy Yard on the 1st. She passed off handsomely. Miss Mann, of Boston, had the honor of christening the noble ship, and breaking on her bow a bottle of Guy's best. She glided into the watery element freighted with human life.

This does not quite agree with the description of the event given in the Daily National Intelligencer, of December 3d, which follows:

It was on the cloudless, balmy day of Saturday that the most superb specimen of marine architecture ever attempted by the naval constructors and artisans of our city was launched into the broad and beautiful Anacostia. Before the appointed hour thousands of persons, of both sexes and of all classes of society, had assembled in the Navy Yard, and on house-tops and every eligible point of view in the neighborhood, to witness the first visit of the noble "Minnesota" to that element which is in future to be her home. Patiently the large crowd awaited the termination of the preliminary arrangements until about one o'clock, when music, cheers, and a salute of twenty-one guns, announced the arrival of the President. Shortly afterwards, the steamer "Engineer" received on board the President, his Cabinet, and a number of invited guests, and took his station in the stream in a favorable position for seeing the launch.

As the hour wore on and the sound of the removal of the props was heard over the water, the interest became more earnest, until at about half past two a signal gun boomed forth. Then all became silently attentive until the majestic ship glided slowly into the water, and, burying herself nearly to her stern ports as if in homage, rose as easily and gracefully as a swan upon the swell, and came to rest without a strain,—able to challenge the severest criticism, a very leviathan upon the waters. Just before the ship reached the water, a young lady of this city baptised her in the customary mode by the name of "Minnesota," with water brought from that river by the Hon. Mr. Rice, of Minnesota Territory. Very few ladies sufficiently overcame their apprehensions to trust themselves on board, though any dread of danger must soon have been lost in pride at the unmarred success of the launch and the superb appearance of this latest triumph of our naval architecture and mechanical skill. Well may all connected with her construction be felicitated upon the successful issue of their labors; and we are sure that none of our citizens present at this beautiful spectacle will ever cease to follow the course of the splendid Minnesota with interest and pride.

The question, how, and by whom, the frigate was named "Minnesota" naturally arises; for at that time Minnesota was a territory, and only seven years old. It may be presumed, however, that Hon. Henry M. Rice, then a delegate in Congress from Minnesota, suggested the name, and the description just read appears to leave no doubt as to Mr. Rice being the sponsor.

Frank M. Bennett, in his history of "The Steam Navy of the United States," has this to say of the "six first-class steam frigates, to be provided with screw propellers:"

> These ships were all built by the Government at navy yards as follows: The Merrimac at Boston; the Wabash at Philadelphia; the Minnesota at Washington; the Roanoke and Colorado at Norfolk; and the Niagara at New York. The three first named were launched in 1855 and the three others in 1856, they being, when completed, the superiors of any war vessel then possessed by any nation in the world. When the first of them went abroad they became objects of admiration and envy to the naval architects of Europe, and their type was quickly copied into other navies, notably that of England, which imitated their construction in the Orlando, Mersey, and others of that class.

If it could have been foreseen that in seven years the utility of these model ships would be impaired, if not wholly destroyed, by a nondescript craft, a pygmy in comparison, called the Monitor, the creation of Captain John Ericsson, which revolutionized naval construction, their admiration and haste to imitate would have been qualified. But even now we must admit that, as things of beauty, they were more desirable to look upon than the fighting machines of today.

SERVICE IN THE EAST INDIES.

The first service of the Minnesota was on the East India station in 1857 and 1858, under command of Captain Samuel F. Du Pont, the Mississippi being the flagship of the squadron at the time. The East India squadron consisted of the steam frigates Powhatan, Captain George F. Pearson; Minnesota, Captain Samuel F. Du Pont; Mississippi, Captain William C. Nicholson; and a sloop of war, the Germantown, Commander

Richard L. Page. The flag officer was Josiah Tatnall, who in 1862 succeeded Captain Franklin Buchanan in command of the Merrimac, after the latter was wounded.

In October, 1857, this squadron was present at the capture of the Chinese forts on the Pei-ho. I have been unable to find a report of the outward voyage of the squadron, but did find a detailed account of the return of the Minnesota, which I append, believing it will be of interest.

The "Minnesota," returning to the United States, left Hong Kong with Mr. [William B.] Reed, late Minister to China, on board, and conveyed him to Bombay, where she arrived January 16, 1859. On her way she visited Singapore, in the Straits of Malacca, and Point de Galle and Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, and received the marked attention of the authorities of those places. At Bombay she was visited by the Governor and by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of Western India.

February 20, 1859, she arrived at the coast of Muscat, and was immediately visited by the Sultan's chief secretary and interpreter, with offers of assistance. Captain Du Pont, with a suite of officers, waited on his highness' father, and expressed the hope and belief that the same friendly sentiments and uniform protection of American commerce would continue under his son and successor; and, as an evidence of the courteous and kind feelings entertained for the present Imaum, or Sultan, he said the President of the United States had sent the largest vessel-of-war that had yet been to the Eastern World to visit his domains.

The Sultan was much gratified, and expressed his warm friendship for the United States of America, and his desire, not alone to protect our present trade, but to do all in his power to foster and increase it. He asked Captain Du Pont to accept a present of an Arabian steed and a jeweled sword, which was declined. Captain Du Pont sent him a Sharps rifle and a Colt's revolver and their accoutrements.

From Muscat the Minnesota proceeded to Cape Town; thence to Boston, where she arrived May 29, 1859.

SERVICE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

From the date of the arrival of the Minnesota at Boston, she appears to have been out of commission until April 4, 1861, when she was placed in commission by the following order of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, to Captain Silas H. Stringham.

Sir: You are relieved from duty as a member of the Naval Court-Martial now convened in this city, and also from special duty at Washington connected with the discipline of the service. You will

proceed to Boston, Mass., and when the U. S. steam frigate Minnesota shall be put in commission you will hoist your flag on board that vessel and await the further instructions of this Department.

On April 11, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham announces his arrival at Boston, "and reports the ship in a rapid state of forwardness * * * * * with every probability of having her ready for the officers and crew in about fifteen days." On April 30 (Tuesday) he again writes: "The ship will be ready for her crew by Thursday. If possible, we shall sail on Saturday; think by Monday at furthest." He asks for a list of the vessels that will be ordered to report to him as attached to his command; the names will be given later on. May 1, 1861, the Secretary of the Navy sent the following order to Flag Officer Stringham.

Sir: Having been over fifty years in the service, and twenty as captain, you will hoist your flag at the fore instead of at the mizzen of the Minnesota. The Department in this instance suspends its general order of May 18, 1858, on the ground of your having seen nearly the requisite service as captain in the Navy, and as an honor to the Commander of the Coast Blockading Squadron.

May 6th, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham acknowledges the receipt of the order giving him the command, and thanks the Secretary. He writes:

The flattering terms contained in your communication ordering me to hoist my flag at the fore instead of at the mizzen of the Minnesota, where I had placed it, can only be returned by the assurance that I will endeavor to merit the high honor conferred, both this mark of confidence of the Department and the much greater one of being appointed at this important time, in our country's hour of trial, as Commander of the Coast Blockading Squadron.

On May 8, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham informs the Department, "We left the wharf at the Navy Yard at about half past 8 o'clock this morning, and are now leaving the harbor."

May 13, 1861, 10 o'clock a. m., he informs the Department "that we have arrived and are now safely at anchor off Fortress Monroe after a moderate passage" (of five days). The vessels which at first composed the blockading squadron, as reported by Junior Flag Officer Garrett J. Pendergrast to Senior Flag Officer Stringham, were the Cumberland, Monti-

cello, Quaker City, steam tug Yankee, Harriet Lane, and steam tug Young America, and later this number was increased by the Niagara, Massachusetts, and South Carolina. The squadron was in active service immediately, for, on May 14, Flag Officer Stringham reports the capture of three schooners. Others were captured, but were released as "no prizes." The following were captured later, May 17 to July 10, 1861, and were condemned: Ship, North Carolina; schooners, Crenshaw and Sally Mears; barques, Hiawatha and Pioneer.

On May 17, the Secretary of the Navy writes to Flag Officer Stringham: "The name of your squadron will be the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and it will be composed of the following named vessels, viz: Minnesota [flagship], Cumberland, Perry, Harriet Lane, Dawn, Monticello, Union, Reliance, Daylight, Mount Vernon, Penguin, Albatross, Wabash, and Commander [James H.] Ward's flotilla." This flotilla consisted of three improvised gunboats, the Freeborn, Anacostia, and Resolute.

May 30, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham reports the Minnesota off Charleston, S. C. Again on June 6, 1861, he reports the capture of the Savannah, a piratical schooner of about fifty tons, hailing from Charleston, S. C., with a commission from Jefferson Davis, dated Montgomery, May 13, 1861, commanded by T. Harrison Baker, with a crew of nineteen men. So far as can be learned, this was the first war vessel captured by the United States from the rebels. On July 10, the brig Amy Warwick was captured.

CAPTURE OF FORTS HATTERAS AND CLARK.

In August, 1861, the fleet under command of Flag Officer Stringham, attacking Forts Hatteras and Clark, comprised the following vessels: the flagship Minnesota, Captain Gershom J. Van Brunt; Wabash, Captain Samuel Mercer; Susquehanna, Captain John S. Chauncey; Pawnee, Commander Stephen C. Rowan; Monticello, Commander John P. Gillis; Harriet Lane, Captain John Faunce; and the Cumberland, a sailing ship, Captain John Martin. These seven armed vessels carried in all one hundred and forty-three guns. They

were accompanied by three transports, the Adelaide, George Peabody, and the Fanny, on which were embarked detachments of infantry from the Ninth and Twentieth New York Volunteers, and a company of the Second U. S. Artillery. This fleet set sail from Hampton Roads, Va., for Hatteras Inlet, N. C., August 26th, and arrived on the afternoon of the same day.

On the 28th, at 6:45 a. m., the troops, under command of General B. F. Butler, were disembarked; and at 10 o'clock the attack on Forts Hatteras and Clark commenced. The Wabash and Cumberland fired the first shots, after which the Minnesota passed inside of the Wabash and Cumberland and opened fire, followed by the combined fleet. At 6:45 p. m. the fleet ceased firing and withdrew for the night.

On the 29th the engagement was renewed. The Minnesota again passed inside of the Wabash, anchoring between her and the Susquehanna, and opened fire. The enemy returned the fire throughout the engagement, but with no effect, their shot falling short. At 11 a. m. they displayed a white flag, and this ended the first engagement of importance in which the Minnesota took part. These forts were the first captured after the seceding of the Southern states.

In his official report of this engagement Flag Officer Stringham mentions this incident which happened on the Minnesota: "The Minnesotans yet talk of an incident which occurred on board this ship. J. D. Kraigbaum, in sponging a gun, unfortunately lost overboard his sponge; quick as thought he plunged overboard, grasped it, swam up to the port, and was helped in by his comrades. When asked by his officers why he did so rash an act, he replied he did not want his gun disgraced."

On September 2, 1861, the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, "congratulated Flag Officer Stringham and his command; also the officers and soldiers of the Army, on the reduction of Forts Hatteras and Clark and the capture of the forces employed in this defense. * * * * * Accomplished without the loss of a man on his part, or injury to one in the Federal service, it has carried joy and gladness to the bosom of every friend of the Union."

In an account of the affair at Forts Hatteras and Clark by Bvt. Gen. Rush C. Hawkins, who participated in the engagement with the land forces, he mentions the naval tactics practiced for the first time by Flag Officer Stringham, for which he received no credit, "but when adopted by Du Pont, in a more brilliant affair, its merits were duly recognized. While Du Pont rose to the highest point in public estimation, Stringham was relegated to an obscure official background and never after held a service command." His old ship, the Minnesota, was but a few years later also "relegated to an obscure background," having, like her old commander, survived her usefulness.

On September 1, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham reports from Hampton Roads, Va., the arrival of the Minnesota, twenty-six hours from New York. This shows that she must have sailed there immediately after the engagement of the 29th of August, although I find no account of it.

September 18, 1861, Flag Officer Stringham was ordered to transfer command of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron to Captain Louis M. Goldsborough; and on the 23d the latter announces his arrival at Hampton Roads, having assumed command and hoisted his flag on the Minnesota.

BATTLE WITH THE MERRIMAC AT HAMPTON ROADS.

The most important affair in which the Minnesota took part, and one of the most important events in history, was that of March 8, 1862, at Hampton Roads, Va., when, on her way to the assistance of the Congress and the Cumberland, attacked by the Confederate ironclad Merrimac, the Minnesota ran aground. From 4 until 7 o'clock p. m., while lying aground, she engaged the Merrimac and the two steam gunboats, Patrick Henry and Jamestown. The Minnesota's broadsides, however, did no damage to the Merrimac. The Congress was captured and destroyed, and the Cumberland sunk; but the Minnesota was saved by the approaching darkness and the fear of the Merrimac's pilots to enter that channel. The Merrimac and her two consorts anchored off Sewall's Point, expecting to return in the morning and capture

or destroy the Minnesota; and, without doubt, this would have happened but for the timely arrival of the Monitor, at 2 o'clock a. m. of the 9th. The day of her arrival dates the revolutionizing of naval architecture, the beginning of the end of wooden ships of war. The events of the 9th are so familiar to every one, it seems unnecessary to recite the details; the Minnesota was spared to take part in other conflicts, and the Merrimac was defeated.

The Merrimac came out again on April 11th and again on May 8th, which was her last appearance, as she was soon afterward destroyed to prevent her falling into the hands of the Union Navy.

This battle at Hampton Roads brought the Minnesota into greater prominence than the part she took in any previous or subsequent events; and her name will always be associated with those of the Monitor, Congress, Cumberland, and the Merrimac.

The Minnesota was the flagship of Admiral Samuel P. Lee, at the Navy Yard of Portsmouth, N. H., from October 30, 1862, until January 2, 1863; was blockading off Wilmington, N. C., in August, 1863; and later until January, 1864, was at Newport News, Va. On January 11, 1864, the Minnesota captured a blockade runner, the Ranger, off Folly Inlet, N. C.; and on February 1, 1864, took part in a disastrous joint expedition near Smithfield, Va.

CAPTURE OF FORT FISHER.

On December 24 and 25, 1864, the Minnesota was present and took part in the first attack on Fort Fisher, N. C., which was unsuccessful. In the second assault on that fort, January 13-15, 1865, which resulted in its capture, followed by the fall of Wilmington, N. C., our good ship was, as at the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark, in the advanced line. In a description of the bombardment, I find this account of the Minnesota: "The Ironsides was followed by the Minnesota, Colorado, and Wabash. The enemy replied briskly, but when these frigates found the range and commenced firing rapidly, nothing could withstand their broad-

sides of twenty-five 9-inch guns. It was a magnificent sight to see these frigates fairly engaged, and one never to be forgotten."

A full narration of this event, as well as that of Hampton Roads, would require, as other writers have supplied, greater descriptive powers than I possess. I can say, however, that I regret that a storm off Cape Hatteras, delaying the transport on which my regiment, the Eighth Minnesota, had left Washington, prevented my presence, though it might not have counted for much, until four hours after the capture of the fort. I may mention, also, that the only time I saw the Minnesota was off Fort Fisher. A part of the Twenty-third Army Corps, including the Eighth Minnesota, arrived in time to take part in operations by land.

With the fall of Fort Fisher, the Minnesota ended her active career,—we may say that it was a well earned retirement.

LATER HISTORY OF THIS FRIGATE.

On February 16, 1865, the Minnesota is reported out of commission at the Portsmouth Navy Yard; and from that date until 1876, excepting 1868, when she is reported as on special service, which is not specified, she was at New York and at New London, Conn., reported as under repairs.

From 1876 to 1879, the Minnesota was used as a training-ship; was in 1880 at New London, Conn., in the same service; and again at New York in 1881. On January 1, 1882, she was stricken from the Navy Register, which ended her official existence.

October 22, 1895, she was loaned to Massachusetts for a naval military training-ship, in accordance with an act passed by Congress on August 3, 1894. The Minnesota appears to have been used for the purpose specified until 1901, when, in the manner provided by an act of Congress in 1883, she was condemned and offered for sale by the Navy Department, July 17, 1901. The appraised value of the ship was fixed at $15,000 by a "Board of Survey." She was sold to Thomas Butler and Company of Boston, Mass., for $25,738.38, much exceeding the appraised value.

Thus ends the history of as gallant a ship as ever sailed upon the seas. Although her timbers and equipment are, no doubt, resting in piecemeal in a junk shop, her name is emblazoned in the history of the United States which she so well served; and now we add it to that of the State whose name she honored by her achievements.

The following are the names of the officers who commanded the old frigate Minnesota during her naval service: Captain Samuel F. Du Pont, 1855 to 1859; Captain Gershom J. Van Brunt, May 2, 1861, to August 12, 1862; Lieutenant Commander Edward C. Grafton, August 12, 1862, to September 30, 1862; Commander Napoleon B. Harrison, September 30, 1862, to November 20, 1863; Lieutenant Commander Joseph P. Fyffe, November 20, 1863, to December 9, 1863; Lieutenant Commander John H. Upshur, December 9, 1863, to October 1, 1864; and Commodore Joseph Lanman, October 1, 1864, to February 16, 1865.

THE NATION AND THE SHIP.*

BY OSCAR W. FIRKINS.

The frigate Minnesota, built in 1854, a participant during the Civil War in successful attacks on Hatteras Inlet and Fort Fisher, and a spectator of the famous conflict between the Monitor and the Merrimac, was sold July 17, 1901, to a mercantile company. The gift of the steering-wheel of the frigate to the Minnesota Historical Society was the occasion of the following lines.

Gift of the forest to the sea,
Gift of a race to liberty,
Whose sides in double onset bore
The flux of ocean and of war,
We, far from war, remote from sea,
Yet linked in sympathy with thee
By tie of name and bond of race,
The records of thy deeds retrace.

When danger wrought its sombre spell
And freedom dropped as Union fell,
The cry rang out for ships and crews
And men and forests gave their thews.
Sudden and swift the change that passed;
It felled the bole and reared the mast:
What steadfast in the steadfast clay
Its listless years had drowsed away,
Adrift, on sterner mission sent,
Roamed on the roaming element.

So nations that in peace and weal
Have watched their patient decades steal,
When the sharp stroke their sinew tries,

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 12, 1904; published in the Minnesota Magazine (University of Minnesota), vol. xi, pp. 40-43, November, 1904.

Reel from their hoar securities,
And toss upon the currents rude
Of terror and vicissitude.

The riven earth its metal lent
To forge her deadly armament;
The hearth unto the deck resigned
The elastic form, the fearless mind:
She bore in union sad and great
Her human and her iron freight.
The sea beneath her chafed and sprayed;
The guns within her shook and brayed.
As to and fro the pulses ran,
Could beam of oak and breast of man
The blent and meeting tremors know
From guns above and waves below.
It suited Freedom's legate well
In Freedom's paradise to dwell,
Where masts ascending sought on high
Communion with the vergeless sky,
Where sail and hull no touch could find,
  No presence hostile to the free,
One, playmate of the unpinioned wind,
  One, fellow to the yokeless sea.

Through shine of hope and dusk of fear
She ran her long and high career,
And reached in venerated age
The sad and final anchorage.
The grim years took her in their tow
(What victim will the years forego?)
And she whom urgings of the gale
And fury of the missile hail,
Whom fiercer blast and deadlier rain
By brother sped for brother's bane
Had harmless swept, was borne away,
The prize of time and of decay.

Her masters took the captor's part;
They bore her to the grasping mart;

They bared the hollowed palm to hold
The sordid tale of bootless gold.
The Union saw those fibres rent
Whose strength had been its own cement.
Heard we no wailful message pass
From Fisher on to Hatteras,
No signal from the livid track
Trenched by the baffled Merrimac?
No voice was heard or none obeyed;
Her years, her honors, vainly prayed;
And friendship shrunk not to bestow
Less than the pity of a foe.

Ships own like men but transient lives,
No oak subsists, no flesh survives;
From other masts must shine afar
The flame stripe and the cusped star;
To younger faith, to fresher zeal
Descends the rescued commonweal.
O may that ardor still incline
To purposes as pure as thine!
If darker errand e'er should guide
Our cruisers o'er the wrathful tide,
And drops of fouler purple stain
The girdled and the humbled main;
Should peace revoke what warfare gave,
The sons of sires who loosed the slave
Enchain the freemen,—if at last
(O base extinction of the past)
Linked in imperishable tie
Our honor in their freedom die:
Should we not feel thy uttered name
Burn on our recreant lips like flame,
And pause to list the nation's knell
In each reproachful syllable?
God grant high names may never lack
Voices as high to fling them back,
Nor houseless memories seek in vain
Hearts meet their glories to contain!

Keep we our spirits fit to be
The chapels of thy memory.

A truce to fear. Beside us lies
A sign of blither destinies.
Some ruth the trader's heart could feel:
He sold the hulk, but spared the wheel.
We take the relic which he gave,
Symbol of all we ask and crave,
The past's release, the future's debt,
An omen, gage, and amulet.
Sink, if time bid, the stalwart frame;
Fall, if fate will, the honored name;
So fate and time forbear to whelm
The faith that shaped and swayed the helm,
Stand but the guiding purpose firm,
The rest may glut the wave or worm.
Through breed on breed of lusty sons
The strong incentive downward runs;
Deed is progenitor of deed;
The laurel hides the laurel's seed;
The steersman's trust in peace or war,
The old ideal rears its star:
The star above, the helm below,
The pilot steadfast 'twixt the twain,
The turning wheel, the changeless glow—
Such may our people's course remain.

W. P. Murray

Minnesota Historical Society.
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RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY TERRITORIAL DAYS AND LEGISLATION.*

BY HON. WILLIAM P. MURRAY.

MINNESOTA TERRITORY AT ITS BEGINNING.

I do not flatter myself that the paper I read tonight will be deemed a statesmanlike paper, and it may be possible that matters and things have been written there that would be more appropriate elsewhere than in an address before the Historical Society, but I have only written of things which I have seen and of which I have been a part.

The present generation, as they gaze upon that magnificent structure, the new State Capitol, hardly realize what changes a little over fifty years have wrought in the development of our state. On the third day of March, 1849, when James K. Polk, then president, placed his signature to the bill to establish the Territorial government of Minnesota, no one even dreamed what Minnesota's future would be. The new territory was more remote from settlement and civilization than the most distant part of our country today.

It was little more than a wilderness, a vast waste of prairie and pine lands; its entire white population scarcely exceeded one thousand persons. When the census was taken four months later, after many immigrants had arrived, there were only four thousand six hundred and eighty. Three hundred and seventeen of these were connected with the army; and six hundred and thirty-seven were at Pembina, but only a small fraction of these latter were white. Nearly the entire white population was in the villages of St. Paul, St. Anthony Falls, Stillwater, and Mendota, and at Ft. Snelling. West of the Mississippi river the land belonged to the Indians, not hav-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 14, 1904.

ing yet been ceded to the United States by treaty, and from the southern boundary of the territory to St. Paul there were not more than two or three habitations of white men. There were only a few acres of land under cultivation, and these in garden patches, around St. Paul, St. Anthony Falls, Stillwater, Marine, Mendota, and Fort Snelling; and at Cottage Grove some half a dozen farms had been opened up by pioneer farmers from Maine.

St. Paul had a population of some two hundred, a majority of whom were Indian traders, French, and half breeds; its buildings were nearly all of logs, the construction of the cheapest kind. St. Anthony Falls and Stillwater had each about the same population as St. Paul; the inhabitants of these villages were mostly from the lumber districts of Maine. It was said at the time, that to procure employment at the Falls you had to show a certificate signed by the pastor of the church that you had attended, or by a justice of the peace, to the effect that you were born and grew up to manhood in Maine,—without this you need not have applied.

Everything in the way of food, except what few vegetables were raised in the Territory and wild game, was brought up the Mississippi river from Galena. Not a newspaper was published north of Dubuque; not a railroad had been built west of Chicago, which was not much more than a village then. The editor of the St. Paul Pioneer, in one of his editorials, said, "There are men now living who will see a railroad built from St. Paul to St. Louis, one to Lake Superior, and perhaps one to Winnipeg;" and this was from a man who predicted greater things for Minnesota than any other man. The pioneers would sit around on store boxes in corner groceries and in offices, smoking their clay pipes, and would swear that the editor was a great liar for predicting what would never come to pass; but he was apologized to, for such editorials brought immigration.

Wagon roads leading to the states south of Minnesota there were none. Mails were irregular, and sometimes, after the close of navigation and winter had set in, only at long intervals,—none until the ice was of sufficient thickness to

carry a dog sledge or an Indian pony and sled. In the summer time the mail was carried by men on foot, and now and then on a tramp steamer. The news of the election of Zack Taylor as president did not reach St. Paul until the fifteenth of January; and of the passage of the organic act by Congress on the fifteenth of April.

In Minnesota everything looked dark and gloomy for any bright future. Quite a number of the leading newspapers of the East ridiculed the idea of ever making a state out of the Territory of Minnesota, that would amount to anything, either in population or wealth. It was the home of the buffalo and fur-bearing animals, and as such would ever remain. As late as when Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington Territory made his exploration as to the feasibility of constructing a railroad from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific coast, all the newspapers under the control and influence of the Union Pacific and many others sent up a wail as to the absurdity of such a proposition. What! a railroad through arid lands that could never be cultivated, a land of blizzards that would never be settled, a land through which, even if a railroad was built, it could never be operated six months in the year on account of snow,—in fact, a country where no white man could live and prosper!

That little band of pioneers on that April night in 1849, as they stood upon the shore of the Mississippi river, in the pelting rain and raging storm, waited for the little steamer to land after they had heard its whistle. All was expectation. What would the tidings be? When the steamer landed and the word came ashore that Minnesota was an organized territory, a shout of joy went up that was heard to the village's most remote cabin. To them the agony was over, the future of Minnesota was assured.

THE FIRST TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR.

A week prior to the receipt of the news of the organization of the Territory in St. Paul, "Old Rough and Ready," the hero of Buena Vista, had commissioned Alexander Ramsey as governor of the new territory, and in all of his appointments

he never made a better one. Late in May Governor Ramsey arrived in St. Paul. For a while he must have been disappointed, finding the capital of the new territory a small village of log houses and little frame shanties, with a population not much in excess of two hundred, and with no house where he could be entertained or stop. It was like the story of old, "The birds of the air have their nests, but the son of man knew not where to lay his head." Afterwards and for nearly a month he was entertained at the home of Henry H. Sibley at Mendota.

A day or two after his arrival in Minnesota, Governor Ramsey succeeded in renting a one and one-half story frame building situated on the south side of Third street, between Jackson and Robert streets, which was in course of erection, but not ready for occupation until near the last of June. This building became the governor's home and office. A large room facing on Third street, which had been intended for a saloon, was the governor's receiving room and office and Mrs. Ramsey's reception room and parlor. Sometimes might be seen on one side of the room Mrs. Ramsey entertaining some lady friends, on the other the governor with a half dozen or more of Indians, he being superintendent of Indian Affairs in addition to being governor, or there would be a squad of Indian traders who no doubt were advising him how to discharge the duties of his office. To his great honor, he ran it to suit himself.

There was no delay in the governor's movements. A proclamation was issued on the first day of June, 1849, declaring the Territory to be organized and established, and all persons were enjoined to obey, conform to, and respect the law accordingly. On the eleventh day of June he issued an order for the taking of the census, a return of which was made on the fourth day of July. On the seventh day of July a proclamation was issued organizing the Territory into seven council districts for legislative purposes, defining their boundaries, and ordering an election on the first day of August for a delegate to represent the people of Minnesota in the House of Representatives of the United States, and for nine mem-

bers of the Council of the Territorial Legislature and eighteen members of its House of Representatives.

GROWTH BY IMMIGRATION DURING 1849.

Immigration grew in volumes during the year. Many immigrants came to the Territory, men of all occupations and trades, among whom, and more than was necessary, were doctors, lawyers, real estate sharks, and men who, although not sent out by missionary societies or Young Men's Christian Associations, claimed they were the benefactors and friends of the people, although in fact the disciples of the devil, and who would not only take what they could carry but anything they could lay their hands on, money loaners who wanted five per cent a month, with ten per cent after due, sometimes requiring six months' interest in advance.

During the summer three weekly newspapers were started, the Pioneer, the Chronicle, and the Register. After a few issues the Chronicle was sold out to the Register, which was afterward the Chronicle and Register. These newspapers did much to bring immigration to the Territory.

The steamers came loaded with immigrants seeking a new home. Buildings went up as if by magic, not of marble, stone, or brick, but small frame tenements, something that for the time being would keep out the rain and wind. It looked as if Minnesota might amount to something after all.

THE FIRST TERRITORIAL JUDGES.

"Old Rough and Ready" was not as fortunate in his appointments of Territorial judges as in that for governor. They were not great lawyers, nor did they become eminent as jurists, but they had a pull, as the politicians would say. B. B. Meeker was a nephew of Senator Trueman Smith, of Connecticut; David Cooper was a brother of Senator James Cooper, of Pennsylvania; Aaron Goodrich, a protégé of William H. Seward, of New York.

Cooper, perhaps the best lawyer of the three, spent much of his time out of the Territory during his term of office. He was the Beau Brummell of Minnesota, always appearing in

full dress with a ruffled shirt and low shoes with silver buckles. However, it might be said of the judge, after he left the bench, that he adopted to a certain extent the dress of a pioneer.

Goodrich, not having a very high opinion of his associates on the bench, always waited to hear what their views were on any legal proposition, and then took the opposite side of the question, spending a good part of the time writing dissenting opinions. He was always tenacious in regard to the dignity of the Court, and always liked to be spoken to as the Court. Even at his meals, if he desired anyone at the table to hand him something, he would say, "Will the gentleman be so kind as to hand the Court the beans, the pickles, the bread?" or whatever he might want. On more than one occasion he stopped counsel while addressing a jury, and said that the remarks of the attorney reminded him of an affair down in Tennessee; then he would proceed to tell some amusing story, and by the way he was a first-class story-teller. The judge was removed by the president before the expiration of his term of office. One of the charges against him was that he was too fond of the women.

Judge Meeker made himself famous as a judge of great learning and research by reason of a decision he made at a term of the District Court held at Sauk Rapids, where a demurrer had been interposed to an indictment, on the ground that the law under which it had been found had never been published. Notwithstanding the fact that the law had been published in the newspapers and distributed in unbound copies in book form, the judge held that, to make a legal publication, the law not only had to be printed but published in bound volumes. In justice to his memory, I must say that he did not insist upon their being bound in calf.

THE FIRST SECRETARY AND THE FIRST MARSHAL.

Charles K. Smith was the first Secretary of the Territory. The appointment was made at the request of Tom Corwin of Ohio, who was a relative. Nepotism existed in those days as now. When a man got an appointment to office, the first hard work he did was to attempt to secure a position, not

only for all his own relatives, but his wife's relatives also, on the tailboard of the official wagon. The appointment was an unfortunate one. While Mr. Smith was a man of ability, he was endowed with a disposition that led him into antagonism with everyone. Like the man in Texas, who believed that he was a greater man than old Grant, he believed that he was the greatest man in the Territory, and that he ought to have been appointed governor. During the few months he held office, it was a continual warfare between him and his associates in office and the people. Yet he was active and labored for many things that were for the betterment and advancement of the Territory. He was the founder of this Society, and for the first few months of its history he may be said to have been the Historical Society. It was one of his hobbies. He was one of the active promoters in securing legislation and organizing the district school system of the Territory, and was the first Territorial Secretary of Schools, an office answering now to our Superintendent of Public Instruction. It may be said also that he was the father of freemasonry in Minnesota. He was removed from office in October, 1851, leaving the Territory between two days, and of the opinion, perhaps, that with his departure the days of the Historical Society were numbered. Nearly all the contributions which were of any value, he took with him.

A. M. Mitchell, in place of Joshua L. Taylor, who declined the appointment, was appointed United States Marshal. It will be seen that Ohio, even at that early day, had a pull on federal patronage, as Mr. Mitchell was the second appointed from that state. He held the office until September, 1851, notwithstanding the fact that he was a candidate for delegate to Congress in one of the most memorable congressional campaigns Minnesota has ever had. He was seldom in the Territory while in office, and discharged the duties of his office by deputy and mail. He was one of the men Goodhue wrote against with all the ferocity of his pen, for his absentness from the Territory.

THE FIRST LEGISLATURE.

The first session of the Territorial Legislature convened on the third day of September, 1849. There were nine members of the Council and eighteen members of the House of Representatives. The place of meeting was in the Central House, a hotel situated on the northeast corner of Second (or Bench) and Minnesota streets. The secretary of the Territory, whose duty it was to secure rooms, was unable to get them elsewhere. The main building was a two-story log house, weatherboarded and painted, with a frame addition in the rear. The House of Representatives met in the dining room, and the Council upstairs, in what was known as the ladies' parlor.

The hours of meeting were adapted to the rules of the hotel in regard to its meal hours. After breakfast the dining room was cleared of its table and dishes, the desks of the members were brought in, and the business of the day began. About 11.30 notice was served upon the speaker that the dining room was wanted; the members would then pick up their desks and pile them up in what was known as the office; their papers they generally put in their pockets. The tables and dishes would then be brought into the dining room for dinner. After the dinner the room would again be cleared and become the hall of the House of Representatives. When supper time came, notice was again served to the House to vacate, which was done. The room used by day for a council chamber was converted at night into a sleeping room. The desks and chairs were piled up at one side of the room, and the vacant part of the floor was covered with straw ticks and Indian blankets, upon which some of the members would sleep. This was a little different from what it will be in the new capitol.

Alexander Ramsey, in his message as governor to this First Territorial Legislature, among other things said: "I would advise, therefore, that your legislation should be such as will guard equally the rights of labor and the rights of property, without running into ultraisms on either hand; as will recognize no social distinctions, except those which merit and knowledge, religion and morals, unavoidably create; as will repress crime, encourage virtue, give free scope to enter-

prise and industry; as will promptly, and without delay, administer to and supply all the legitimate wants of the people, —laws, in a word, in the formation of which will be kept steadily in view the truth, that this Territory is destined to be a great State, rivalling in population, wealth and energy, her sisters of the Union. * * * * * Thus you will see, gentlemen, that yours is a most interesting and responsible position, and that in your hands, more than in that of any future Legislative Assembly, will be the destinies of Minnesota." Well and honestly did they discharge the trust reposed in them by the old pioneers of Minnesota.

The men who composed that first legislature, though they may have worn moccasins and buffalo coats in season, were a class that would compare most favorably with the men who now represent Minnesota in the legislature of the State. They were men of more than ordinary intelligence, energetic and industrious, men of character, men who had thrown away the comforts of other homes and sought homes on the frontier of civilization to better their condition in life.

Among these men were Morton S. Wilkinson, who afterward became a member of Congress and a United States senator; William R. Marshall, a governor of Minnesota and a general in the Civil war; David Olmsted, first mayor of St. Paul, and whose first message to the common Council after fifty years might be read with profit by that distinguished body of men, the present common council; Lorenzo A. Babcock, afterward attorney general of the Territory; William H. Forbes, quartermaster in the army and Indian agent; and Gideon H. Pond, the devoted missionary. Then there were David B. Loomis, Martin McLeod, Mahlon Black, Henry N. Setzer, and Joseph W. Furber. In fact, there was not a man among them who did not become more or less prominent in the early history of Minnesota, as among those who aided materially in every effort and scheme which started Minnesota on her way to a great future. All the members of that first legislature have passed into the great unknown, except Parsons K. Johnson, who resides at Brainerd, Minnesota, and in his eighty-ninth year lives to interestingly tell the story of pioneer days.

All the laws passed at the first session were good laws. There was no wildcat legislation or boodling. The boodlers were among the later arrivals, for, as Governor Ramsey used to say, "The old settlers were honest, if nothing else." Among the laws passed were those establishing courts, organizing counties, laying out territorial roads, granting ferry charters, incorporating the Minnesota Historical Society, licensing groceries (I believe they call them saloons now), and one act in which the people of St. Paul were very much interested, incorporating the town of St. Paul. Among other acts of legislation was a class that grew so rapidly in later years that, had it not been for the constitutional prohibition, it would have taken up a large part of the time of the legislators, as it does now of our district courts, namely, divorce cases.

An attempt was made at this session to locate the permanent seat of government at St. Paul, but it failed. St. Anthony, with almost the population of St. Paul, thought it had some claims, and its members fought the bill to a finish. Stillwater, with not much less population, while it hardly thought lightning would strike the banks of the St. Croix, like some of our politicians, was in the market.

One day during this first session, while William R. Marshall was addressing the House, a member in a seat in front of him called him a liar. Marshall, with the agility of a cat, jumped over his seat and before anyone realized what was going on knocked the member out of his seat to the floor; returning to his seat, he apologized to the House and proceeded with his remarks. The matter dropped there and was never heard of again. This was pioneer ethics.

THE SECOND LEGISLATURE AND PARTY FEUDS.

On the first day of January, 1851, the Second Legislature assembled in the Rice house, a three-story brick building, situated on the north side of Third street, near Washington street.

During the year 1850 there had been an election for delegate to Congress in which there was nearly as much lying and meanness as in the late brotherly contest between Robert C. Dunn and Judge Collins. It was not a party contest, however. It was one of cliques, factions, and clans. Although one of

the candidates was a Democrat and the other a Whig, the Whig administration, of which Governor Ramsey was the head, supported the Democrat, while Henry M. Rice, a Democrat, and his political friends, supported the Whig. There was an immense amount of bitterness manifested during the campaign. The Pioneer, in one of its editorials, speaking of the interest created, said that quite a number of citizens had been seen upon the streets without shirts, they having bet their last one on the result of the election. The same feeling manifested in the canvass for delegate was soon seen in the legislature.

Goodhue, the editor of the Pioneer, who had been elected Territorial printer a few days after the legislature convened, had an editorial in his paper in which he attacked Judge David Cooper with unparalleled ferocity, he belonging to the opposing political faction. Cooper was absent from the territory at the time. A brother of the judge took up the cudgel in his behalf. Joseph Cooper, the brother, gave it out that Goodhue was to be shot on sight. He armed himself with a revolver and a dirk knife. Goodhue, having heard of Cooper's threats, armed himself with a revolver and a small pistol that he carried in his pants' pocket.

The next day after the publication of the article, shortly after noon and upon the adjournment of the House, Cooper and Goodhue both being present in the House, Cooper came out first and took position on the sidewalk, and Goodhue a moment later. When Goodhue reached the street Cooper advanced, drawing his revolver and exclaiming: "You d——, I will blow your d—d brains out." Goodhue drew his revolver also. By this time the members of the House and those in the lobby had reached the street. Some four or five shots were fired, but, as the combatants kept dodging around and through the crowd, others were more likely to be shot than either of them. By this time the sheriff reached the scene of action, caught the parties, and disarmed them as he supposed, taking from each his revolver. Cooper still had his knife, and Goodhue his small pistol. A party, whose name it is not necessary to mention, sprang to Goodhue and threw his arms around him from his back and held him, while Cooper stabbed him

several times in the abdomen. Goodhue, when released, drew the small pistol from his pocket and shot Cooper in the groin, from the effects of which he afterwards died. Surgeon McLaren, of Fort Snelling, who attended Goodhue and dressed his wound, said that not one man in a hundred, cut as he was, would have lived.

TRIBUTE TO JAMES M. GOODHUE.

There is no doubt but that there was a conspiracy to murder Goodhue. He was an able writer and aggressive. He never hesitated to write and print what he thought, and with his foes he had no mercy. He was a thorn in the side of the opposition, and they made the Cooper article a pretext to put him out of the way. The affair intensified the feeling in the legislature, and from then until the close of the session it may be said that the members went armed to the teeth.

James M. Goodhue died on the 27th of August, 1852. Many men have lived in Minnesota that could have been better spared. St. Paul today would be a more beautiful city had he lived. One of the things he labored for was, that the bank of the Mississippi should be boulevarded from Robert street to Hill street, so that no buildings should ever be erected whose rear would border on the river, giving those traveling by water and rail a display of clothes-lines, garbage barrels, etc. Though Goodhue was not a member of any church, there has never been a newspaper editor in Minnesota that has taken higher ground in favor of the church, morality, and everything that tended to the betterment of the people, than he did. To him, more than any one else, the friends of temperance were indebted for the passage of the Maine liquor law, of 1852; he wrote vigorously and much in favor of its passage, claiming that Minnesota should have a statute that would aid in making people more temperate. A Democratic paper today advocating prohibition would be a novelty. His paper was the foe of gambling and prostitution. Before the organization of the Territory, gambling was a public amusement; in Goodhue's day it was hidden behind closed doors, and much less public than in the present day. No house of prostitution was ever permitted to exist within the corporate limits of the village.

Goodhue has had only two peers in Minnesota as an editor and conductor of a public journal, and these men are Joseph A. Wheelock and Earle S. Goodrich.

A MOCK SESSION.

James Vincent, a wag and a joker, suggested, a few days after the shooting affair, to some of his chums, that at a noon hour they gather up a crowd and take possession of the hall of the House of Representatives, and give out the word that there should be no more meetings of the members of the House of Representatives in that building. The boys thought it a good suggestion. The next day some sixty or seventy men marched into the House and took seats, Vincent occupying the speaker's chair, declaring the House open for business. They then commenced in a mock way to legislate, repealing laws they thought obnoxious, passing laws they thought desirable.

It was soon noised over the village that a mob had taken possession of the capitol. The public was excited. Ames, speaker of the House, called upon Governor Ramsey and demanded that some soldiers be sent for from Fort Snelling to clean out the mob. The demand was complied with. A courier was dispatched to the fort, and in a short time it was announced that a company of soldiers was on the way to St. Paul. Vincent, having heard the news, waited until they were within a short distance of the village, when he announced that the hour of adjournment had arrived. With that he ran his hand in his pocket and drew out some forty or fifty half dollars, which he threw broadcast among the crowd, saying, "The laborer is worthy of his hire; Gentlemen, the enemy is in sight, get!" and he "got." It was quite a while before the governor and the speaker of the House heard the last of the scare.

THE ORIGINAL CAPITAL FIGHT.

There were not many bills introduced at this session which became laws. There were two, however, which led to much discussion and a very considerable amount of bad blood among the members. These provided for the location of the Terri-

torial capital at St. Paul and "for the apportionment of representation of the Territory." As to the first, it has been asserted and stated from time to time that the location of the capital at St. Paul was the result of a trade between St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater, by which St. Paul was to have the capital, St. Anthony the university, and Stillwater the prison. The story has been told so often that nearly everyone in the state believes it to be true. Some old settlers have asserted that the compact was made as early as 1848 at Stillwater, before the organization of the Territory. If that had been true, why was the capital not located at the first session? Now there is not a word of truth in the statement. The St. Anthony members, both in the Council and House, fought the bill at every stage, from its introduction until its passage, and died like men in the trenches. John Rollins represented St. Anthony in the Council, and Edward Patch and John W. North in the House. The St. Anthony members, however, did make a bargain, not with St. Paul, but with David Olmsted and William R. Sturgis, members of the Council from the sixth district, that, if they would vote with them to defeat the location of the capital at St. Paul, they would use their influence to secure from Congress a grant of a township of land to aid in the construction of county buildings in Benton county. In fact, they did secure the passage of a memorial to Congress asking for the grant.

The St. Anthony combine, even after the passage of the bill, to show the blood that was in them, proposed to get the title of the bill amended so as to read, "A bill to provide for carrying out a magnificent scheme of log rolling."

It may be said that in 1857, when an attempt was made to remove the capital from St. Paul, had it not been for the St. Anthony delegation in the House of Representatives, the capital of Minnesota would be on Nicollet Island instead of in St. Paul. When the St. Paul members, realizing that the fight was a hopeless one, and preferring St. Anthony to St. Peter, made a motion to strike out the words St. Peter in the bill and insert St. Anthony, the motion came within one of being carried, the St. Anthony members voting against it. They preferred St. Peter to St. Anthony. They were a modest set with small heads.

LOCATING THE UNIVERSITY.

The most exciting subject before the legislature of 1851 was the apportionment bill. It was claimed by one side that it was unfair, because it gave the territory west of the Mississippi river an undue proportion of representatives, as its only inhabitants, except soldiers and Indian traders, were Indians. Pembina county, with only seventy acres under cultivation, had twice the representation of Benton county, which had 4,000 acres of cultivated land. After the passage of the bill by the House, seven members who refused to vote upon its third reading handed in their resignations as members, which were promptly accepted. The fight on this bill was the aftermath of the bill locating the capital. After it had become evident that St. Anthony had no show for the capital, St. Paul joined in with St. Anthony to secure the university. As St. Anthony was in Ramsey county at that time, they were as anxious for its location at the Falls of St. Anthony as the members representing that village, and at their request Gen. George L. Becker, of St. Paul, drafted the bill which was afterwards introduced into the legislature by Mr. North, of St. Anthony, and became a law.

It may be possible that the St. Paul members thought that the granting of a charter for a university was kind of mythical, as there had been no appropriation in money or a grant of land to aid in its erection. In fact, the people were more interested in claims, town sites, pine lands, furs, and the wherewith to get daily bread, than in universities. I am inclined to think that, had St. Paul realized the situation, the university might have been located somewhere else. I am willing to admit that, notwithstanding all the shrewdness, cunning, and political manipulation of St. Paul, with the growth and development of the state during a period of little over half a century, it is evident that the city at the Falls of St. Anthony received the largest piece of pie.

During this second session of the legislature there were other laws passed which it is unnecessary to refer to. It may be said, however, that they were mostly for ferry charters, laying out territorial roads, the building of booms, and divorce-

ing people who had come to Minnesota to take a fresh start. The session finally closed on the night of March 31, which was a day and night of excitement, such as we have never seen since in St. Paul and never desire to. Hundreds of citizens were about the streets and public places, armed to the teeth and ready, upon the slightest provocation, to shoot down their fellow citizens who opposed them. Feelings of enmity, bitterness, and hatred, were engendered between citizens during the session, and particularly during its last days, which extended even into family relations and were not eradicated for months.

THE THIRD LEGISLATURE.

The third session of the Legislative Assembly convened on the seventh day of January, 1852, in a brick building which had been erected for commercial purposes on Third street, on part of a lot now covered by the Merchants' Hotel, and which was known as the Goodrich building, having been erected by Judge Goodrich. The Council elected William H. Forbes as president, and the House of Representatives elected John D. Ludden as speaker.

Mr. Ludden then was a resident on the St. Croix, but now for many years he has been a resident of St. Paul, and is one of the oldest and most honored members of your society. While he was successively a member of the Territorial Legislature in the House and in the Council, he was always a friend of St. Paul, and his vote was never wanted when it did not come as loyally as if he had been a representative of St. Paul. This city can never do too much honor to Mr. Ludden for the stand he took in our capital fights.

This session was the first in which Pembina was represented in the Territorial legislature. Norman W. Kittson, who afterward became one of St. Paul's most public-spirited and prominent citizens, was the member of the Council. Joseph Rolette, who a few years later became famous as a man who could defeat legislation of which he did not approve, and Antoine Gingras, were the members of the House of Representatives. Kittson, Rolette, and Gingras, each had his cariole drawn by three dogs, in which they came to St. Paul from

Pembina. They were eighteen days on the way, two of which they did not travel, owing to the inclemency of the weather. Pembina is now reached in twelve hours from St. Paul by rail. For the first few days of the session it was hard to tell whether it was the dogs or the honorable members who represented Pembina, as the dogs were first in the legislative halls and the last to leave, and it was only when the sergeant at arms was ordered to put the dogs out and keep them out, as Pembina was not entitled to double representation, that the two houses were relieved of their presence, and then there was not an entire riddance of them, for they hung around the outer doors and manifested a disposition to let no one in or out of the halls, as was the case in the late strike at South St. Paul by the strikers.

THE INDIAN TREATIES OF 1851.

Governor Ramsey delivered his third annual message on January 13, 1852, in the Baptist church, a small frame building, which stood upon a hill known as Baptist hill, long since dug wholly away, the ground now being occupied by some of our largest wholesale houses. In his message he said, in part, as follows:

To the people of Minnesota, the most interesting political event that has occurred since the organization of the Territory is the extinction, by the treaties of Traverse des Sioux, Mendota, and Pembina, of the Sioux and Chippewa title to immense tracts of land upon the western side of the Mississippi. These treaties bridge over the wide chasm, which could alone obstruct the advance of Minnesota to the lofty destination evidently reserved for her.

By the two former treaties, the Dakota Indians relinquish to the government their right of usufruct to all the country previously claimed by them east of the Sioux Wood and Big Sioux rivers, extending over four degrees of latitude and five of longitude, and covering a superficial extent of 45,000 square miles. This vast district nature has marked out for exalted destinies.

Of the 37,000,000 square geographical miles of territorial surface which the globe, according to Malte Brun, contains, probably no tract of equal extent embraces a fewer number of acres doomed to eternal sterility. Within its extreme limits, it may be safely asserted that there is hardly a rood that is not arable; for the wet and swampy lands are easily drained, and eventually will be the most eagerly sought for agricultural purposes. Rapid streams, fed from rich

prairies, and shaded by noble forests; clear lakes, stocked with fish; a soil enriched with the spoils of the decayed vegetation of several thousand years, are features common to the entire region. Rich veins of mineral wealth, and an inexhaustible command of water power, point it out as the future abode of manufacturing greatness; while the boundless plains, subdued by the voluntary toil of freemen, will become the chosen abiding place of pastoral republicanism. (The governor had no reference to modern republicanism.) * * * * * These various rivers in great part navigable, each with their own set of tributary streams, some fed by rills which gush from fertile highlands, others draining lakes of transparent clearness, form a chain of inland communication, which, as a natural feature, is unknown in the physical geography of the Eastern hemisphere. Over all, and through all, pervades a climate which stimulates exertion and is eminently favorable to health.

Although the treaties to which the governor refers had not yet been ratified by the Senate of the United States, and were not ratified until June and August of that year 1852, while the treaty in 1851 with the Ojibways at Pembina failed of ratification, the mere fact that the treaties had been made satisfied the people. By the time the Sioux treaties were ratified, many thousand immigrants had come to Minnesota, settled upon the land, made claims, laid out town sites, and opened up farms, villages, and cities. It was the dawn of a new day in the history of Minnesota, and from that date on till now she has grown in population and wealth.

It may be said that while Governor Ramsey and Luke Lea, United States Commissioners, have always been credited with the making the Indian treaties of Traverse des Sioux, Mendota, and Pembina, and properly so, yet had it not been for such men as Henry H. Sibley, Martin McLeod, Norman W. Kittson, William H. Forbes, and Alexis Bailly, these treaties would never have been made. They were the power behind the throne, for they were all Indian traders, had been in the country for many years, spoke the languages of the Dakotas and Ojibways, and had their confidence. It was to their interest that these treaties should be made, as the Indians were largely in debt to them, and hence they used all of their influence to assist in the making of a treaty. The commissioners did not do much more than feed the Indians and indicate what they wanted; the traders did the rest.

PROHIBITION LAW.

There was but little general legislation at this session of 1852, and the only bill that gave rise to any special discussion was one entitled: "A bill for the restriction of the sale of intoxicating liquors, and for other purposes." As previously mentioned, the villages of St. Anthony Falls and Stillwater were almost exclusively settled by people from the state of Maine. After Neal Dow in 1851 had secured the passage of what was known as the Maine liquor law, the settlers from Maine in Minnesota, under the impression that anything done in Maine was all right, started out to secure a similar liquor law in Minnesota. Though the people did not take seriously to the proposition at first, they finally succeeded. Section 19 of the act provided for a submission of the law to the electors, before it went into effect. It was voted upon April 5, 1852, and the unexpected happened, a majority of the electors voted in favor of the law. What may seem strange, even Ramsey county gave a majority in favor of prohibition, a thing that would hardly occur in this age of religious and temperance reform; the old settlers were of a better class and with less pretentions. The law, however, was held to be in violation of the Organic Act of the Territory and therefore void.

Before this decision was rendered by the court, an attempt was made to enforce a seizure of a quantity of liquor found in the warehouse of William Constans. A riot appeared to be imminent, as those opposed to the law were out in force to resist the arrest and seizure. The sheriff had been active and had sworn in some fifty deputies determined to enforce the law. While the riot was in its incipient stages, the Rev. Edward D. Neill appeared upon the scene, armed with a Bible, and, taking a position on the head of a whisky barrel, advised the crowd to let the law take its course. After some discussion and quite a number of warlike threats, a compromise was effected. Mr. Constans agreed not to sell or in any manner dispose of the liquor he had on hand, until the question of the constitutionality of the act would be passed upon by the court. If the validity of the act was sustained, he agreed to turn the same over to the sheriff.

At the session of the legislature in 1853, an attempt was made to re-enact the law, eliminating the unconstitutional sections of submitting it to the electors of the Territory for their approval. It passed the Council, but failed in the House of Representatives by one vote. Another attempt to pass a prohibitory law was made at the session of 1854, but it never came to a vote in the House of Representatives.

As the territory grew in population, and immigrants came pouring in from the Old World, bringing with them the habits and customs of their fatherland, the sentiment in favor of prohibition became less every day, until now the passage of such an act is not seriously entertained.

THE FOURTH LEGISLATURE.

The fourth session of the Territorial Assembly met on the 5th day of January, 1853, in a brick building on the southeast corner of Third and Minnesota streets. Martin McLeod was elected president of the Council, and Dr. David Day, of Long Prairie, speaker of the House of Representatives. Dr. Day was afterward, for many years, one of St. Paul's leading and most influential citizens.

Notwithstanding the fact that a speaker had not been elected until the twentieth day of the session, and then not until sixty-four ballots had been taken, this session was quiet and uneventful, having none of the bitterness of some of the former sessions. It is true that the Whigs, having control of the national administration, and having filled all the Indian agencies and postoffices with men of that faith, began to think that the Whig party in Minnesota amounted to something after all, and that they could do business on their own account; but, generally speaking, they got so mixed up with the opposition that it was difficult to tell which was which. They did not know much more about party principles than a great many men in our day, and, to be frank, that is very little.

TERRITORIAL AND PRESENT LEGISLATIVE METHODS COMPARED.

During the sessions of 1853-4, one of the legislative pastimes was the introduction of bills to incorporate plank road companies. Some became laws, others fell by the wayside. A history of these bills was amusing. They were drawn in the office of the Territorial printer, and were introduced in the legislative assembly by some of his friends. As a matter of fact, it was not thought that any plank roads would ever be built, but the bills were introduced to swell the printer's account. All bills were ordered printed, the printer receiving as compensation one dollar per thousand ems. Bills being fat work, they may be said to have been a perquisite. Later on, many bills incorporating railroad companies were introduced for the same purpose.

Members of the legislature at the present time have become more enlightened as to legislative rascality. Instead of adding to the bank account of the printer, they look out for number one. At every session of the legislature, bills are introduced attacking railroads and other corporations, not with the expectation that they will become laws, but that the members introducing them will be seen. If the sight is sufficiently large to pay off a mortgage on the homestead, or to buy an additional forty acres of land, or to cover the expenses of a trip to Europe, the passage of the bill will not be pressed, and the member introducing it will tell you that upon further investigation he found he was wrong.

On the adjournment of the legislature, from seed time to harvest, and from harvest to the election in the fall, you will find the member going around among his constituents, explaining his votes and actions. Perhaps the explanation may be satisfactory, he may be returned as a member, and, with his experience and education the previous session, he may so enrich himself as to be willing to retire to private life, or to take a nomination for governor or member of Congress at the close of the session. On the other hand, if public sentiment is such that he dare not risk a canvass, he will tell you that he cannot afford it, that politics are an expensive thing, the outlay greater than the income, and that man passes into history as a friend of the people. We have many such.

THE FIFTH LEGISLATURE.

The year 1854 and the Fifth Legislature were ushered in with greater hopes and brighter prospects for the then far-off Territory of Minnesota. The days of ox teams and prairie schooners were passing away. The year previous had witnessed a civil and military expedition, by order of the United States, starting from St. Paul in search of the long-desired thoroughfare to the Pacific. Governor Isaac I. Stevens, who was in charge of the expedition, had recently made a report, showing that the route was entirely practicable.

On the fourth day of January, 1854, the legislature convened for the first time in the new capitol, a building which cost nearly $32,000, and which we thought was a magnificent edifice. The architect received fifty dollars for drawing the plans.

Ramsey had been succeeded as governor by Col. Willis A. Gorman of Indiana, who, in his first message to the legislature, urged the importance of railway communication, and dwelt upon the necessity of fostering the interests of education and of the lumbermen. It is needless for me to say to you, gentlemen of the Historical Society, that the latter have been fairly dealt with. At least, I have never heard any complaint that these poor fellows have suffered from unreasonable laws or an arbitrary enforcement, and nowhere will you find their names among the poverty-stricken or as seeking aid from the charitable.

During the session quite a number of bills became laws, granting ferry franchises, locating Territorial roads, organizing counties, and incorporating Hamline and Minnesota Central Universities and the city of St. Paul.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

Among other bills which became laws in 1854 was one that led to much ill feeling among the prominent men of the Territory, which years did not eradicate. A bill was then pending in Congress, giving to the Territory of Minnesota a grant of lands to aid in the construction of a railroad from the mouth of the Left Hand or Nemadji river on Lake Superior

via St. Paul to the Iowa state line. The bill introduced in the Territorial Legislature was to incorporate the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company, and was so drawn that, if the bill then pending in Congress became a law, the lands granted would enure to the benefit of the Minnesota company. It was thought by the Minnesota statesmen that, with the enactment of the two laws, there were millions in it. Everyone wanted a hand in the deal, but the band wagon was too small to hold all the old combinations of politicians still existing. The governor was left out in the cold, and from the day of the introduction of the bill in the legislature until midnight of the last day of the session, when he approved it, he fought its passage with all of his great ability.

Now, after fifty years, with a knowledge of the great growth and power of railroad corporations, time has demonstrated that in nearly every one of his objections to the bill he was right. Then, however, they were looked upon as the outgrowth of pure selfishness upon his part; the facts are, the people were against him. I have no doubt, in my own mind, that the bill was approved under duress.

It had been said, and perhaps truthfully, that there would be an executive veto. From the time the bill reached the governor until it was returned to the Council approved, a large proportion of the male population of St. Paul, with quite a number from St. Anthony and Stillwater, kept surging in and around the capitol, and it may be said to have been a howling mob, with threats of violence and blood; if not for this, there might have been a veto. "He that complies against his will, is of his own opinion still."

Two days after the adjournment of the legislature, the governor left for Washington, where he devoted his time to securing such amendments to the bill pending in Congress for a grant of lands to aid in the construction of railroads as would exclude the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company from being the beneficiary of the grant. In this he and his associates would have been successful, had there not been an alteration in the bill. The third section of the bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, read as follows:

And be it further enacted, That the said lands hereby granted to the said Territory shall be subject to the disposal of any legislature thereof, for the purpose aforesaid and no other, nor shall they enure to the benefit of any company heretofore constituted or organized.

The alteration consisted in striking out the word "or" and inserting the word "and," which made the section read, "heretofore constituted and organized." Who made the alteration, was never definitely settled; but the better opinion was, that the clerk of the House of Representatives made the change. The Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company had been constituted, but had not organized. On the first day of July, 1854, two days after the approval of the bill by the president, the company met in the Chamber of Commerce in the city of New York and organized and laid claim to the grant.

The Minnesotans who had opposed the passage of the bill incorporating the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company, when they became advised of the alteration, sent up a howl of lamentation, which was never equaled by the children of Israel in their darkest hour of servitude. Congress was beseiged by day and night, as having permitted a flagrant attack upon the purity of the National Legislature. Notwithstanding the fact that enlightened jurists and lawyers were of the opinion that the alteration was merely verbal and did not change the meaning of the act, which must be determined from all the language used in it, taken as a whole and not depending upon the construction of a single word, its enemies at home, with the active co-operation of members of Congress who were opposed to making any grants for railroad purposes, secured its repeal by an act approved August 4, 1854.

Minnesota for a while may be said to have been in mourning. The discussion in subsequent Territorial legislatures, and in the newspapers of the day in regard to it, would more than fill a good sized volume. Yet in the light of subsequent events and action of Congress in making liberal grants of the public lands to the Territory and State for railroad purposes, perhaps it was well that the act was repealed.

LAW FOR IMPRISONMENT OF DEBTORS.

It may seem strange to those not familiar with the earlier laws of the Territory, to know that for four years after its organization it had a law which authorized imprisonment for debt. The act was passed at the first session of the Territorial Legislature. All the judgment creditor had to do to place the debtor behind the bars, was to satisfy the justice that the debt was founded on a contract and that the debtor had property sufficient to satisfy the judgment over and above what was exempt and could not be levied upon, which was always easily done in an age of reckless swearing. The law failed to make any provision for the discharge of the debtor, unless the debt was paid. The imprisonment seemed to be indefinite and during the life of the debtor.

A law was passed in 1851, which seemed a little more merciful for the poor debtor, as it gave him an opportunity, after having enjoyed the luxury of prison life for ten days, to make an application to two justices of the peace, for a discharge from prison. If the justices were satisfied that he had neither real estate or personal property exceeding in value twenty dollars, and that he had not conveyed or concealed or in any way disposed of any property with intent to defraud his creditors, he received his discharge. The judgment remained in full force against any estate which he had then or which at any other time belonged to him, apparently without regard to the statute of limitation. There were several imprisonments for debt under this law. Shylocks exist in every age. One man died while so imprisoned. It was thought he committed suicide, but whether from the disgrace of being imprisoned for the paltry debt of twenty-eight dollars, or for being confined in such a building as the first jail of Ramsey county was, no one has ever been able to definitely determine.

As time went on, public attention began to be aroused against the law, because it was a relic of barbarism; but many persons who might have settled in Minnesota went elsewhere to make homes, and residents of Minnesota, when they began to be financially embarrassed, folded their tents like the Arab and sought other homes. In 1854, a bill was introduced for its repeal. It was referred to a committee, who in their report said, in part:

That an American may, in the nineteenth century, be incarcerated within the four walls of a prison, cut off from the light of heaven and communication with his fellow men, and this for the inconvenient crime of being poor, is to your committee a source of astonishment and regret, especially when they think upon the various mutations which daily transpire in our midst. The man of wealth today is the beggar of tomorrow.

The bill failed to pass, however, for the reason that it had been drawn by Judge Aaron Goodrich, who was not a member, and who had attempted to repeal about half of the civil code in the bill. At the next session of the legislature a bill was unanimously passed repealing the law. In our day there are wiped out in Minnesota hundreds of thousand dollars of debts, without payment, as it were, by the stroke of the pen in the Bankrupt Court of Minnesota. It is no exaggeration on my part to say that it is a very fortunate thing for a great many persons in Minnesota in our time, that the law for imprisonment for debt, passed in 1849, has been repealed.

LATER YEARS OF THE TERRITORY.

If it were not for the fact that this paper has already been spun out beyond the limit, the writer had intended to follow up briefly the story from 1855 down to the organization of the State government in 1858; to speak of the real estate mania in 1855, '56, and '57, up to the time when the financial panic struck the Northwest, how every man thought he was a millionaire, and then a struggle for daily bread, how hundreds were forced out upon the prairies and opened up farms to get the wherewith to live; of the law transferring St. Anthony from Ramsey county to Hennepin county; and of the grand military and civic parade, with oratory and music, on the occasion of laying the corner stone of a magnificent building which was to be erected for the Historical Society. That was forty-eight years ago the 24th of last June; yet, gentlemen, I am told the building has never been completed. The story of the attempt to remove the capital, which was only defeated by the cunning and shrewdness of Joseph Rolette, a member of the legislature from Pembina, and the dual Constitutional Convention,—these and many other incidents

in Minnesota history might have been written up, but the work has been left for some one else.

STATUES PROPOSED FOR GOVERNORS SIBLEY AND RAMSEY.

Before I close this paper, however, I want to make a suggestion. On the second day of July, 1864, Congress passed an act, which in part reads as follows:

> And the President is hereby authorized to invite each and all the states to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each state, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or from distinguished civic or military services, such as each state shall determine to be worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the old hall of the House of Representatives, in the capitol of the United States, which is hereby set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as a national statuary hall, for the purposes herein indicated.

The invitation was extended by the President to the State, but no action has ever been taken to furnish either statue. Now, has not the time come when the two statues that Minnesota is entitled to should be placed in Statutary Hall? To do this, where should the movement originate, if not in and by the Historical Society? While Minnesota has many honored dead, for whom the State would do itself honor by placing their statues in the National Statuary Hall, I take it for granted, as we have only two places, that there will be no difference of opinion as to the names of the men whose statues should be placed there, the one Henry Hastings Sibley, the other Alexander Ramsey. And why? Because they stand out, more prominently than any others, as the men who laid the corner stone of our great State, and who deserve the reward of immortality as far as it can by the State be conferred upon them.

Henry Hastings Sibley was really the father of Minnesota. He first came to what is now Minnesota in 1834, and located at St. Peter's, now Mendota, as the chief factor of the American Fur Company. He erected the first civilized dwelling house in the Northwest in 1835. He performed the first judicial functions here, as a justice of the peace, when St. Peter's was a part of Iowa. When Wisconsin was admitted

into the Union, in 1848, he was chosen by the citizens who occupied the deserted remnant of the territory to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to secure the passage of an act organizing the Territory of Minnesota; and in March, 1849, he succeeded in so doing. He was twice elected as a delegate to Congress from the Territory of Minnesota, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention. When Minnesota was admitted into the Union, as a State, in 1858, he was chosen its first governor. In 1862, when our state was threatened with destruction by the rebellion of the Sioux Indians, he was the man that was chosen to defend it, and he did it with success. He was twice a member of the Legislature. He was always, until the day of his death, a wise, cultivated, and universally esteemed and beloved citizen of the State, enjoying the confidence of our people in an eminent degree.

Alexander Ramsey was the first governor of Minnesota Territory, and to him, more than all the rest of the people of the Territory, we are indebted today for a magnificent school fund, now amounting to fifteen millions of dollars, and in the future destined to reach a sum of not less than forty millions of dollars. He was one of the commissioners that made the treaties with the Sioux Indians, in 1851, by which they ceeded all their lands west of the Mississippi river to the United States. He was the second governor of the State, and represented it during two terms in the United States Senate. It is no discredit to other senators to say that he was the best one Minnesota ever had, as far as the interests of the State were concerned. He was chosen, while living here later as one of our citizens, to the positions of Secretary of War of the United States, Secretary of the Navy, and Commissioner to Utah, in all of which distinguished offices he performed their various and important duties with credit and honor to himself, the State, and the Nation.

I trust your Society will memorialize the Legislature at its next session to make such generous appropriation as will enable the Historical Society to secure and place a statue of each of these men in the National Statuary Hall at Washington city.

Josiah B. Chaney.

EARLY BRIDGES AND CHANGES OF THE LAND AND WATER SURFACE IN THE CITY OF ST. PAUL.*

BY JOSIAH B. CHANEY.

At some period of the dim past the Mississippi river has washed the bluffs on each side of its present comparatively narrow channel. An examination of the fronts of these bluffs in St. Paul, and elsewhere, proves the above statement to be correct beyond question, I think. But the subject to be treated of in this paper is intended to be limited pretty closely to the period of the existence of St. Paul as the habitation of the "pale-face."

It is acknowledged, by visitors who appreciate the beautiful in nature, that St. Paul possesses, to an exceptional degree, a varied and pleasing landscape. Elevations from which can be viewed long stretches of river bluffs on the one hand, and a broad expanse of charmingly undulating surface of land on the other, are to be found in various parts of the city. Very few, if any, cities in the land are so highly favored in this respect by nature as is St. Paul.

Look for a moment at our parks. Nature provided and indicated the places where they should be. All that man had to do was to secure and ornament the natural sites before they were ruined by men whose only standard of value is the amount of money they can extract from a given place.

St. Paul has already lost several of its most beautiful park sites by man's greed for money. As proof of the truth of this statement, I would call attention to the stone quarries on the river front of Dayton's bluff; and to the buildings, good, bad, and indifferent, erected along the river front from Bridge Square to Hill street. These two portions of the banks of the Mississippi especially

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should have been dedicated to the public forever as parkways, and properly ornamented as such, at the expense of the taxpayers. It would have been a good investment for all concerned. Our Park Board has been in existence only seventeen years, instead of forty-five, as it should have been, and it has all its life been hampered for lack of funds; but, notwithstanding its financial poverty, it has accomplished wonders. Look at Como Park, for instance, which wins the admiration of all visitors, and also of our own people.

You may think I am not adhering to my subject any better than the average clergyman does to his text, but what I have said has a bearing upon what will follow, to an extent that I think justifies its saying. Without further preliminary, however, I will proceed to specify some of the many changes that have taken place within a comparatively few years, taking them mostly in the order of occurrence. The first to notice is the building of the first bridge across the Mississippi river at St. Paul.

FIRST BRIDGING OF THE MISSISSIPPI AT WABASHA STREET.

On March 4, 1854, an act passed by the Territorial Legislature, creating the St. Paul Bridge Company, was approved by the governor, Willis A. Gorman. On the same day he approved the act incorporating the city of St. Paul.

The incorporators of the Bridge Company, named in the act, were Lyman Dayton, J. C. Ramsey, John R. Irvine, J. W. Bass, W. G. LeDuc, W. R. Marshall, Joseph R. Brown, George L. Becker, William Ames, N. Myrick, A. L. Larpenteur, J. W. Simpson, C. N. Oakes, M. E. Ames, and Louis Robert. They were given the usual corporate rights. The company was given authority to select any site, and might build to the west shore, or from bluff to bluff, as the directors might deem best. No bridge could be built by any other party within one mile on either side, without the consent of this company, during the life of the charter, which was thirty-five years from the completion of the bridge. The franchise was to be forfeited if a commencement was not made within two years from the date of the act; and it allowed five years in which to complete the work.

In June, 1856, J. S. Sewall was appointed engineer, and he made the plans and was superintendent of construction. A small amount of work was done during the following fall and winter. In the spring of 1857, arrangements were made to push the work; but on September 15, 1857, the mechanics and laborers refused to work any longer unless they were paid up to that date. Previous to this last date, the Legislature in March, 1856, had extended the time for commencing until July 1 of that year, and had designated four years from the date of the act in which to complete the bridge.

The company ran short of funds, and applied to the city for aid. The Legislature, in March, 1858, authorized the city to loan to the company city bonds to an amount not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, provided the proposition was ratified at an election to be held on the 24th of said March. The result of the election was 1,562 votes for the proposition, and 19 against it. April 26, 1858, the company executed a bond and mortgage to the city, covering all its property and franchises as security for the prompt payment of the interest on the bonds so loaned and of the principal when due. The history of the result of that financial transaction is too long for this paper, and I will not follow it further than to say that the city issued its bonds for the full amount authorized, in lots of twenty-five thousand dollars each, the first $25,000 being granted April 6, 1858; the second on June 1, 1858; the third on September 21, 1858; and the fourth and last on January 4, 1859. The company generally failed to pay the interest, and, as they were city bonds, the city had to do it.

After the bridge was completed, which was in June, 1859 (not in 1858, as Williams has it), the city, by an agreement with the company, took charge of the bridge and used the gate receipts, above expenses, towards paying the interest on the bonds it had loaned to the company. The city also paid numerous claims against the company, after the same had been allowed by the company. In March, 1867, by legislative authority, the company turned the bridge over to the city, the latter paying about 33 1-3 per cent to the stockholders, in city bonds, on the amounts they had paid on their stock. The city thereafter was the owner

in fee, as well as practically for several years previous. The amount of bonds authorized for this purpose was $17,000. It took only $11,382.43.

The authorized capital of the company was $150,000. The stockholders had paid in $18,038.81. The bridge cost $161,855.81. It was a wood and iron trestle structure, 1,311 feet in length, commencing at the river end of Wabasha street, and ending on the West St. Paul side at what was then called Bridge street, later called Dakota avenue, and now known as South Wabasha street. The present bridge rests upon most of the original piers, but being considerably longer, required additional ones. The West St. Paul end was about twelve feet above the ground, to insure its safety against inundations which that flat was subject to once or twice a year. The company, of course, had to grade up to the floor of the bridge; and in 1861 the city graded entirely across the flat, and put in two or three substantial bridges over small creeks. The roadbed was raised several feet above the level of the flat.

The bridge became a free bridge at noon, on the 18th day of November, 1874, coincident with West St. Paul becoming a part of the city of St. Paul, as its sixth ward.

GRADING EAST SEVENTH STREET AND HOFFMAN AVENUE.

The next expensive improvement projected was to grade East Seventh street from Kittson street to the eastern city limits, to a temporary grade. To this end, on October 16, 1860, the city council instructed the city engineer, Gates A. Johnson, to prepare plans and estimates of the cost of this proposed work. At the next meeting of the city council, October 30, the engineer reported that the total cost would be $16,683, as follows: One stone arch culvert across Trout brook, $2,333; one stone arch culvert across Phalen creek, $4,350; embankment and excavation, $10,000. It was considered too costly for the property owners to bear, and the project was allowed to sleep more than ten years, until May 2d, 1871, when Alderman Ferdinand Willius revived it by offering the following:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Assessments be authorized to advertise for plans, specifications, and estimates, for the construction

of a bridge, of wood, or wood and iron combined, with stone or iron piers, over the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad and Phalen creek, on Seventh street.

The resolution was adopted, and on June 8, 1872, after a sleep of another year, the Board of Public Works, which I think had been created in the meantime, reported the engineer's estimate of cost as follows:

Extension of Trout brook culvert	$2,000
Masonry and bridge over the St. Paul and Pacific railroad	4,000
Earth embankment between Kittson street and Bradley street	5,500
Grading between Bradley street and Lake Superior railroad	500
Trestle bridge, plan of 1871, over Phalen creek valley.	13,000
Grading from east end of trestle bridge to Pearl [now Margaret] street	13,500
Riprapping embankment, to prevent washing	1,200
Incidentals, and costs	2,500
Estimated total	$42,200

The contract for the improvement was awarded to J. W. Smyth, for $39,400, and was dated June 24, 1872, and expired October 1, 1872,—a few days over three months! Of course he could not do it within the life of that contract. More time was given him, and the work was completed on August 22, 1873.

Until this improvement was completed there was but one carriage road from the city to the summit of Dayton's bluff. It ran by the way of the line of Fourth street (which was then simply a bad road), across Trout brook and Phalen creek; thence to Commercial street, at the foot of the bluff, and to what is now Conway street; then up a long, steep and stony hill, past the Dayton residence, which stood and still stands near the brow of the bluff, at the northeast corner of Hoffman avenue and Conway street, 25 or 30 feet above the grade of the former.

Hoffman avenue was first graded in 1873, the same year in which the East Seventh street improvement was completed. Patrick Nash was the contractor. The north end of it was made to connect with the Seventh street bridge on grade. It had a down grade to Conway street, then an up grade to the summit of the hill.

REMOVAL OF BAPTIST HILL.

Leaving Dayton's bluff to get along with two carriage approaches from the west for the next eleven years, we will return to the lower part of the city, where most of the heavy wholesale and manufacturing business is located, as well as the railroad general offices, freight houses, etc., to see the changes wrought there within the last forty-two years. For those whose residence does not date back to 1862, the contour of this portion of the city in its natural condition is shown on S. P. Folsom's official map of St. Paul in 1855, as no material changes took place before 1862.

Nearly all the space between the bluff and the river, from Sibley street to Dayton's bluff, and for some distance beyond Fourth street, up Trout and Phalen creeks, which at this point are in one valley, was a bottomless bog.

Occupying the space between Jackson street and Broadway, from Fourth to Seventh street, stood a high drift hill, called by various names, as Mount Pisgah, Baptist hill, and Burbank's hill. It was best known as Baptist hill, so called from the fact that a Baptist church once stood upon its summit. The northeast corner of this hill crossed Seventh street, and the southwest corner crossed Fourth street. A spur of it followed the line of Fifth street to Neill street, or a little below, and thence up Neill to Seventh street, connecting there with one running from Kittson street to Westminster avenue, which forms the left bluff of Trout brook for a long distance up the stream.

Sibley street was graded through Baptist hill in 1876, making a cut of fifty-one feet. I think that was about the highest part of the hill, and the point from which cannon salutes were fired, during the Civil War, in honor of Union victories. Fifth street was graded through this hill in 1877; Sixth street was also graded through it in 1877; and Wacouta street in 1877 or 1878. When these four streets had been cut through the hill, they left the block bounded by them standing as a plateau about fifty feet high. The hill was composed of a heterogeneous mass of drift clay, gravel, boulders, broken limestone, and pretty nearly everything else in the way of hill-building material. It was just what was needed in other places near by, but not there. This plateau and the rest of the hill have long since disappeared, except a few isolated low

places that have not yet been leveled. A large portion of the material was used on lower Fourth and Third streets, to fill the bogs and other bottomless mudholes. It was free dirt, and every one was at liberty to help himself. The hill gradually disappeared, and the area bounded by the four streets named is now Smith Park.

At one time there was quite a settlement of respectable citizens on that hill. The Burbank residence, a large two-story brick house, occupied a prominent position on the river front, and from it a fine view could be had of the river's magnificent scenery. Among other prominent citizens who had their habitation there was the late William H. Grant, a member and councilor of this Society. On the ground once occupied by that hill, now stand massive business blocks.

GRADING FOR THE UNION DEPOT AND THE RAILROADS.

Before leaving this portion of the city I will call attention to another transformation scene, one which, for magnitude and cost, far exceeds the last one mentioned, the Union Depot Yards. Where now stands the Union Depot itself, and nearly all the space occupied by those miles and miles of steel rails in the depot yards, forty-two years ago, and several years less than that number, was a literal "slough of despond." It was fathomless and apparently bottomless. The original Union Depot building, I think, was on a pile foundation; but, whether it was so or not, the foundation settled, and the walls cracked to such an extent as to make the building unsafe. I think that it was officially condemned, and I know there was talk of doing so; but it was patched up in some way so that it did not fall. This building was burned June 11, 1884, the inside being completely destroyed. It was immediately restored and improved.

The first railroad operated in Minnesota was the St. Paul and Pacific, now the Great Northern. Its first track extended from St. Paul to St. Anthony, a distance of ten miles. Its first train of passenger cars arrived here on the steamboat Key City on the morning of June 28, 1862, and was immediately transferred to the track. In the afternoon of the same day the locomotive, Wil-

liam Crooks, which had arrived previously, was backed down the track, coupled to the cars, and took a distinguished party of citizens to St. Anthony and back. Instead of attempting to fill in a roadbed through that quagmire, from Trout brook to the station, they drove piles and built their track on them. The River Division of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway also came into the city on piles through or over that quagmire, for the same reason that it had apparently no bottom. Both roads gradually filled in a roadbed. Now, all that flat has been filled until it is from a few feet to ten feet, or more, above its former level.

The first depot building of the old St. Paul and Pacific railroad company was a small affair, and was first located at the foot of Rosabel street. For many years past it has been in the service of other roads, its last service being for the Minneapolis and St. Louis railway. It now stands where it was last used, behind the building occupied by the general offices of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, on the east side of Broadway. This large building, also the General Offices Building of the Great Northern Railway Company, and several other heavy buildings within the bounds of that great bog, rest in a clay-pit. Some of them do not rest very well, notably a large five-story brick building at the upper side of the Third street bridge; it is cracked in several places from bottom to top.

The railroad business of St. Paul has grown to such proportions within the last few years that there is not room enough on the original flat to handle it, and the roads are reaching out in various directions for more room; they are asking for vacation of streets and alleys, and purchasing private property, so that they can extend their trackage.

The Northern Pacific Company has purchased, besides other real estate, the residence property of the late Horace Thompson, on Woodward and Lafayette avenues, which they propose to grade down for use. They had already demolished the buildings, when the tornado of August 20, 1904, came to their aid and uprooted nearly all the trees on the grounds.

FILLING INTO THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Several years ago, the exact time I do not know, the Union Depot Company, with the consent of the United States government, filled in a portion of the river, of the following dimensions: Beginning at the Chicago Great Western draw-bridge, and extending 4,300 feet down the river, to Phalen creek, with an average width of about 100 feet and a maximum width of about 190 feet, making a total of about 430,000 square feet, that is, about ten acres.

In 1901-02, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, also with government authority, filled in a strip in front of a portion of this area previously secured by the Union Depot Company, beginning at Broadway, and extending down the river to a point just below Phalen creek, leaving an opening for the creek. The length of the fill is about 3,000 feet, with an average width of about 150 feet and a maximum width of about 240 feet. The total area thus filled is about twelve acres.

In making these fills, the railroads have covered seven islands that appear on the early maps, six of which had names of pioneers. On one of these islands once stood Prince's rotary steam sawmill; it stood nearly opposite the foot of John street, between John and Olive streets. It was destroyed by fire before its site was wanted by the railroad people, and thus died respectably.

The Chicago Great Western railway some years ago acquired a strip of the river, on the west side, of the following size: The fill begins at South Wabasha street, and extends to South Robert street, with a width of about 400 feet, and also includes two blocks west of South Wabasha street, and one block east of South Robert street, making in total something over twenty acres.

The history of railway improvements in the lower-town district would be an interesting one, but would be foreign to the object of this paper; and if it were not, I am not competent to write it. I have given only so much of it as pertained to changes in the land and water surfaces, both of which are involved to a large extent.

The first grain elevator in St. Paul was located on the river bank, a little east of the foot of Wacouta street. It was built soon after the entrance of railroads to the city, and was commonly

called the "Delano Elevator." On one of its supporting piles was the mark from which levels were started. The building was destroyed by fire many years ago, and its site is now buried.

THE RAVINE AT JACKSON STREET.

Before leaving the river front, I will speak of that noted ravine which the old settlers tell of to new comers, in stories that sound very much like the proverbial fish stories; but some of them, at least, are true.

Starting at Third street, between Sibley and Jackson streets, a ravine existed in the early days of St. Paul, running in a west-northwest direction, so that it entered the south line of Fourth street near the middle of the block, and continuing in the same direction, reached the west line of Jackson street at the north-west corner of that and Fourth streets, and passed on for some distance. The ravine was quite wide, and sufficiently deep to allow the river, in times of unusually great freshets, to back up into the gully as far as Jackson street to a depth sufficient to float a light skiff. The bottom of the ravine at that point was from thirty to thirty-five feet below the present grade of Jackson and Fourth streets at their junction.

On the north side of the ravine, the late Lot Moffet kept a tavern called, on a triangular sign suspended from the front end of the house, "Temperance House." The building was a wooden one, and not nearly as large as the Hotel Ryan. Jackson street had not been fully graded when I first passed by the house, but a sidewalk had been laid, and I remember that it was nearly on a level with the eaves of the house. When the street was graded, the house was nearly hidden from view a short distance away. As the street grade was raised, he would build higher, and finally he built another edifice which inclosed the original one, living in the old house until the new one had a roof on, when he took the old house out, in pieces. The city paid him several hundred dollars, in bonds, for damages on account of the street grade. He had about two stories below the street. His new edifice, on account of its peculiar and original architecture, was called "Moffet's Castle." The First National Bank Building now occupies its site. As the ravine was springy and the ground beneath was very soft, when

the erection of that building was undertaken, it was found an expensive job to get a solid foundation. The president of the bank, Mr. H. P. Upham, recently informed me that it cost them $20,000 to get the foundation up to the water-table. Hon. C. D. Gilfillan also had similar trouble at the northwest corner of the Gilfillan Block, on the corner diagonally opposite; and others who erected business blocks along the south side of Fourth street, between Jackson and Sibley streets, had a similar experience.

Nearly all the territory from Jackson street west to Wabasha street, between Fourth and Ninth streets, tributary to this ravine, has been filled in from a few inches to fifteen or more feet, the original surface having been of a clayey composition and unreliable for heavy buildings. There are a few spots where the limestone remains in place, the principal one being the site of the Court House; but the northeast corner of that building hangs over the clay-pit, both the limestone and sandstone being absent. It is very expensive to get secure foundations in that section. The New York Life Building did not, and the northeast corner of it is gradually sinking. Twice, to my personal knowledge, they have raised the inner edge of the sidewalk, so as to make it incline toward the streets instead of the building, and several of the big granite blocks, especially on the Sixth street side, are broken.

LATER BRIDGING AND GRADING.

In 1884 and 1885, there was probably more money expended for bridging and grading in St. Paul than in any other two years of its history.

In 1883, the wooden bridge over Phalen creek on East Seventh street, built in 1873, had become so decayed as to be dangerous, and it was condemned, carriage travel being blocked. Then came the serious question of what should replace it. Finally it was decided to make a solid fill, with stone arches over the railroad tracks and creek. It was a very large undertaking, for the valley was about one hundred feet deep, and very wide, but it was deemed to be really the cheapest in the end, as plenty of material was at hand in the deep cuts which would necessarily be made to produce a proper grade ascending eastward to the summit of the hill. The excavated earth would have to be deposited somewhere,—another instance of Nature's careful regard for the law of supply and de-

mand, as frequently illustrated in St. Paul. The Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads occupied Trout brook valley from bluff to bluff, and I believe they took care of that valley where a continuous steel or iron bridge spans the chasm.

The McArthur Brothers took the contract. They also regraded Hoffman avenue from Sixth to Seventh street, to correspond with the new grade on Seventh.

Oakland avenue, a street running upward along the bluff from Ramsey street to Summit avenue, was opened in 1884-5, at a cost of $51,469.75. The city contributed $20,000 in bonds toward its cost. The assessment for the balance was spread over a large area. The especial object for which the street was constructed was to afford an approach by street cars to the south side of St. Anthony hill. The Grand avenue line to Groveland Park traverses this avenue.

St. Paul has thirty-four iron and steel bridges, which cost $2,708,641.06; and twenty-six built of wood and other material, at the cost of $150,413.21. The total investment of this city in bridges now in use is thus $2,859,054.27. I will give the original cost of a few of the most important and expensive of these bridges, and the length of some of the long ones.

East Seventh street, over Trout brook and Phalen creek valley	$73,614.68
Robert street, length, 1,545 feet	318,572.78
Marshall avenue, length, 1,273 feet	151,097.03
Fort Snelling, length, 1,078 feet	171,146.78
Selby avenue, length, 723 feet	91,023.75
Como avenue	50,047.76
Dale street	53,941.12
Arcade street	57,097.07
Smith avenue, "High Bridge," length, 2,773 feet	479,527.70
Sixth street, length, 1,156 feet	148,039.98
University avenue	123,046.30
Wabasha street, across the Mississippi river, length, 1,530 feet	235,912.13
The foregoing are all first-class bridges.	
Third street, partly of wood, length, 1,421 feet	90,315.17

CUTS AND FILLS IN STREETS.

On Dayton's bluff the cuts and fills are numerous, as may be seen from the street cars, but generous Nature has provided places to deposit the surplus material from the cuts.

When Wabasha street was opened through "Hog-back" or Wabasha hill, there was a place waiting to receive the vast amount of sand and gravel that had to be disposed of, that place being now Central Park.

When Jackson street was cut through a part of the same hill or long plateau and ridge of drift, there were marshy streets below waiting for a large portion of the material taken from the south side, and deep hollows on the north for that taken from that side.

When Mackubin street was graded north from Iglehart street, a six feet cut at Fuller street furnished the material for a nine feet fill at its crossing of St. Anthony avenue, and graduated off at Carroll street.

When Martin street (now West Central avenue) was graded west from Western avenue, a heavy cut near Mackubin street furnished material for a nine feet fill from Kent street to Dale street and beyond.

In grading St. Anthony avenue west from Western avenue, there were enough small cuts to fill all the low places on the line of the improvement. There was a cut of four to six feet between Dale and St. Albans streets and beyond. The north portion of that elevation was taken down to St. Anthony street grade, and the material (sand and gravel) was deposited by tram cars in a former lake bed directly north, between Martin street (Central avenue) and Aurora avenue.

When Dale street was graded north from Laurel avenue, it passed through three little lakes between Dayton avenue and Carroll street. There was a cut of twelve feet at Carroll street, and plenty of room on Block 25 (between Carroll and Iglehart streets) or on Carroll street west of Dale, to deposit the material taken out.

When Iglehart street was graded west from Mackubin street, there was a cut of 12¾ feet just before reaching Kent street, and

plenty of places in the vicinity for the surplus material. Between Dale and St. Albans streets, it passed through Larpenteur lake. It also passed through a lake between Kent and Dale streets.

When Rondo street was graded west from Mackubin street, there was a deep cut on the south side of the street, between Kent and Dale streets. Enough of the material taken out was deposited on the St. Anthony end of the late W. L. Wilson's property to raise it up to street grade, from three to eight feet, and some went to other places where needed.

I might go on almost indefinitely with similar records, but there is another branch of my subject to be considered and I will pass on to that.

CHANGES OF WATER SURFACES.

Perhaps it would be more correct to describe these changes as from water surfaces to land surfaces, for that is the result of our lakes disappearing, from any cause.

A large number of little lakes that existed within the city area only a few years ago have disappeared from the face of the earth, and dry land appears where they once rested. Go over to the east end of the city, and you can count dry lake beds by the score; and many other lakes are in the process of drying up, being mere marshes today. Soon the farmer will be plowing where they existed, "sparkling and bright." Go to the western part of the city, to Merriam Park or St. Anthony Park, anywhere, in any direction, and you will find the same drying up process in operation. Even the lake that once existed within the limits of our State Fair Grounds is only a marsh now. But to be more specific, I will mention a few, some with names and some nameless ones, that I once knew, which have passed from view.

Forty years ago, and less, there was a beautiful lake in the ravine that is now occupied by Oxford street. Its south end, when I first saw it about forty-five years ago, was somewhere near the part of the ravine where Carroll street crosses it, but may have been a little farther south; and it extended north as far as to Ellen street, one block north of University avenue. It was supposed to be a spring lake. It supported two names, Lake's lake, and Hare's lake. Mr. Hare lived on the high ground west of the

lake; and Mr. Lake lived close to the west shore of the lake, also on its west side. One of the children of the latter was drowned in this lake, in sixteen feet of water. The lake had entirely disappeared at least fifteen years ago.

When the Gas Company, a few years ago, concluded to erect a million cubic feet gas-holder on St. Anthony hill, they, for some reason, located it in the dry bed of that lake. They got along very nicely with the excavation, and had made good progress with the foundation, when suddenly water in great force burst through the crust beneath and destroyed a portion of the foundation. The consequence was, that they were obliged to run two powerful steam pumps twenty-four hours a day for several weeks, before they exhausted or subdued the flow.

A chain of three lakes, beginning near Dayton avenue, on the line of Dale street, had an outlet for the most southern lake of this series, crossing Marshall avenue through a log culvert into the second lake on the north side of Marshall avenue, which in turn emptied into a third lake that covered nearly all of Block 25 and part of Block 26, of Mackubin & Marshall's Addition. The outlet for the three was at the northwest corner of Kent and Carroll streets, crossing Kent street, and by a northeast course, passing in front of the late W. L. Wilson's old residence, under a bridge, and across Mackubin street into a valley, where it was finally absorbed. This was before any of the streets named were graded.

Iglehart street was graded through the lower one of these lakes; and Dale street was graded across and through all three of them, and put them out of existence.

Larpenteur lake was a fine body of clear water. The east end was at a little distance west of Dale street, between Carroll and Marshall streets, and it extended to and a little beyond St. Albans street. It was directly opposite the Protestant Orphan Asylum. A good many years ago a land owner, whose south line was in the water at the east end of this lake, filled in to his line, but did not improve the property. Iglehart street was graded through it, and St. Albans street across it; the remaining part was filled in, terminating its existence.

A pretty lake that rested in a hollow between Martin street (now West Central avenue) and Aurora avenue, extending from half a block east of St. Albans street to a little west of Grotto street, was put out of existence by grading Fuller street through it and St. Albans and Grotto streets across it.

Another small but pretty lake existed where the Madison School Building now stands. When the School Board purchased the property, it was in the contract that the seller should fill in the lake. The fill was about 25 feet. The material used was sand and gravel, taken from Hog-back hill, directly back of it, and was, probably the first extensive inroad made in that hill. After the lake had been put out of existence, a drive-well was put in, which furnished all the water used in the construction of the building and in the school for several years, until water mains were put in on Bluff street.

The Webster School building was erected in the midst of a large marsh that had been a shallow lake. For several years there was water in the basement. A deep cess-pool was dug on the Mackubin street side, but it gave only partial relief. Later a sewer was put in and connection was made with it, which gave full relief.

The most of Pacific Addition, two blocks, was under water when it was platted. A deep bed of peat underlies it, and extends a considerable distance south, east and west. The peat has been on fire several times, in dry seasons; at one time it burned under this Addition, and let Atwater street down several feet. The Fire Department has been called on several occasions to put out the fire, but their labor was of little avail.

Where the suburb of Macalester College is, a large but shallow lake was platted.

A beautiful little sheet of water once reposed in a fine grove of native trees on Dayton's bluff, at the junction of Hastings avenue and Cypress street of today; but when I first saw it, there were no streets or avenues visible there. Today there is scarcely enough water left of it for a duck to float on. It can properly be classed with the extinct lakes.

I have on my list, and in my memory, numerous other dry lake beds, but will not mention them, as this paper is now longer

than it ought to be for one evening's reading. I will close with a brief mention of the existing lakes and water courses within the limits of St. Paul. They are few. Leaving out the lakes connected with our city water supply, there are only two, so far as I know, and of them I shall make brief mention.

The first to which I will direct attention is called "Nigger lake," or "Dead Horse lake." This fine body of water lies in a deep basin, extending from the east side of Dale street and the south side of the Northern Pacific railway tracks east nearly to Mackubin street. It formerly extended to Farrington avenue. It had several bays, and at least one island. It crossed Maryland street and the Northern Pacific roadbed, only a few years ago. It is quite deep near the upper end, and, being fed by springs, is one of the sources of Trout brook. It contains several varieties of fish.

The other lake referred to is Lake Como, one of our park jewels now, but it came very near being one of St. Paul's extinct lakes. On September 13, 1891, only thirteen years ago, I walked entirely around it, on dry ground, at least one hundred yards inside of the water-line of fifteen years before, when what is now called Cozy lake was simply an arm of Como, with a continuous water surface. Now they are really artificial lakes, having been filled and maintained by water pumped up from artesian wells.

There are now only two visible watercourses within the city limits, I believe, if we do not count the many cool springs and brooklets of the Fish Hatchery water supply. These are Phalen creek and Trout brook, which enter the Mississippi near Dayton's bluff as one stream, though their sources are far apart. Trout brook has three principal sources, Sandy lake, McCarron lake, and Nigger lake. The outlets of the first two unite at some distance above the point where the overflow from the latter is received. They all pick up numerous small tributaries along their course.

Phalen creek is not only the outlet of Lake Phalen, but also takes the overflow from lakes Gervais, Kohlman, and their tributaries. The White Bear road crosses Phalen creek near the foot of the lake.

I have been obliged to leave out many items that I had on hand, for want of room. I am aware that the paper is too long, and that I may not have made the best selections from the material I had, but it is too late now to correct the poor selection.

Please bear in mind that every change in the relationship of land and water has resulted in an increase of land, not one of water. Hundreds of acres have been added to the land area of St. Paul within less than forty years by the drying up and filling up of our lakes and ponds, besides the forty or fifty acres reclaimed from the river by and for the railroads.

EARLY DAYS IN GOODHUE COUNTY.*

BY GEN. LUCIUS F. HUBBARD.

Inasmuch as the writer's advent into Goodhue county did not occur until July, 1857, a comparatively late date when considering the early settlement of that locality, he must needs refer for facts and data, respecting its first explorers, first settlement, and earliest period of development, to such records as those who represent the real pioneers of the county have transmitted to us. Such records are ample for the purpose indicated, respecting all portions of our state, thanks in large measure to the efforts of the Minnesota Historical Society in their collection and preservation.

While Goodhue county was yet a new country at the time I have indicated, the writer found there men and women who for several years had struggled to subdue the wilderness and tame the wild conditions they encountered. Red Wing was already a somewhat pretentious center of the then modern life, and there were promising beginnings of a like condition at Cannon Falls, Pine Island, Zumbrota, Vasa, and Kenyon. The prairies and the valleys of the streams, however, were but sparsely occupied, though an occasional homestead broke the monotony of the wide expanse, which in a few years was to become one of the most prosperous agricultural communities of the Northwest.

PERIOD OF OCCUPATION BY THE FRENCH.

We learn from the records to which reference has been made, that even the earliest explorers of the country were attracted by the natural beauties and advantages of this locality, and were wont to linger in the vicinity as they passed to the remoter regions of the great Northwest. It appears that some of the first stockades and trading posts of the early French voyageurs were established on territory now within the limits of Goodhue county.

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 16, 1905.

Groseilliers and Radisson, the first white men in Minnesota, are thought to have come in the spring of 1655 to the large Prairie island, on the west side of the main stream of the Mississippi at the confluence of the Vermilion river, about eight miles above Red Wing, and to have remained there, with Huron and Ottawa Indians, excepting absences in hunting expeditions, during more than a year, returning to Lower Canada in the summer of 1656. A French trading post, called a fort, was established on Prairie island in the year 1695, in accordance with the command of Frontenac, the governor of Canada, by Le Sueur, as a barrier against hostile Indians, which served the purpose for a time of a protecting refuge for the venturesome explorers of the country.

In 1727, an expedition from Montreal, lead by La Perriere du Boucher, came to the low, sandy peninsula that extends into Lake Pepin, a short distance below the site of the present village of Frontenac, which they called Pointe du Sable, and there built a stockaded fort, named in honor of Beauharnois, who was then governor of Canada. With this expedition came two Jesuit missionaries, Michael Guignas and Nicholas de Gonnor, and their mission chapel, a little log building within the stockade, was consecrated to "St. Michael the Archangel."

THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES.

The next representatives of Christianity and civilization who attempted to utilize the beauty and bounty with which nature invited the white man to occupy the country, were two Swiss missionaries, Revs. Samuel Denton and Daniel Gavin, with their families, who came out to the New World under the patronage of the Evangelical Society of Lausanne, Switzerland. They first established their mission at Trempealeau, Wis., in 1837, removing in the following year to what afterwards became the site of the city of Red Wing. They found there a band of about three hundred Dakota or Sioux Indians, descendants of a people who had made the locality their home, so far as these savage wanderers of the earth could regard any spot as their home, for many generations. The then chief of this band of Indians was Hhoo-pa-hoo-doo-ta, which being interpreted means Scarlet Wing; hence the place came to be called by the whites "Red Wing's village." The Indian designation of the

spot was Remnicha, which is a combination of three Sioux words, signifying hill, water, and wood, appropriately suggestive of the wooded bluffs of the locality and the great river that flows along their base.

While these missionaries were doubtless successful in some degree in making less savage than in their natural state the Indians with whom they came in contact, and for whose spiritual welfare they were devoting their life's work, it does not appear that their efforts were prospered to an extent to greatly encourage them. The mission was maintained, though much of the time in a languishing condition, until 1846, when from failing health or other cause the Revs. Denton and Gavin gave up their work and the mission was transferred to the care of the American Board of Missions. It was practically vacant the next two years, until 1848, when Revs. Joseph W. Hancock and John F. Aiton were appointed by the American Board to renew the effort to humanize and in some degree civilize the Indians. Mr. Aiton was first on the ground, but did not long remain, as he moved away in 1850. Mr. Hancock arrived in June, 1849, and from that time until the present he has resided near the spot on which was located his mission house.

EARLIEST TOWNS AND AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS.

By this time conditions had notably changed in the new Northwest, and the beautiful region washed by the waters of the upper Mississippi had begun to attract attention from the venturesome western pioneer. The advantages of the country had to a limited extent been proven, and the result became known to many who had previously viewed the dim possibilities of the region, with more or less interest. A considerable influx of white settlers had located at various points of vantage in the country, mainly at St. Paul, St. Anthony, Stillwater, Mendota, and even far off Pembina. The Territory of Minnesota had been established March 3rd, 1849. A census of the territory was taken under the provisions of the organic act the following June, which showed a total population of 4,780 souls,—principally, it is presumed, classed as white, though including, as we know, many of mixed blood,—of which number Red Wing village contributed thirty-three, twenty males and thirteen females. This was the nucleus from which has been developed the

magnificent community of Goodhue county, numbering 31,137 souls, according to the census of 1900.

Early settlement of the locality was somewhat retarded by delay in the extinguishment of the Indian title to its lands, but in 1852 a treaty was concluded which ceded a large area, in which was included most of that which subsequently became Goodhue county. A considerable reservation was made along Lake Pepin, on which the county borders, but this was soon made available to settlement by the purchase of scrip representing the land, issued to the Indians and mixed bloods, for whose benefit the reservation was made. This treaty also provided that the Indians should be removed farther west, and, according to its terms, they were located in 1853 on a reservation provided for them on the upper waters of the Minnesota river.

Rev. J. W. Hancock may be regarded as the father of Goodhue county. Though not the first white man to locate within its limits, he was the first one who faced the discouraging conditions that for a time confronted him, and who maintained throughout a determination to remain and make the locality his home. His work among the Indians was fruitful of good results, and his counsel contributed greatly in encouraging and aiding the efforts of the whites who now began to gather about him, in organizing and maintaining a civilized community. Among the first recruits who came to his aid in this behalf, and who took a leading part in the subsequent development of the locality, were John Day, Dr. William W. Sweney, William Freeborn, Calvin Potter, James McGinnis, E. C. Stevens, David Puckett, Charles Parks, and Warren Hunt, who came in 1852; also Matthias Peterson and Nels Nelson, who were respectively the pioneers of the Norwegian and Swedish nationalities, which early became a considerable and most desirable element of the population of Goodhue county. H. L. Bevans, William Lauver, James Akers, Norris Hobart, Mathew Sorin, Reazin Spates, T. J. Smith, Hugh Adams, E. P. Lowater, and others, came in 1853. Abner Post, George W. Bullard, and James Wells, had come to the locality in 1850, but had established themselves some miles south on the shore of Lake Pepin. Through their efforts the village of Wacouta was started, which flourished moderately for a time as a rival of Red Wing, but failed to maintain itself in competition with its more energetic neighbor.

Red Wing was surveyed and platted in 1853, the town proprietors being William Freeborn, Alexander Ramsey, B. F. Hoyt, and C. L. Wells. This year saw a moderate overflow of the population of Red Wing onto the prairies and into the valleys in the vicinity, and the fertile soil of that region began to disclose its capabilities for the support of civilized man. The county was established by act of the Territorial legislature, approved March 5th, 1853, and was named for James M. Goodhue, the pioneer journalist of Minnesota, who commenced the publication of the Minnesota Pioneer in St. Paul in April, 1849. Goodhue was a native of New Hampshire, where he was born March 31st, 1810, and died in St. Paul, August 27th, 1852. He is represented to have been a man of marked individuality, restless and impulsive, a writer of much ability and force, who achieved great success in his profession as a journalist. A cotemporary has remarked of him, that "with the ingenuity of Vulcan he would hammer out thunderbolts on the anvil of his mind, and hurl them with the power and dexterity of Jove."

The county was duly organized by the appointment by Governor Ramsey of a full set of county officers to serve until an election under the law could be held, Red Wing being designated as the county seat, and Goodhue county thus became a well defined entity of the prospective commonwealth of Minnesota.

As an illustration of a day of small things, it is interesting to note that the first session of the Board of County Commissioners of Goodhue county was held June 16th, 1854, on a pile of lumber on an otherwise vacant lot in Red Wing, when an organization was effected and an adjournment taken to a later date. At the next meeting a careful estimate for the budget for the ensuing year indicated that it would be necessary to raise $554.09 to meet the same, and a tax of one per cent on an assessed valuation of $65,305 was levied to provide the required funds. If there was any graft in that estimate, it did not appear in the figures upon which it was based, nor do I think there was evidence of it in the subsequent disbursement of the money. It was also voted at this meeting to submit to a vote of the electors of the county a proposition authorizing the creation of an indebtedness to the amount of six hundred dollars, with which to provide a suitable Court House for Goodhue

county. What the character of the edifice thus contemplated would have been had the scheme matured, is left to the imagination, for the proposition was defeated at the election.

Like all portions of the more accessible sections of the territory, Goodhue county received considerable accessions to her population during the two or three years following, and her development in other respects maintained a corresponding pace. Early in the year, 1855, a United States land office was located in Red Wing, with W. W. Phelps as register, and C. C. Graham as receiver. This gave the village much local importance for a time, until the removal of the land office to Henderson on the Minnesota river. The lands within this district were largely of a most desirable character, and hence, as immigration came into the country, they were rapidly taken up as homesteads, or by the location of warrants, Indian scrip, or in other legal methods of acquisition.

Speculators were hovering like vultures over the country, so that, for possession of some of the finest tracts, there was much competition. On these many squatters had located before the land had been surveyed and subdivided, and as a consequence there were many serious conflicts between rival claimants, which at times threatened trouble. The condition became so serious that a vigilance committee was organized in Red Wing for the protection of the squatters against the schemes of the speculators. The methods of the committee were generally effective, and as a rule the squatters' rights prevailed. The usual procedure was that, when the offending land grabber appeared at the land office to establish his claim, he was hustled to the bank of the Mississippi, and there was required to formally relinquish all claim to the disputed land or take the alternative of a ducking, with the near possibility of being drowned.

FOUNDING HAMLINE UNIVERSITY.

In 1855 also the educational and religious interests of the community received a notable stimulus by the establishment of Hamline University in Red Wing. This institution being under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Red Wing naturally became the center of influence for the time of that denomination for the Territory of Minnesota, and the headquarters of many of the great lights of Methodism of the Northwest. There were evan-

gelists in those days whose mighty work for Christianity and civilization proved a powerful agency in giving direction to the moral, intellectual, and religious character of our people. A conspicuous element of the community of Red Wing in the latter fifties, was a group of these men, who became distinguished for their great ability, untiring industry, and absolute devotion to their work. Such men as the Rev. Dr. Akers, Mathew Sorin, Chauncey and Norris Hobart, Jabez Brooks, Daniel Cobb, B. F. Crary, and others, made a notable aggregation of great minds. With perhaps an exception or two, they have all passed to their reward, leaving a rich legacy of good accomplished for posterity.

Hamline University was removed from Red Wing many years ago to its present location in St. Paul, where it has developed, under the inspiration given it in those early days, into one of the leading educational institutions of our state.

INCORPORATION OF THE CITY OF RED WING.

The growing village of Red Wing early attained a high reputation for its good morals and sobriety. For a long time the sale of liquor was not only prohibited, but was actually prevented in the village and vicinity. The temper of the community in that respect was submitted to a test while these model conditions prevailed. Several barrels of whiskey were smuggled into the village, but the effort to distribute and utilize their contents signally failed. The whiskey was made to swell the volume of the Mississippi's flow, and the parties responsible for this effort to discredit the good name of the community were taught a lesson that was well remembered, and that had the effect to discourage a like experiment for a long time thereafter.

In March, 1857, Red Wing was incorporated as a city, its first mayor being J. C. Weatherby, one of its pioneer merchants and public spirited citizens. During the early months of this year there was a notable swell in the volume of immigration into the country, which greatly stimulated the spirit of speculation that had been uneasily slumbering for a time, and which developed in its subsequent activity the inevitable boom which must come as an early experience to all new countries. Numerous new townsites were projected and the future was many times discounted in the values at which corner lots and eligible locations for all sorts of

industries were offered. Business enterprises were undertaken on a scale that might have been justified a decade or two later, but which met their inevitable fate in the reaction that soon involved every interest in the country. The newcomer at once became infected with the hopefulness and enthusiasm that was in the air, and that seemed to inspire and stimulate every member of the community in whatever undertaking he was engaged.

FOUNDING THE RED WING REPUBLICAN.

It was just at this time that the writer drifted into the current of immigration that was strongly flowing westward, and became a resident of Red Wing in July, 1857. He brought with him an old Washington hand press and a quantity of indifferent type and other printer's material, which had recently been doing duty in another locality in the advocacy of "squatter sovereignty," with which he established the Red Wing Republican, a weekly newspaper. From the date of its first issue, September 4th, 1857, it has been continuously published until the present time. The new editor was no printer, but he soon became more or less of an expert in "sticking type," working the press, and writing boom editorials in exploitation of the locality, and of the interests of the Territory in general.

My experience in soliciting business was not of the kind that stimulates the hustling qualities of the canvasser or commercial agent of the present day. The question was not the competition to be met, or the quality of goods to be exploited, but rather the effort required to find possible customers in the then sparsely settled region of Goodhue county. Most of the residents of Red Wing were induced, as a matter of public spirit, to subscribe for the newspaper, and nearly all the business and professional people of the young city gave it moderate advertising patronage, but a more extended support must be secured if the enterprise was to prosper. In the effort to secure this, every trail, bypath and highway in the county became almost as familiar to the writer as the single plank walk extending between his office and boarding house. There were then only two habitations on the old Zumbrota road between the Hay Creek and Zumbro river valleys, a distance of about fifteen miles, which illustrates the condition of "magnificent distances" that impressed the traveler when crossing the prairies of Goodhue county

forty-seven years ago. The sites of the now thriving villages of Zumbrota, Pine Island, Cannon Falls, and Kenyon, were occupied by the nucleus of their present prosperous development; but throughout the county at large the monotony of the horizon was only occasionally relieved by the sight of a settler's cabin.

As an illustration of this condition, a patron of the paper proposed to trade a quarter section of land in Goodhue township, about fifteen miles from Red Wing, for two hundred dollars' worth of advertising and job printing, but there seemed to be too much land in that section for any useful purpose and the trade therefore did not materialize. A few years ago the writer was advised that this same quarter section of land, with but moderate improvements, could be bought for eight thousand dollars, spot cash.

The recent rapid increase of the population of the Territory had developed conditions that warranted the taking of steps preliminary to the admission of Minnesota as a state of the Union, and questions pertinent thereto began to agitate the people. Party strife was then strenuous throughout the country. It was during the Buchanan regime, when the Kansas-Nebraska issue, involving the question of the extension of slavery, was violently agitating the country, and premonitions of impending trouble that finally culminated in the war of the rebellion were painfully felt by all our people. These conditions had spread to the remotest frontier, and Minnesota became involved in the political contention that elsewhere prevailed. The Territory was of course under democratic influences, its officers being appointees of President Buchanan, and Goodhue county was practically dominated by those who professed that political faith.

With more enthusiasm perhaps than discretion, the editor of the new paper waded into the political controversies of the time. The Constitutional Convention met and split upon partisan rocks, and for a time it seemed (if you will pardon the paradox) that the ship of state would become stranded before it was fairly launched. A bitterly contested election followed for state and county officers and members of Congress, in which the Democrats won by a narrow margin on the general ticket, but Goodhue county was "redeemed." The new editor, though then, as later, bearing the character of a man of much modesty, did not fail to claim his full share of credit

for the result achieved in the county. It was a period of bitter partisanship, and in reverting to it at this distance of time one can but wonder that in the heat of party conflicts, which were almost continuous in their character, the pleasant personal relations that characterized the pioneer days of Minnesota were so generally maintained.

THE FINANCIAL DEPRESSION OF 1857.

The pioneers of the fifties in Minnesota had fairly established the character of their new home as a region of superior agricultural resources, and in climatic conditions most healthful to human life, and they were beginning to realize somewhat from their efforts the fruition of their hopes, when the worldwide financial revulsion of 1857-8 came upon them like a withering blast. While the effect of this general collapse of nearly all business interests was seriously felt throughout all sections of the country, the frontier, and especially the Minnesota frontier, felt it in an exceptional degree. The natural resources of the country had not yet been developed sufficiently to afford a living to the people who had sought a home upon its soil. The necessaries of life were yet to a large extent being brought from the East and South. Nearly every steamboat that came up the Mississippi had its decks loaded with flour and meat, to pay for which the limited wealth that had accumulated, and that the more recent immigration had brought into the country, was soon exhausted. You have all had experience with the financial disturbances of more recent periods, but I venture to say that those of you who were here at the time to which I refer would characterize the panic of 1857-8 as the climax of financial distress, to which nothing of like character in subsequent years is to be compared.

It was during the days of wildcat banking in the West, and the discredited issues of the institutions thus classed constituted practically all of the limited money there was in the country. Even this rapidly depreciated in value and soon became worthless. It was for a time a more or less intricate problem for one to keep himself advised of the daily depreciation and consequent current value of the occasional bank note that came into his possession. The prime necessities of life were relatively dear. The country had nothing on which to realize, except lots in embryo towns, and these soon lost their intrinsic as well as their inflated values, and became no

longer current as a medium of exchange. The expedients resorted to for a supply of currency were amusing, though strikingly suggestive of the extreme distress of prevailing conditions. The State paid its obligations in warrants of doubtful value, because of their uncertain redemption. County, city, and town orders were "floated;" merchants and other business establishments issued "scrip;" and individual due bills became "thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Vallombrosa," whose only element of redemption was a promise of renewal.

Under the stress of these conditions, a proposition was formulated, and was urgently pressed, for a loan of the credit of the State, to the amount of five million dollars, to aid in the construction of the several "land grant" railroads, whose lines had been surveyed or projected to span the state in all directions. The proposition involved an amendment to the State Constitution recently adopted, and a measure for the purpose was offered early in the legislative session of 1858. The movement precipitated a fierce contest, but the representation which was pressed with all its plausible force, that its adoption would result in the disbursement of five millions of money throughout the state, proved an appeal that no argument could withstand. It passed the legislature and was adopted by a popular vote of nearly four to one. Goodhue county being comparatively remote from any of the proposed lines of railroad, its people were generally opposed to the proposition in its early presentation, and the young editor at once antagonized it in his newspaper. He was loudly applauded by his constituents for the vigor of his fight against the swindle, as it was termed, when the campaign opened; but as it progressed he realized that these plaudits perceptibly lessened, and as it reached its close he was made to feel, in his solitude, much like the chief mourner at a funeral. His vindication came, however, some months later, in the disastrous collapse of the entire scheme, which, instead of bringing the promised financial relief, imposed a heavy burden of debt upon the state, on account of which its credit greatly suffered before the burden was removed.

Minnesota had no usury laws in those days, hence money was "worth what it would bring." Five per cent a month was current interest for a time, as the writer well remembers in recalling his

experience with a loan of one hundred dollars made upon that basis. The principal sum became a matter of minor moment, but the monthly demand for interest caused the debtor often to anxiously "walk the floor." The recollection of the pretexts resorted to, the economies practiced, and the privations suffered by most of our people in their endurance of the conditions encountered in those panicky times, no doubt brings an occasional thrill to the consciousness of many, even to this day, as those experiences are sometimes recalled to mind.

RESTORATION OF PROSPERITY.

But the pioneer is a man of almost limitless resources. That is the characteristic that chiefly distinguishes him. His recuperative quality, ever manifested after disappointment or apparent defeat, is the dominating influence that buoys him up and bears him on. He is always hopeful, ever determined and never daunted by obstacles that might discourage the average man. He encounters with equanimity adverse conditions and overcomes them, as a part of the expected experience with which he must deal in his efforts to achieve success. The people of Goodhue county, and of Minnesota generally, did not linger long in the cave of gloom that for a time seemed to constitute their environment as a consequence of the financial panic of 1857-8. They went through a sort of voluntary liquidation, in which things were in a manner evened up all around, and a new start in life began.

There was soon a perceptible rise in the tide of immigration into the country. Large colonies of Scandinavians, Germans, and other nationalities direct from the northern countries of the Old World, brought frequent accessions to the population, and under their patient and industrious efforts the prairies of Goodhue county were rapidly transformed from their wild condition into comfortable homes and prosperous centers of thrifty people. The country soon became self-supporting. Imports of food stuffs practically ceased, and steamboat interests on the Mississippi sought cargoes rather in the surplus grain the country produced than in the importations that fed the people in former years. Farm lands appreciated in value, and even town lots began to be redeemed from the threatened forfeiture of the delinquent tax list.

The agricultural development of the country gave a substantial stimulus to all business interests, and thereby contributed to the towns a new resource with which to renew their life. The clouds of adversity gradually rolled away, and the sunshine of a coming prosperity sent genial rays of hope into the hearts of all the people. The census of 1860 gave Goodhue county a population of 8,977, which indicates, at a glance, the remarkable progress made in the development of the county in the years immediately prior to that date; and when it is noted that the major portion of this increase in population were settled upon the prairies and along the valleys, the substantial character of this growth will be recognized. The wonderful crops of grain grown on the farms of this county gave early proof of the great fertility of its soil, and, to the mind of the observant and prophetic, brought premonition of the conditions which in a few years made Red Wing the largest primary grain market in the world, a distinction that city enjoyed for several years, until the construction of railroads through its tributary territory considerably curtailed the area that sought that point for a market.

SERVICE OF GOODHUE COUNTY MEN IN THE CIVIL WAR.

These conditions of encouragement and promise had inspired a hopefulness in the future that stimulated every interest and infused activity into every enterprise in a notable degree. The strain of the panic had become wholly relieved, and the distress of the period it covered was wellnigh forgotten, when the black cloud of civil war began to develop upon the horizon of the country. The political turmoil of preceding years had often threatened trouble, but it had always been averted by one of the many notable compromises of our history, so that the portended crisis for the time was postponed. The country had become accustomed to this manner of adjustment of its sectional difficulties, and had confidently looked for a settlement upon such lines of the differences that then divided parties and sections, hence it was not prepared for the culminating crisis that now confronted it. There was no section of the North, however, that rallied sooner from the terrible shock, or that came to the rescue of the government with greater promptness and enthusiasm than the frontier

communities which then constituted one of the youngest states of the Union. The claim has been often made, and I believe is yet undisputed, that the first offer of volunteers for the war came from Minnesota; and in the organization that went to the front under that tender of aid, there was a large contingent from Red Wing and Goodhue county.

The news of the attack on Fort Sumter reached Red Wing April 19th, 1861, and at the same time there was received President Lincoln's proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service. A public meeting was held the evening of the same day, which in many respects was the most notable public assembly ever held in that community. No subsequent event in its history had attached to it equal significance with that which called the people of Red Wing together at that time, and in which they pledged their lives and fortunes for the maintenance of the Government in its full integrity.

The practical result of this outburst of patriotic enthusiasm was the enrollment of a company of 114 men, which within a week was on its way under the lead of that grim old veteran, Col. William Colvill, to Fort Snelling for muster into the military service of the United States. Within another week a second company was enrolled and tendered to Governor Ramsey, but it was required to wait until a second regiment was authorized before it could be accepted. In every succeeding call for volunteers Goodhue county responded with numbers generally exceeding her quota, and was thus represented in every organization save two that was raised in the state during the war. The final record of her patriotic tender to the cause of the Union was a total of 1,508 men mustered into the military service from a population of 8,977, or one man in every six of the population, including men, women, and children. Included in the number who bore commissions there were four colonels, one lieutenant colonel, and three majors, all of whom rose to these ranks through subordinate grades; eighteen captains, twenty lieutenants, one surgeon, and one chaplain.

The drain of the war upon the population and resources of Minnesota, in conjunction with the paralyzing effect of the Indian outbreak of 1862 and its consequent desolation of her frontier, proved a serious check to the continued development of all interests

throughout the state, and Goodhue county of course shared in this condition. Recovery from the depression thus produced was for a time exceedingly slow. The atmosphere, however, had been cleared. The integrity of the Government had been vindicated, and its permanence was assured by the removal forever of the cause that had so often threatened its existence. The Indian problem had been solved in a manner that rendered impossible any recurrence of the conditions which unsettled life and made it precarious upon the frontier. These considerations infused into the situation a feeling of security and confidence in the future, which had a powerful influence in the rehabilitation of the country. Its recovery came, prosperity returned, and the wonderful development followed that has given us the imperial commonwealth in which we so greatly rejoice today.

SOME EARLY CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTY.

This brief and cursory mention of early experiences in Red Wing and Goodhue county does not pretend, as must readily appear, to constitute in any sense a history of the period which the narrative covers, but is rather a record of personal recollections. In the same sense it may be appropriate to add the writer's estimate of a few of the citizens that were prominent in the community in those early days, and for whose labors in its building up succeeding generations must cherish most grateful memories.

One of the earliest settlers in Red Wing was William Freeborn. He was a typical pioneer. He had kept on the outer edge of civilization all his life. The more primitive his surroundings, the more contented he became. He accounted of little worth anything that did not require effort and hard knocks to attain, and of all things that came easy he was ever suspicious. He revelled in the conditions that prevailed when he came into the country, but he became uneasy as he saw it develop and population increase. He lived for a time in St. Paul, but, feeling that he was being crowded there, he removed to Red Wing in 1852. Freeborn was a most hospitable and kindly gentleman and a public spirited citizen, always ready to aid in all efforts to promote the interests of the community; yet he seemed to dread the conditions that he soon realized as existent, that the real frontier was rapidly receding from him. He often boasted that he had never seen a railroad, and that he never in-

tended to expose himself to the influence of that particular agency of progress. For a time he felt secure in that respect, as he thought, with most of us, that it would be a long time before a railroad would seek to compete with the mighty Mississippi in the matter of transportation. When it became probable that railroads would soon invade the country, he trekked with his young family and household gods in prairie schooners to the far-off Pacific coast, and finally located, after many months wandering, in a part of California, where he recently died, remote from the disquieting shriek of the locomotive.

A close associate of Freeborn's in the initial development of Red Wing was Dr. William W. Sweney. The doctor, though a man of some peculiarities, was a most lovable character. He was an educated gentleman and a physician of exceptional ability. He was one of the pillars of Red Wing for many years, proving most helpful in all matters relating to the upbuilding of the community, and was among the first to be consulted on any question of public interest. The doctor was an ideal sportsman, and the streams and wooded bluffs that abound in the environs of Red Wing, with their abundant life of fish and game, were to him an earthly paradise, in which he sought frequent relaxation from the somewhat exacting duties of his profession.

William W. Phelps was an aggressive force in the development of the county, a characteristic supported by ability and culture of a high order. He was a leader in public affairs, and his influence proved potent in the direction of agencies that gave character to the community. He was one of the first members of Congress from the State of Minnesota, and served several terms as mayor of Red Wing.

C. C. Graham, or "Uncle Chris," as he was known by everybody, was essentially a character, a most substantial citizen withal, ever alert to promote the public good, but always looking for the ludicrous in whatever came to his attention. He was one of the cheeriest and sunniest characters I ever met; and when one was oppressed with the blues, if he could have a little chat with "Uncle Chris," his normal condition would soon be restored. The most serious subject or situation had its redeeming side to him, and if there was any element in a depressing condition to relieve its character, he would bring it to the surface at once.

Joseph A. Thacher, of Zumbrota, the "farmer statesman" of Goodhue county, was a central figure around whom the rural population of the county were wont to rally. He had many of the characteristics of the New England puritan, but a long residence in the West had modified their asperities. He had well defined views upon all public questions, and did not lack ability or inclination to vindicate his opinions when occasion offered for their expression. He served in the legislature of the state, and would doubtless have represented his district in Congress but for his rigid views of political ethics, which restrained him from adopting the methods in vogue and practiced by aspiring politicians in his time. He early realized the substantial character of the resources and capabilities of the new country in which he had made his home, and hence had unlimited confidence in the possibilities of its future. He did much to advance the material interests of his immediate locality, and is gratefully remembered as one of the founders of that delightful community, cosily nestled in the charming valley of the Zumbro.

Judge Eli T. Wilder, though not one of the earliest settlers of Red Wing, was from the time he came there in 1856 to the date of his death, which occurred less than a year ago, at the age of ninety, perhaps one of the most prominent, as he was surely one of the most stately characters in that community. He had served on the bench in Ohio, and, when relieved from that duty, came west, seeking a change of climate for the benefit of his health. The judge was essentially judicial in all his relations in life. He spoke with marked deliberation, and when expressing his opinion upon any subject, it impressed one as an authority by which it would be absolutely safe to be guided. He was logical in all things, thoroughly dissecting any subject with which he had to deal, and exposing pretense or fraud with merciless emphasis. Naturally Judge Wilder's influence upon all matters relating to the weal of the community was very great, and his advice was ever followed with a confidence that no mistake would be made in doing so. Under a somewhat austere exterior, he possessed a most kindly and sympathetic nature, which often brought cheer to his fellowman.

Theodore B. Sheldon was foremost among the representative business men of Red Wing. He was always among the first to aid

with his counsel and his means every enterprise, with rare exception, that was proposed for the promotion of the business interests of the young city. The records of nearly every corporate industry or interest that has been developed in that locality, during a period covering nearly half a century, will disclose his name often at the head of the list, as one of its promoters. His liberality and public spirit in this behalf stimulated others to like action, and thus he contributed greatly to the growth of the city. That he exercised sound business judgment in these matters is evidenced by the large estate he left at his death, which occurred in 1900. Eighty thousand dollars of his estate he bequeathed to the city, for the erection of a memorial expressive of his regard for the community with which he had been identified for so long a time. This memorial is now represented by one of the finest auditorium structures to be seen in the Northwest.

Red Wing lost one of its most earnest and effective early supports in the death of Charles Betcher in 1903. A resident of the place for nearly fifty years, he was for much of that time at the head of what became perhaps the largest manufacturing industry in the city. His contribution to the commercial activities of the locality gave to those interests much strength and character. He always took the conservative side of public questions, and his restraining influence often had a wholesome effect in determining the policy adopted in the management of public affairs. He was a positive character, not easily persuaded after he formed an opinion, but always deliberate in reaching his conclusions.

This list of pioneers of Red Wing and Goodhue county, who have passed away, and who have left an impress upon the community that will long remain to distinguish it, might be greatly extended. Such an enumeration should also include the few of the early settlers who are yet living, and who in their declining years encourage by their counsel the later generation, which has inherited in full measure the ability, energy, and ambition of their predecessors, as is evidenced by the continued progress and prosperity that give Red Wing high rank among the progressive cities of Minnesota.

Daniel R Noyes

CHARITIES IN MINNESOTA.*

BY DANIEL R. NOYES.

The development of a community, or a state, in the higher lines of organized effort, can hardly be better illustrated than in the record of its charities; for they spring from its best motives, and are sustained by the best men and women of any community. Where efficient and wide reaching charities are lacking, the community is surely backward and unintelligent. Where its charities are well organized and sustained, the community is as surely intelligent and large minded and consequently prosperous and progressive.

All early charities were more or less indiscriminate. Giving was impulsive, rather than thoughtful. While often necessary and always kindly, it was usually without system or reference to its effect, further than immediate relief. The science of relief, that is, of wise and helpful aid, promoting self-respect and personal effort of the receiver, as now taught and practiced, at least in our larger towns and cities, was unknown.

The purpose of the New Charity is to communicate strength and courage. Shall material aid be given with our sympathy? Yes, but under wise control. The defective and delinquent, as well as the dependent, are to receive aid; not the "worthy poor" alone, but also the unworthy poor. It is, however, to the children that we most hopefully look. They, as a rule, can be rescued from dependent poverty or delinquency. Child-helping is therefore a most important adjunct in social salvage.

In the past, little has been known of careful and systematic investigation and registration to prevent duplication of aid. There was no lack of good intention. Warm hearted, generous souls there were, just as indispensable then as now; but institutional charities,

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 13, 1905.

asylums, hospitals, schools, and homes, were few and in some degree experimental. Great as has been our improvement in the administration of charity, enlarged as has been our view of this whole subject, we can hardly do more than to define and characterize this science of relief, which now, through the munificent gift of $250,000 by John Skinner, of New York, is to be taught in a school of philanthropy already in partial operation.

RELIEF WORK OF COUNTIES, TOWNS, AND CITIES.

From the organization of the state, and even before, relief for the destitute, unfortunate, and forsaken, has been a matter of public and private care. In the larger cities, municipal, church, and private charities existed. Organized charities followed as soon as organization was practicable. In our counties there were at least "poor houses" and "county boards;" in our larger towns, superintendents for the poor; and in our villages very practical charities, though unorganized. Always and everywhere our churches have engaged in charitable work, especially within their own lines. Throughout our state today these primitive forms of charity still exist.

In answer to many inquiries, I learn from mayors and town officers that Red Wing, Brainerd, St. James, Lake City, Shakopee, Farmington, Excelsior, and other large towns and small cities, have no organized charity societies, but depend on county boards, churches, and lodges, for this work. Besides these agencies for relief, Winona has a "poor commissioner," appointed by the Council, a city hospital, and a poor farm. Stillwater has a Bethel Home and the King's Daughters' Society. Mankato has two organized relief societies, Protestant and Catholic; Rochester, a Woman's Relief Association; Owatonna, a Benevolent Society; Northfield, a Board of Relief, differing, as I understand, from the usual county board; Cannon Falls, a Ladies' Aid Society; Saint Cloud has St. Joseph's Home; and Moorhead levies a mill tax, yielding about $1,000 annually, and has a Ladies' Benevolent Society. The ladies, as you will have noted, frequently take the lead in charitable work; in Excelsior, "the police" are mentioned in this connection.

In our three largest cities, development of organized charity has been more rapid and far greater than elsewhere in the state.

Duluth has a board of control, as well as the county board, a superintendent of the poor, the Bethel Star of Hope Mission, and a Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and recently has organized, with great promise of usefulness, an Associated Charities Society. Here, as elsewhere, the churches, secret societies, etc., are abundant in relief work.

ST. PAUL CHARITIES.

The city of St. Paul has the earliest record of organized and systematic charitable work. Beginning with the usual county board, a superintendent of the poor, and the aid of the churches, there has been developed here a very complete system of organized charities, second to none in the West, and ranking with the best east or west. I am unable to state with certainty the earliest organized charity here. Among the earliest were St. Joseph's Hospital, established in 1854; the St. Vincent de Paul Society, in 1856; St. Luke's Hospital, in 1857; and the Young Men's Christian Association, in 1857-8, whose general relief work, however, only dates from 1868.

As the Young Men's Christian Association is unique in its attempt to do the relief work of this city, and in its history, I give it mention first and here. When it entered upon its general relief work, Rev. Mr. Chase was its missionary and relief agent. Mr. E. W. Chase, long known in relief work here, succeeded him as secretary. During the Civil War, this Association, whose rooms were then in the Ingersoll Block, worked efficiently with the United States Christian Commission.

In 1876 the St. Paul Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, on the basis of the New York society, was formed to relieve the Y. M. C. A. from relief work and to enlarge and systematize it. Since then this society has been the most important factor in our general relief work, and has been known as the St. Paul Society for the Relief of the Poor. It is still the only society here for general and applied relief. Further reference will be made to it.

As to municipal relief, our city Board of Control, organized in 1872, was, so far as known, the first of its kind. Possibly it is the only one where the appointment is made by the judges of the District Court; but originally it was not so here. It has in charge the City

and County Hospital, of which Dr. Arthur B. Ancker has long been the head physician. In 1903, the number of patients was 2,412; and for some parts of the year an average of about two hundred was reached daily. The expense item was about $65,000. Its contagious ward, a new building, is admirably adapted to the purposes of isolation.

The city alms house has about seventy-five inmates, and with it is connected a well managed poor farm. The amount expended annually is about $11,000.

In "out of door relief" about $8,000 was expended in 1903, and 1,871 cases were reported.

In connection with the City and County Hospital, a state department for crippled and deformed children was established in 1897, since which time 205 children have been treated. This work is under the care of the Board of Regents of the State University.

A state Detention Hospital for the insane was also here established in 1897, and is under the Board of Control. Thirteen cases were cared for, at the City Hospital, last year.

St. Luke's Hospital was chartered in 1857 as the Episcopal church hospital and orphans' home for Minnesota. It was reorganized and more fully established in 1873. After two removals, the hospital, as Saint Luke's, found a home at No. 43 Eighth street, and thence removed to its fine new building in October, 1892. It has accommodations for a hundred patients or more, and about 1,000 patients make use of it annually. Its staff and force have been remarkable for devotion and efficiency, and its training school for nurses is very successful.

St. Joseph's Hospital, established in 1854, being, I think, our oldest organized charity, shows no loss of energy or ability. On the contrary, its last report, which is the 51st annual, is its best report. The number of patients treated in 1903-04 was 2,595. It was among the first to establish a training school for nurses, and to give them systematic instruction in materia medica. More than two hundred Catholic sisters and about fifty lay nurses are here employed.

Bethesda Hospital, founded in 1892, received and treated 819 patients in 1903. It is well equipped, and has an able staff. It has also deaconesses' and nurses' training classes.

Luther Hospital, founded in 1904, received and treated 106 patients last year.

The Cobb Homœopathic Hospital is the only homœopathic hospital in the city. A hundred and six cases were treated last year. Eight assistants are employed.

Excellent as are many of our city charities, none are more nearly fundamental than the St. Paul Society for Relief of the Poor, already referred to. It was organized in 1876, and was incorporated in 1881, as the "St. Paul Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor." It was founded by Daniel R. Noyes. Henry M. Rice, H. R. Bigelow, and Alexander Ramsey, have been its presidents; E. W. Chase, Rev. Richard Hall, and Morgan L. Hutchins, its secretaries. Over 50,000 applications for relief have been received and acted upon. An average of nearly 1,000 annually have been aided. There were 908 cases last year, of which 394 were new. Besides the main work of general and applied relief, its loaning fund has proved of great value, and its loans have been generally paid. The charter legislation for a loaning bank has been secured. Its industrial school, the largest in the city, has about 350 girls in attendance, under the management of Mrs. T. L. Blood. This society owns its building, 141 East Ninth street, and has a small endowment fund, the gift of Judge Henry Hale. It has saved the city many thousands of dollars by its work, and the city last year contributed a small amount for its support. A much larger amount could be well used.

The "Associated Charities" was formed by Rev. Dr. Samuel G. Smith and others, largely connected with the Relief Society, after a failure some years before by others in the same line. It was formed to act as a bond of union between all the charities of the city. It investigates applicants for relief, and keeps a complete register of them and of their need as ascertained, for reference to prevent duplication of aid. It aims to promote information by public conferences. It conducts friendly visiting, and has a visiting and advisory nurse for needy cases. Its Provident Savings Fund for children in the public schools, and for others, has been successful. Although giving no direct or applied aid in money or material, its work is of the greatest value, and the association is a source of pride to St. Paul. The city Board of Control use this association for practically all their investigations.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society was organized by the late Bishop Cretin in 1856. Its plan is to form a working body in each Catholic church, called a conference. These conferences united form a society. There are more than twenty such conferences in St. Paul. Visitation, friendly aid and counsel, have made this society a support to the churches, and a power for good in every community where it is established.

The Hebrew and Jewish relief societies, and the sisters of Beekoor Cholim, work within special lines, but are doing excellent work. The Jewish Relief Society of St. Paul was organized in 1871, under the name of the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society. The sum of about $1,400 was expended last year, contributed by a membership of about 200.

The King's Daughters, a society of young ladies, was organized in 1888. Aid and counsel, in connection with visitation, are given: 1,242 visits were made last year, and 82 cases aided.

The Ladies' Needlework Guild have for years past made and furnished to the various distributing charities a great number of garments, and thus have rendered valuable aid in the work of relief. This is sometimes made a double charity, by the employment of poor women to do the sewing, under the ladies' direction.

The Salvation Army Industrial Home for Men, on upper Third street, has twenty-eight men "employed," as they call it. Meals and beds are furnished. Old clothing given to the Home is sold at a nominal price to the needy. Some kind of employment is sought, and generally is found, for those under their care.

The Protestant Orphan Asylum was founded in 1865, and was incorporated the same year. An average of about forty children cared for is reported in 1904. Since this asylum was established, 160 children have been placed in homes. Its present building was occupied October 22, 1885. The management is by a Board of Lady Directors, serving each one month in charge of the work.

The Catholic Orphan Asylum reports 152 received during the last year, 65 of them girls. Employment was found for twenty-eight. Children from two to fourteen years are received. The infants' department, under the same management, received during the same time seventy children. Homes were found for thirty-four. Eighteen infants at this time are in this department.

The St. Joseph's Catholic Orphan Asylum has 138 children under its charge. It is a fine and deserving institution.

The Women's Christian Home was organized in 1871 as the Minnesota Magdalen Society, under a state charter. Its work is necessarily quiet and unostentatious, but is an important one. Twenty-five were admitted during the year, and ten at present are being cared for.

The Salvation Army Rescue Home does a similar work, although its requirements are less strict. Twenty girls and four officers are on its roll, with eight babies and one boy somewhat older.

The House of the Good Shepherd is a female reformatory under charge of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, and has about 200 inmates.

The Little Sisters of the Poor conduct an admirable Home for the aged and infirm poor, supported by general solicitation. Last year an average of 146 were cared for.

The Home for the Friendless (a suggestive but unfortunate title) was founded in 1867 for aged women who have no other home. It has at present twenty inmates, aged from sixty-eight to eighty-eight years.

The Church Home, for old and homeless women, was founded in 1895 and incorporated in 1897. It has about a hundred inmates.

The Deaconesses' Home for many years did a good work in training young women for the care of the sick, but ended its work about a year ago.

The Neighborhood House, on the west side, is the only "settlement house" in St. Paul. It has a sewing school of about two hundred; and about fifty, mostly foreigners, are in its classes. It is an experiment, as yet, in settlement work.

Of the Nugent Institute I can get no report; and the Babies' Catholic Home has been absorbed into the Catholic Orphan Asylum.

The Day Nursery, at the Relief Society building, cares during working hours for children of working women, to enable the mothers to earn the daily wage. Last year 691 children were cared for one day or more. The nursery was open 287 days, with an average daily attendance of sixteen.

The Young Women's Friendly Association, founded in 1888 by J. M. Lichtenberger and wife, was incorporated in 1892. It attempts, and very successfully, to ameliorate the conditions of employed women, supplying attractive rooms, with library, music, etc., and serving warm coffee and food for lunch, at nominal cost, and providing a dormitory for young women alone in the city. Kind consideration and advice, with friendly service, have made this association a blessing to thousands. From 700 to 1,600 visit the rooms daily; 26,000 the first year, and 200,000 the last year. Hundreds of sick young women have been supplied with warm and nourishing food sent out by this society, in connection with the work of the Relief Society and the nurses of the Associated Charities.

The Free Medical Dispensary, established in 1896, is admirably housed and equipped, and is a dispensary of the first class. It is served without charge by the best physicians and surgeons of the city. Some income, from those able to pay, comes for medicines and service; but the larger part of the work is free. Last year 8,097 were treated; 661 free prescriptions were given; and 3,008 persons paid ten cents each for prescriptions.

The Child Saving and Prison Association was organized in 1896, D. T. Wellington being the founder and secretary. It succeeded the Newsboys' Home Association. Visitation of jails and prisons, and rescue work for children and discharged prisoners, are its special work; and to prevent juvenile delinquency is its general object. During last year 336 boys and 224 girls, making a total of 560, were reached and aided.

The "Bethel" was organized in 1872 for river boatmen and workers on the levee. Robert Smith, well known as a Christian worker among them, was its chaplain. Rev. David Morgan has enlarged and developed the work most successfully. In 1888 the Bethel Boat was purchased, and in 1891 was dedicated. For many years the boat was anchored at the foot of Robert street and used as a friendly inn. The Bethel has now a hotel on Wabasha street, somewhat on the "Mills plan," with reading rooms, lecture courses, industrial school, nursery, etc. It is one of our best and most practical charities.

The Humane Society is doing a good work in preventing cruelty to children as well as to animals.

The Children's Home Society of Minnesota was organized in 1889, under a state charter, and is not merely a local or even Twin City charity. It has received and cared for 2,160 infants and children, up to December, 1904, besides some eighty or more temporary cases. Before the new and beautiful "Jean Martin Home" was received through the generous gifts of the building by Captain John Martin and of the lots by Mr. Joseph Elsinger, the children were cared for in rented houses in the two cities. By far the greater portion of the children received have had homes found for them through the efforts of this society. Last year 160 found homes, and 232 were cared for. Thirty-five are now in the Home, seventeen being babies under one year, four from one to two years old, and fourteen ranging in age from two to sixteen years. The receipts for 1904 were $17,251.11, and the expenditures, $16,904.-81.

An Industrial Mission, maintained by the colored people at 741 Mississippi street, is doing a good work, having a reading room, night school, restaurant, etc.

Several industrial schools have been already mentioned. Those connected with the People's Church and the Hope Mission are among the best in the city.

The churches, one and all, make some provision for their own poor members.

Minor charities, maintained by small circles of people, and in some cases by firms, help many. Individual charities also help to swell the grand total of charity here and throughout the state, but these cannot be recorded. The charitable work of the masonic societies, the Elks, etc., is referred to elsewhere.

I cannot close my reference to St. Paul without mentioning the great and very exceptional fund of nearly $3,000,000 for the poor of the city, known as the "Amherst H. Wilder Charity," under the wills of Amherst H. Wilder and Mrs. Wilder and of their daughter, Mrs. Cornelia Day Appleby. When available for the purposes designated, a charity of vast resources and immense possibilities for good, indeed of unsurpassed usefulness within its own lines, will under wise direction be developed. Just what will be undertaken, what the plan of operation will be, are undetermined. That the trustees will enter upon the work of direct and applied

relief, such as now is done by the Relief Society, seems hardly probable.

If this great charity should lessen the personal interest of good and charitable citizens for their own poor, it could hardly be considered a blessing to the community. Better and cheaper homes for the poor, employment agencies, loaning funds, hospitals for the sick, and even industrial training schools, would seem to be legitimate and wise uses for such a fund.

MINNEAPOLIS CHARITIES.

The following outline history of charities in Minneapolis has been furnished by the secretary of the Associated Charities in that city.

Previous to 1868 the few poor were provided for by neighbors. The Young Men's Christian Association in 1866 aided a few young men to obtain employment.

In 1868 the Women's Christian Association, formed from several "Ladies' Aid Societies," was first organized. There was a deeply felt need of organization, and a desire to prevent duplication of relief. Its objects are, first, to aid the poor, including support of a visitor among the poor; and, second, to provide homes for the homeless and friendless. Its results have been to establish, in the year 1877, a Women's Boarding Home, and in 1901 a Girls' Home and the Jones-Harrison Home for Aged Women. Until 1901 this association also partly supported the matron of the city lockup.

March 1, 1871, the St. Barnabas Hospital, an Episcopal institution, was established by Bishop Knickerbacker, being the first hospital in Minneapolis.

In May, 1875, the Sisterhood of Bethany was organized as a branch of the Minnesota Magdalen Society of St. Paul. Its object is the promotion of moral purity. In 1876 it established the Bethany Home, as a lying-in hospital and retreat, in which the children born there are cared for temporarily.

In 1877 a Coffee House was established, chiefly through the efforts of Mr. George A. Brackett, having for its object the solution of the tramp problem by religious services, meals at low rates, etc. Various ministers of the city aid in carrying on the religious services.

The Plymouth Congregational Church in 1879 founded its Bethel settlement; in 1880, a free kindergarten; in 1883, a day nursery; in 1895, the Girls' Club; and in 1899, the Boys' Club.

In 1880 the Board of Supervisors of the Poor was established by an ordinance of the City Council, as required by the city charter. In 1891 the Poor Department was placed under the Board of Charities and Correction, by an act of the state legislature. This Board has supervision of the City Poor House and Farm and of the City Hospital.

In 1882 the Ladies' Benevolent Society (Reformed Hebrew) was organized, and the Sisters of Peace Relief Society (Orthodox Jewish).

October 1, 1883, the Women's Industrial Exchange was founded to relieve distress due to general depression following the "boom." It endeavored to help women to self-support by expert cookery and handiwork. An upper room was used as a rest room. Practical failure was caused by stores offering better opportunity for sales and by other restaurants taking away patronage from the lunch room.

In 1883-84 the St. Vincent de Paul Society was formed in connection with the Church of the Immaculate Conception, to do the usual charitable work of such societies.

In 1883 the Sir Moses Montefiore Relief Society was founded.

In 1885 the Friendly Inn was founded by George A. Brackett. It took up the tramp problem, and applied to it a work test, the sawing of wood for meals and lodging. Bath and laundry were connected with it. After three years, later work in this direction was carried on by the Associated Charities, into which the Friendly Inn was merged.

December 16, 1884, the Associated Charities was organized, though little work was done until it was reorganized December 14, 1885, with George A. Brackett as president. Its object is the cooperation and correlation of charitable agencies, with registration and careful records. During last year 1,051 cases were investigated by paid agents, assisted by volunteer visitors. Self-help is promoted by an employment bureau, friendly visiting, and a provident fund. The sick poor are cared for by a visiting nurse; and for tuberculosis patients a special nurse is employed, to guard against the spreading of that disease.

The News Boys' Home was founded by Mrs. Farr in 1886, to provide meals and lodging for homeless boys. It was discontinued in 1890.

In 1886 the Salvation Army began its work in Minneapolis. It is mainly religious, but does some relief work. In 1892 it established a Working Men's Home, a lodging house; in 1903, a salvage store; and in 1904, a gymnasium. Its furniture repair shop, library, and club rooms, are in the Old City Hall.

The Eighth Ward Relief Association was formed in 1887, and did good work for some time within the limits of that ward, in which saloons were prohibited.

In November, 1888, the House of the Good Shepherd was founded by Catholic sisters; but in 1903 it was merged into the institution of the same name in St. Paul.

In 1891, the Rebecca Deaconesses (Methodist) began their work.

The Union Mission of Minneapolis was founded in 1896. Its work is mainly religious. It runs the St. James Hotel, which supplies meals and lodging at low rates, and is self-supporting.

The Volunteers of America, beginning here in 1896, do mainly religious work, with some relief to the poor at their Helping Hand Home and Working Girls' Home.

The Unity settlement, founded in 1898 by the Universalist Church of the Redeemer, maintains a free kindergarten and an industrial school.

The Northwestern Hospital was founded in 1882 by Mrs. T. B. Walker. Its object is to provide medical and surgical aid for women and children by regular physicians and women surgeons, and to train nurses.

The Maternity Hospital was opened November 30, 1886, for married women who have no means for payment, and for girls of previous good character.

St. Mary's Hospital (Catholic) was founded in 1887. It receives patients of all classes.

The City Hospital was established July 1, 1887, by the City Council. It has been under the control of the Board of Charities and Correction since 1891.

In 1888 the Deaconesses' Institute was founded as a school for nurses and as a hospital.

In 1891 The Homœopathic Hospital was founded, and in 1892 the Asbury Hospital and Deaconesses' Home (Methodist).

The Catholic Orphan Asylum was established in 1877, providing in Minneapolis a home for boys, and in St. Paul a home for girls.

In 1882 Bishop Knickerbacker founded the Sheltering Arms, an Episcopal home for destitute orphan and half orphan children.

The Stevens Avenue Home, for children and aged women, was opened in 1885, resulting from work of the Children's Home Society of Minneapolis, begun in 1881.

The Washburn Memorial Home, for orphans, was founded in 1886 by Gen. C. C. Washburn.

The citizens of Minneapolis have always been charitably inclined. In the early years all cases of destitution were speedily aided by neighbors and friends. As the city grew, the same methods were followed, though the agents were the churches and small organizations, often social, which led to duplication and indiscriminate aid. The Associated Charities proposed to remedy this evil, but found it hard to change the generous impulses of the people and for some time did little but relief work. When it again took up the endeavor of wisely directing aid, it found co-operation very hard to secure. At the present time it may be said that co-operation is increasing, in spite of the fact that a large number of organizations whose main purpose is religious or social grant relief as a side issue.

Charity is not limited to alms. The tendency is to cause material relief to be restricted in amount, but to be more effective for good in its administration. Some evidence of an awakening to the need of preventive charity is seen in the establishment of an Anti-Tuberculosis Society, which is creating general interest; in care for the physical condition of children, the neglect of which may be a cause for pauperism; in providing public play grounds; and in the restriction of child labor, the public schools requiring investigation to be made before a labor permit is granted.

CHARITIES OF THE STATE.

Minnesota state charities, instituted and supported by the state, are, with few exceptions, under the financial direction of the State Board of Control. This Board, modelled after similar boards

in Iowa and Wisconsin, was created under a legislative act of April 2, 1891. It is doubtful whether the State University and the State Normal Schools were intended to be included in this act, and steps are now being taken to free them from such control. Both the Board of Control and the University desire separation and a single control.

This state is unique in taking entire responsibility in cases of insanity. This lessens our pauper population, but is of doubtful expediency in cases of patients who are not poor. Legislation to secure a half payment in such cases is being now introduced. The cottage system is partially adopted, as well as larger buildings, and asylums as well as hospitals.

Our hospitals for the insane and cottage asylums are at St. Peter, Rochester, Fergus Falls, Anoka, and Hastings. The first of these hospitals, established at St. Peter in 1866, had during last year an average of about 1,000 patients. The Rochester Hospital, established in 1878-79, has about 1,100 patients. The Fergus Falls Hospital, founded in 1887, has over 1,300 patients. The Anoka Asylum, opened March 14, 1900, has 120 patients; and the Hastings Asylum, opened April 26, 1900, has 125 patients.

All these hospitals and asylums are well and ably managed, and are supplied with the best modern appliances. Although they are capable of further improvement by use of larger means, they rank with the best in any state of the Union.

Until recently the older hospitals were crowded. It is a question whether insanity and imbecility are increasing in Minnesota. Probably they are not increasing proportionately to the population, although a more general knowledge of our State School for Imbeciles has led to increased attendance there. The cost to the state for the insane at the hospitals and asylums differs slightly, but averages about $150 per annum per capita at all of them.

This country leads all others in the care and instruction of the deaf and dumb; and the Gallaudet College crowns the whole system of such instruction. Our School for the Deaf at Faribault, founded in 1863, has about 250 inmates, the cost of whose care averages about $200 per annum.

Under the same management, the School for the Blind, which was established at Faribault in 1866, now has an attendance of 77, at an average cost of about $260 per annum.

The School for the Feeble Minded, also at Faribault, was established in 1882, and has now about 750 in attendance, showing an apparent increase during recent years. The cost per annum per capita is about $150. The first consignment of feeble-minded pupils from the Hospital for the Insane at St. Peter was made in July, 1879, as a department connected with the School for the Deaf, and three years later this separate school was provided.

The State Public School for dependent and neglected children, at Owatonna, on the Washington plan, was organized in 1885 and opened in 1886. It is a marked feature of advance along this line of our state charities. The number of children cared for up to 1900 was 538, of whom 293 had been placed in permanent homes. At present this school has about 250 scholars, 178 boys and 80 girls. The average age is eight years, and the cost per capita per annum is about $160. Separation of the sexes in two schools is now recommended.

Prior to 1897 no attempt, so far as I know, had been made in this state or any other to relieve crippled children at the public expense, although many private institutions existed. As a state, Minnesota seems to have been the leader in this work. New York and other states have followed. The facilities of the St. Paul City Hospital were secured, and the work was put under the care of the Board of Regents of the State University.

The State Training School at Red Wing has an enforced attendance, for reformation, averaging 587, at an annual cost for each of about $145.

The State Reformatory at St. Cloud is a continuation of our graded penal system. Its average of inmates is 155, at a stated cost of $300 each per annum, which seems excessive. A reformatory for women prisoners should also be provided.

The State Prison at Stillwater can hardly be classed as a charitable institution; yet in its manual training, its libraries, and other educational features, it does charitable work. Its parole system is commendable; of 566 out last year, only 62 violated their parole. Its good behavior recognition is also excellent. With an average of about 520 prisoners, only 50 of whom are women, it is more than self-sustaining through well organized labor, and ranks among the best prisons in the country, and its influences have been helpful to many.

The State University deserves mention, since the state provides so largely for the instruction there, small fees only being required from students. About 3,800 students are now in attendance. Larger appropriations are needed to develop its vast interests. Its president, its faculty, its fine buildings and campus, are the pride of every Minnesotan.

Our State Normal Schools, at Winona, Mankato, St. Cloud, Moorhead, and Duluth, also come under the head of beneficial and indeed charitable institutions, as the state thus aids very largely in giving an education to the teachers for its public schools.

The Minnesota Soldiers' Home, at Minnehaha Falls, is beautifully situated, well managed, and is one of the best in the country. When the new building for the wives and children and widows of old soldiers is erected, this institution will be even more complete. It now provides for about 380 veterans, including 64 in the hospital. The cost per capita per annum is about $200, and in addition some government aid is received. A relief fund of great value also exists, so that all who prefer to remain at their own homes can do so and have aid there. This institution is not under the State Board of Control.

The masonic, fraternal and beneficial societies, throughout the state, have been already referred to, but their charitable work deserves special mention. In almost every town and village of Minnesota lodges and societies exist, whose highest and best work is the relief of sick and dependent members and their families.

The Odd Fellows' Home and Orphan Asylum at Northfield has a fine new building and some 120 acres of land, together valued at $70,000.

Although no separate exhibition of the charities of Minnesota was made last year at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition by our Board of Control, some showing was made indirectly, and not without favorable notice. If a complete exhibit had been made, it would have demonstrated that this state is in the front rank among the states of the Union in respect to its system of charities.

MINNESOTA JOURNALISM FROM 1858 TO 1865.*

BY DANIEL S. B. JOHNSTON.

SIXTH PAPER, 1858 TO 1860.

No force in the world today is more potent than journalism; no soldier is more honored than he who serves in its ranks, and no service equals that of the pioneer newspaper in the early beginnings and upbuilding of territory and state.

This paper is the sixth in the series of the history of journalism in Minnesota. Five papers already printed cover the territorial period. This paper dates from May 11th, 1858, the day Minnesota was admitted as a state, and closes at December 31st, 1860.

THE FIRST EDITORIAL CONVENTION.

It is generally supposed that the excellent history of Minnesota editorial conventions, which Mr. H. P. Hall has compiled, dates back to their beginnings. Two earlier conventions were held, however, prior to those of which he writes, one being in St. Paul, June 3d, 1858, and the other in Mankato, June 4th, 1862. The minutes of the convention held in St. Paul read as follows:

"The convention met according to previous notice. Columbus Stebbins, editor of the Hastings Independent, was elected chairman of the preliminary organization. A committee of seven was appointed to present business; and A. J. Van Vorhes, Dr. Foster, W. A. Croffut, W. C. Dodge, C. B. Hensley, Marshall Robinson, and Charles Brown, constituted that committee.

*Read at monthly meetings of the Executive Council, April 10, 1905, November 12, 1906, and March 11, 1907. Mr. Johnston had previously read a series of five papers on "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," published in the Historical Collections of this Society, Volume X (Part 1), pages 247-351.

"The convention was permanently organized by the election of Columbus Stebbins, president; Frederick Somers and A. J. Van Vorhes, vice presidents; and David Blakeley and D. S. B. Johnston, secretaries. A. J. Van Vorhes, T. M. Newson, and James Mills, were appointed to draft a constitution and report at a meeting which was ordered to be held on the next anniversary of Franklin's birthday, January 17, 1859.

"W. A. Croffut, Dr. Foster, and J. K. Averill, were appointed to select suitable persons to deliver an oration and read a poem on that occasion.

"Publication of general and local laws, uniform rates for subscription and advertising, establishment of paper manufactures in the state, and increase of prices for publication of legal advertisements, were advised by resolution."

Those present at the above meeting were A. J. Van Vorhes, of the Stillwater Messenger; Frederick Somers, of the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat; David Blakeley, Bancroft Pioneer; D. S. B. Johnston, St. Anthony Express; Dr. Thomas Foster, St. Paul Minnesotian; W. A. Croffut, St. Anthony News; T. M. Newson, St. Paul Times; James Mills, Pioneer and Democrat; J. K. Averill, Winona Times; W. C. Dodge, Shakopee Free Press; Marshall Robinson, Glencoe Register; Charles Brown, Brownsville Herald; and C. B. Hensley, Mankato Independent.

The day appointed in St. Paul for the adjourned meeting of this first editorial convention in the winter of 1859 passed, and I did not think of it and it is doubtful if any of the other Minnesota editors did.

January 17th, 1860, came, and the Pioneer and Democrat thus tersely refers to it: "If the printers who are supposed to be most interested in its appropriate celebration have made no preparations to observe it, we can do no more than call attention to the anniversary."

THE SECOND EDITORIAL CONVENTION

was held in Mankato, June 4th, 1862. A. J. Van Vorhes, of the Stillwater Messenger, was chairman; and Orville Brown, of the Faribault Republican, secretary. The other editors present were William R. Marshall, St. Paul Press; Louis E. Fisher, St. Paul Pioneer; D. Sinclair, Winona Republican; D. Blakeley, Rochester Post; W. H. Mitchell, Rochester Republican; Frederick Driscoll, Belle Plaine Journal; Martin Williams, St. Peter Tribune; N. B. Hyatt, Blue Earth City News; Col. John H. Stevens, Glencoe Reg-

ister; J. H. McKenney, Chatfield Democrat; J. C. Wise, Mankato Record; C. B. Hensley, Mankato Independent; and James J. Green, Minnesota Statesman.

The committee to draft a constitution and by-laws were Van Vorhes, Marshall, Sinclair, Col. Stevens, and McKenney.

The committee on a uniform schedule for job work and advertising were Blakeley, Hensley, Wise, Fisher, and Green. This committee was to prepare and furnish a copy of the price schedule to each editor in the state for examination and concurrence. The secretary was to invite each editor in the state to meet in a third editorial convention, October 22, 1862. A final account of the June meeting was published June 21, 1862, in the Republican, of Preston, Fillmore county, and it is from that issue that I take this record.

Either Mr. Brown did not invite, or the war made the editors forget, as I can find no trace of even an attempt to hold the adjourned meeting at the time appointed.

I find no further attempt made to hold conventions until February 20th, 1867, when the next editorial convention was held, as H. P. Hall continues the record.

CORRECTIONS OF THE FIFTH PAPER IN THE TERRITORIAL SERIES.

Sickness and death in my family, coming about the time my papers on "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period" went to the printer, prevented the final revision of my last preceding paper. I afterward found that one Territorial newspaper, the Minnesota Posten, had been left out; and two, the Northfield Journal and the Hastings Weekly Ledger, were included, which did not belong in the Territorial period. Therefore I make my correction of number five in number six of the series.

The Minnesota Posten should immediately precede the notice of the Belle Plaine Inquirer, and the numbering onward for the next seven pages should be increased by one. Taking out the Northfield Journal and the Hastings Weekly Ledger, mentioned in the closing part of the notice of the Hastings Daily Ledger, leaves seventy-five weekly journals, instead of seventy-six, of the total Territorial papers.

THE MINNESOTA POSTEN.

November 7th, 1857, a paper called the Minnesota Posten was started in Red Wing. It was a weekly and was published by E. Norelius and J. Enberg about a year, when it was united with the Newlandit of Chicago. My authority for this is Robert Gronberger of Forest Lake, Chisago county, Minn. The Posten was the sixty-seventh paper started in the Territory. This disturbs the order of the list of Territorial newspapers, making the Belle Plaine Inquirer the sixty-eighth, the Folkets Röst the sixty-ninth, the New Ulm Pioneer the seventieth, the St. Cloud Visitor the seventy-first, the Winona Times the seventy-second, the Minneapolis Gazette the seventy-third, the Rochester Free Press the seventy-fourth, and the Shakopee Reporter the seventy-fifth and last of the Territorial series.

The Northfield Journal, the first of the two papers that I included in the Territorial period by mistake, went in carelessly without date. The fact is, the first number of that paper was printed early in June, 1858, and Minnesota was admitted as a state May 11th, 1858. The Journal, therefore, was not a Territorial paper.

The Hastings Daily Ledger will be counted number seven of the Minnesota dailies, as I have it in paper five of the Territorial series; and the Weekly Ledger, which did not begin until after the daily had run a year, as I stated plainly, but which I carelessly counted as the seventy-sixth and last weekly established in the Territory, should be there omitted. Both the Northfield Journal and Weekly Ledger will appear in this paper, where they belong.

While making corrections, I want to make one regarding Earle S. Goodrich, long the forceful editor of the Pioneer and Democrat, now a part of the Pioneer Press. My first paper on Journalism in the Territorial period gave the date of his birth as July 27th, 1827. It should be July 20th, a week earlier.

I have studiously aimed to have these papers go into print free from mistakes. In view of the circumstances, I trust that these errors will be pardoned.

THE TORCH.

When Samuel Ludvigh assumed control of the Minnesota Staats Zeitung in May, 1858, he brought with him a German quarterly, called The Torch, which he had edited in Baltimore. He tried to transplant it in St. Paul, but it did not live long enough to get acclimated. As it was not a Minnesota product, I have not counted it.

FOLKETS RÖST (PEOPLE'S VOICE).

This Democratic Norwegian paper, which I had difficulty in placing in my fifth paper of the Territorial series, because it seemed to have no editor, I have lately traced to Ole Nelson, a bright young Scandinavian. He ran it in the Pioneer Press rooms only a few months. He joined the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, and was killed shortly afterward.

THE NORTHFIELD JOURNAL.

which slipped into the Territorial list without date, was started early in June, 1858. My authority for this is the Mantorville Express, which says under date of June 5th, 1858, "We have just received the first number of the Northfield Journal, Republican in politics, and edited by R. A. Hoag, recently of the Cannon Falls Bulletin." Lowell B. Hoag and his brother, R. A. Hoag, started the Bulletin, as stated in paper four of the Territorial series. The Northfield Journal was afterward begun by them in Northfield, and was run until early in the sixties. It was the seventy-sixth weekly started in Minnesota, and the first after the state was admitted to the Union.

LOWELL B. HOAG.

Lowell B. Hoag, who I think was editor of these papers, was born in Bristol, Vermont, January 19th, 1830. In the fall of 1857 he came to Cannon Falls, and, with his brother, R. A. Hoag, started a weekly paper called the Cannon Falls Bulletin. In April, 1858, he moved the plant to Northfield, and early in June began the Northfield Journal, as has been stated. In 1861 he discontinued the Journal, and the press and material went to Rochester, Minnesota, and was used to run the Rochester Republican. In August, 1862, Hoag enlisted, and three years after came out of the service a captain. In 1870 he moved to his farm near Northfield, and that is the last I know of him.

THE MINNESOTA STATESMAN.

The Minnesota Statesman, of St. Peter, Nicollet county, was the seventy-seventh newspaper established in Minnesota, and the second after Minnesota became a state. Its editor and proprietor was James J. Green, noticed in the fifth paper of this series as the editor of the Traverse des Sioux Reporter. The date of first issue was June 11, 1858, and the last that appears in the Historical Society library was dated December 23, 1859. The history of Nicollet county says, however, that it was not discontinued until some time in 1864.

THE CLEVELAND LEADER.

Thomas M. Perry, who lately died at St. Peter, was publisher of the St. Peter Courier until it was discontinued in July, 1858. Perry then took the plant to Cleveland, Le Sueur county, and established the Leader, which he ran until the Presidential campaign of 1860. He then closed the Leader office and returned to St. Peter, where he ran the Little Giant during the Lincoln-Douglas campaign. The Leader was the seventy-eighth Minnesota weekly newspaper.

THE ST. CLOUD DEMOCRAT.

The seventy-ninth newspaper, and the fourth after Minnesota became a state, was the St. Cloud Democrat. It was started with the material of the St. Cloud Visitor, whose record of disaster was described in the fifth paper of this series.

It was owned and edited by Jane G. Swisshelm, the former editor of the Visitor, and its name illustrates the curious contradictions of her character. A radical of the extreme type, she believed that her paper should be named the Democrat, as an exponent of true democracy, and that the Democratic party, as then constituted, had no right to the name.

The date of its first issue was August 5, 1858. It was a six-column Republican sheet, and she conducted it until it was sold to W. B. Mitchell, June 11, 1863. November 26, 1863, Mitchell enlarged it to seven columns, and September 13, 1866, to nine columns. Its name was then changed to the St. Cloud Journal, and later to the St. Cloud Journal-Press, and under the latter name it is still running.

A STATE DINNER.

Mrs. Swisshelm once entertained Governor Ramsey, Lieutenant Governor Donnelly, and State Treasurer Scheffer, and, the plates running short, she placed squares of paper before her guests as substitutes. In return she was invited to dinner at the residence of Governor Ramsey in St. Paul. On her return to St. Cloud, she writes in the Democrat how pleased she was with the informally democratic way of serving dinner. She says:

> Eureka! Dinner without sauce plates. Oh, my, but it was a relief to get our meat and all the vegetables and sauce to be eaten with it on a large plate, to be disposed of at leisure, and not be required to take charge of half a dozen plates, one of fowl and potato, one of oysters, one of cranberry, one of cabbage, one of tomato, etc., etc., and so on, according to the usual having company programme.

MEDFORD VALLEY ARGUS.

The history of Steele county says that the Medford Valley Argus was begun in Medford, Steele county, about the middle of August, 1858. Francis and Sully were the publishers, and the material of the defunct Owatonna Register was used. The paper was a failure and the material was soon shipped back to Owatonna, and with it H. M. Sheetz, the former editor of the Register began the Owatonna Journal. It was Republican in politics. Mr. Sheetz died in Owatonna, October 16, 1859, and it is further stated that his widow tried to run the paper, but after a short time had to give it up. This would place the beginning of the Journal at some date prior to October, 1859, whereas from the copies of the Owatonna Journal in the Historical Society Library that paper dates back only to April, 1863. Sheetz probably started the paper as stated, it was suspended by Mrs. Sheetz, and afterward was started again under a new administration. If the history of Steele county is correct, it is another case of Journal No. 1 and No. 2. The Argus was the eightieth newspaper started in Minnesota.

MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL, NO. 1.

Although the Minneapolis Journal, which I have named the eighty-first Minnesota newspaper, was started some time in September, 1858, while I was running the St. Anthony Express, I do not remember its exact date of beginning nor how long it lasted.

Nor can I get this information from history, biography, or any other source. There are no files in the library or elsewhere that I can find. It was Republican in politics. C. H. Pettit was the owner, Minneapolis its place of issue, and John G. Williams, a well known newspaper man of early days, its editor.

THE FREEBORN COUNTY EAGLE,

of which Volume I, No. 1, is in the Historical Library, was published in Albert Lea, Freeborn county, and was started September 18, 1858. It was run with the material of the Southern Minnesota Star, which started in July, 1857, ran about eight months, and died from lack of support. The material of the Star lay idle a few months and was then sold under foreclosure by George S. Ruble, and went to Alfred P. Swineford, one of the former proprietors of the Star. Swineford then started the Freeborn County Eagle, as above stated. It was a six-column paper, and Democratic like its predecessor, the Star. Swineford made a lively paper of it until February 26, 1859, when it went into the hands of Isaac Botsford, who changed its politics to Republican. May 19, 1860, the Eagle died, and the material went back to George S. Ruble, who held the larger interests in its stock and fixtures. It was the eighty-second paper started in Minnesota, and the seventh after Minnesota became a state.

EARLY JOURNALISTIC POETRY.

The following take-off on a female fashion of early journalistic days I have found in one of the country newspapers of those times. It is a parody on "The Old Sexton," and it is unnecessary to add that it belongs to the hoop-skirt period of our national history.

"Nigh to a church that was newly made
Stood a lady fair, and thus she said:
'Too bad! too bad! I here must wait,
While they measure the breadth of this open gate.
Alas, it is only nine by six, I see;
Too narrow, too narrow, alas, for me!'
And she sighed, from her quivering lips so thin,
"I cannot get in, I cannot get in.'"

A correspondent of the Journal of Louisville, Kentucky, said that the ladies of Mantorville, Dodge county, seldom bought shoes smaller than sevens. To this a local poet replied in the Mantorville Express, as follows:

May he who thus has dared
To write this wicked slander,
Be doomed to pass through life unpaired,
A hissing, squawking, gooseless gander.

THE MOWER COUNTY MIRROR.

Volume I, No. 1, of the Mower County Mirror was dated September 30, 1858. It was printed in Austin, Mower county, and was the eighty-third paper in Minnesota. Its publisher was Rufus K. Crum, and David Blakeley, its editor. It was a seven-column Republican sheet. January 6, 1859, Blakeley sold to Crum, and, there being but one paper in the county, Crum made the paper independent, with the proviso that should a Democratic paper be started the Mirror was again to become Republican.

August 4, 1859, the paper again became Republican, with Alexander Ramsey for governor at the head of its editorial columns, and September 1, 1859, Blakeley went back as its editor. September 22, Crum retired, and Blakeley Brothers, consisting of David and C. H. Blakeley, became its owners, and the name was changed to the Minnesota Mirror. It ran until the latter part of 1859, when it was discontinued, the material being removed to Rochester; and on November 5, 1859, the Rochester City Post began. The Chatfield Democrat of October 29, 1859, makes the announcement of this change, which is the nearest I can come to the date of final issue of the Mirror.

The biographical sketch of David Blakeley appeared in the fifth paper of the Territorial series.

NEWS LETTER, NO. 1.

Concerning the first News Letter, I have only the testimony of J. Fletcher Williams, who early in 1859 was local editor of the St. Paul Minnesotian. He says, under date of January 8th, 1859, that the News Letter of Owatonna, Steele county, had died January 1st, 1859, aged five weeks. That would make its beginning December 4th, 1858, and that is all I can find about it. It was old

enough for a name and date, and, as there was another News Letter begun in Owatonna in March, 1860, I have named it News Letter No. 1, listing it as the eighty-fourth among the Minnesota journals.

THE STILLWATER DEMOCRAT, NO. 1.

Volume I, No. 1, of the first Stillwater Democrat is dated December 11, 1858. It was the eighty-fifth Minnesota journal. L. F. Spaulding and C. P. Lane were the editors and publishers. It was a seven-column Democratic sheet, published in Stillwater. The last number in the Historical Society library is dated February 2, 1861. The Freeborn County Standard of March 2, 1861, said it had suspended. The files of the Stillwater Democrat, No. 2, show that it was not started until 1888.

THE MINNESOTA PATRIOT.

The first issue of the Minnesota Patriot was dated December 25, 1858. It was started in Wabasha, and S. S. Burleson was its editor and proprietor. It was six columns in size, Democratic in politics, and the eighty-sixth Minnesota newspaper in regular series. It was made the official paper of Wabasha, May 3, 1859. In the March 19, 1859, issue of the Patriot, H. C. Simpson figures as associate editor. He retired August 13, 1859, and Burleson continued. Simpson said in the Wabasha Journal, its successor, that the Patriot lived thirty-six weeks. That would make its last issue August 27, 1859, which is probably correct. The Patriot was the last paper begun in the year 1858.

THE MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

was really a continuation of the Minnesota Republican, which I have noted as discontinued. As the News started under different owners and editors, it must be classed as a new paper, notwithstanding the fact that it went right along with the volume and number of the Republican, as though nothing had happened. The change from the Republican was made January 6th, 1859. The history of the Republican and News has already been given, so that I do not need to refer to it further in this connection. The State News was the eighty-seventh newspaper in regular course in Minnesota.

EDWIN CLARK.

These papers cannot refer to the publishers or owners of journals, distinctively as such, to any length. It would make the series too bulky to do so. But where a man acted in both capacities, although he was prominent mainly on the financial and publishing side of the newspaper, I aim to give him due credit. This is specially due to Edwin Clark of the Minnesota State News, for, without his persistent determination to establish it, there would have been no State News.

Mr. Clark was born in Bridgewater, New Hampshire, February 25, 1834. His ancestry in New England dates back to 1630, and his family has been prominent and influential from the colonial period to the present. His education was obtained in the common schools and academies of New England. He began his business life as a teacher, at the early age of seventeen, taught two terms, then learned the printing business, and on May 23, 1857, landed in St. Paul, Minnesota. Though it was spring time, no grass grew under his feet. Within three months, he had formed a partnership with W. A. Croffut, and had purchased from Charles G. Ames the Minnesota Republican plant; and on September 28, 1857, they issued the first number of the Falls Evening News. The history of that daily was given in the fifth of this series of papers, and there is no need of further reference to it here.

After disposing of the News, Mr. Clark was in 1865 appointed United States Indian agent for the Chippewas, his commission being signed by president Lincoln only two days prior to his assassination. The following year Mr. Clark was reappointed. He built the agency buildings at Leech Lake and the first steamboat on the lake, and burned the first kiln of brick north of Little Falls, Minnesota. After his Indian agency terminated, he laid out the city of Melrose in Stearns county, and built the first dam, mill, and store there, in 1867; and from that time to 1873, his mill largely supplied the northwest country with flour as far as Devils Lake and Fort Garry. In 1895 Mr. Clark returned to Minneapolis, where he has since resided and given considerable time to the upbuilding of the Territorial Pioneer Association.

URIAH THOMAS.

Uriah Thomas, the editorial successor of W. A. Croffut of the Minnesota State News, was born in Norristown, Pa., February 9th, 1829. He graduated from Brown University, Providence, R. I., about 1852. In September, 1855, he came to Minneapolis, where he formed a partnership with H. B. Hancock, a twin brother of General Winfield S. Hancock, and opened a loan, law and real estate office under the name of Hancock & Thomas. He was active in church work and an early member of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis.

In October, 1859, Mr. Thomas purchased from W. A. Croffut his half interest in the Falls Evening News and Minnesota State News, and November 5th, 1859, the first number under the new management was issued. The partnership of Thomas & Clark was continued until October, 1863, when the News office was sold to William S. King.

Mr. Thomas was Secretary and Regent of the University of Minnesota from February, 1860, to August, 1863, and during some of the time acted as private secretary to Governor Ramsey.

In the summer of 1863 he was appointed Assistant U. S. Treasury Agent, and was stationed at Beaufort, N. C. When the rebels threatened that place, the government property was removed to Newbern for safety. Owing to exposure and hardship in the trenches at Newbern, he contracted a disease of the hip joint, and in October, 1864, was taken to Doylestown, Pa., where he died October 14th, 1865.

Mr. Thomas was an honest, careful, painstaking journalist, and was thoroughly effective in any position to which in his short business career he was called.

THE ST. ANTHONY ADVERTISER.

The St. Anthony Advertiser, or "Gray's Seven by Nine," as Croffut used to call it, was a semi-weekly paper that was started by George Gray February 1st, 1859. Gray worked on my old paper, the St. Anthony Express, in 1857 and 1858. He then bought the plant of one of Ignatius Donnelly's short-lived papers at Nininger. With the outfit he printed the Advertiser to June 1st, 1859. He then sold out to Donnelly and Haven, and shortly afterward it was discontinued. It was the eighty-eighth paper printed in Minnesota.

SCOTT COUNTY DEMOCRAT.

Volume I, No. 1, of the Scott County Democrat was dated February 12, 1859. It was a seven-column, Democratic sheet, the eighty-ninth paper in regular course, and R. M. Wright was its editor. June 18th, 1859, the paper appears reduced to six columns. Between May 21st and June 18th there appear to have been no issues; and yet Volume I, No. 15, was dated May 21st, of the seven-column edition, and No. 14 was June 18th, of the six-column edition. This is explained in the Democrat by the statement that the last four issued did not count. It ran until July, 1861, when the inevitable sign of death came in half sheets for legal advertising purposes. The last issue was August 20, 1861.

THE HASTINGS WEEKLY LEDGER.

The history of the Hastings Daily Ledger was given at the close of Paper No. 5, in the Territorial series. The daily was run until March 12th, 1859, when the Weekly Ledger was started, and about two months thereafter the daily was suspended. The weekly was published until October 8th, 1859, when about that time the Weekly Ledger was also discontinued. The Hastings Democrat took its place on the third of December following. A. S. Dimond was editor and proprietor of the Ledger. It was a Democratic sheet of seven columns, and was the ninetieth newspaper started in Minnesota.

LA CRESCENT BANNER.

Alfred P. Swineford was quite prominent in Freeborn county journalism in 1857 and 1858. When he left the Freeborn County Eagle in the early part of 1859, he started a paper called the La Crescent Banner, at La Crescent, Houston county. The first number appeared about the 12th of March, 1859. The Glencoe Register of March 26th, the Mower County Mirror of April 7th, and the Belle Plaine Inquirer of March 17th, announced the first number; and the Freeborn County Eagle of March 26th says the Banner had been published two weeks, which dates it about March 12th, as above stated. It is mentioned by other papers as late as July 23d, 1859, which is probably about the date when Brick Pomeroy of the La Crosse Democrat absorbed it. It was the ninety-first Minnesota newspaper. Swineford was a lively journalist, and at a later date was appointed Territorial Governor of Alaska.

THE FRONTIER MONTHLY.

The first notice of the Frontier Monthly that I can find is in the April 30th, 1859, issue of the Hastings Ledger, which says that E. W. Northrup had retired from the firm of Northrup & Mars, of the Frontier Monthly. The May 14th, 1859, issue of the St. Paul Minnesotian says, "The Frontier Monthly by Northrup and Mars has been received." Again, the Glencoe Register of May 14th, 1859, says the second number of the Frontier Monthly by Northrup and Mars has been received. This sufficiently identifies the paper for April, 1859, as its first issue. When it was discontinued no one seems to know. It is probable, however, that it did not see the autumn leaves of 1859. It was the ninety-second Minnesota journal in regular course.

THE ST. PETER ADVERTISER.

All I know as yet of the St. Peter Advertiser and its author I find in the newspaper part of the history of Nicollet county. It is there stated that the St. Peter Advertiser was started by J. M. Perry, Sr., some time in 1859, and that Mr. Perry died in 1866. The Minneapolis Chronicle of April, 1867, speaks of it as still running, and that J. M. Perry was then its editor. I cannot find any of the issues of the paper in the Historical Library. I have placed it at a venture in April, 1859, and listed it as the ninety-third Minnesota journal.

THE OWATONNA JOURNAL, NO. 1.

There is no reference to the first Owatonna Journal that I can find either in the files or elsewhere, save in the history of Steele county. It seems to have been an effort of H. M. Sheetz, the editor of the Medford Valley Argus, to transfer his plant to more congenial soil. The Owatonna Journal was evidently begun at Owatonna, Steele county, for that purpose in the spring of 1859, as the Argus began in August, 1858, and was published only a few months. As Mr. Sheetz died October 16th, 1859, April, in that year, is near enough to the actual beginning of the Journal for practical purposes. After the death of Mr. Sheetz, his widow tried to continue the publication, but it had to suspend. The exact date, however, the history does not give. It is not probable that the

Journal established by Mr. Sheetz was continued until the Owatonna Journal, No. 2, was started. Be that as it may, however, the first Journal must have been discontinued, for Mr. Sheetz, after starting it, died in October, 1859, while the second Journal dates back only to 1863. I have placed the beginning of the Journal No. 1, in April, 1859, listing it as the ninety-fourth newspaper established in Minnesota.

THE DAKOTA SENTINEL

seems to have been one of the numerous agencies used by Ignatius Donnelly to boom the little town of Nininger, in Dakota county. No issues seem to be in existence. I find it mentioned in the April 30th, 1859, issue of the Hastings Ledger, which tells of a new Republican paper started at Nininger, called the Dakota Sentinel. The Glencoe Register of May 21st, 1859, also mentions it. It lived long enough, however, to be counted the ninety-fifth of the journals that have lived and died in Minnesota.

THE CARVER COUNTY DEMOCRAT.

Volume I, No. 1, of the Carver County Democrat was dated May 10th, 1859, T. R. Clark, editor. It was the ninety-sixth Minnesota paper established. Six columns was its size, and it was Democratic in politics. It was owned originally by Judge L. L. Baxter, but somewhere between May 10th and July 20th Horace G. Baxter became editor and proprietor, and A. W. Tennant publisher. The history of Carver county says the Baxters sold the Glencoe Register and started the Carver County Democrat in 1858. This statement is wrong, as the files clearly show. The last number in the Historical Society files is dated August 3rd, 1859.

THE PLAINDEALER.

The Plaindealer, a seven-column Democratic paper, was begun by H. E. Purdy May 14th, 1859, in Minneapolis. It ran until October 27th, 1860, and was then discontinued. The material was removed to La Crescent, Houston county, where November 27th, 1860, Mr. Purdy began the La Crescent Plaindealer. Purdy was a level-headed, forceful writer. W. S. King of the Atlas used to say that Purdy wrote his editorials with porcupine quills. I shall refer to Mr. Purdy further, when I come to the La Crescent Plaindealer. The Minneapolis Plaindealer was the ninety-seventh paper started in Minnesota.

THE STATE ATLAS.

The ninety-eighth paper started in Minnesota was the State Atlas. It was owned and edited by the irrepressible Bill King, as he was familiarly known in Minneapolis. The first issue of the Atlas in the Historical Society Library is Volume I, No. 34, dated January 14th, 1860. Number one therefore must have dated May 28th, 1859. William S. King was the editor and O. S. King, his brother, the publisher. It ran seven columns and was as radically Republican as any political paper was made in those days. April 7th, 1860, King and Brother appear in the files as editors and proprietors; and April 24th, 1861, William S. King appears as editor and proprietor. October 3rd, 1860, the paper was enlarged to eight columns, and on November 27th, 1860, a daily issue was begun, being the twelfth in course and the fifth after Minnesota became a state. On account of lack of patronage it ran only twelve weeks.

July 10th, 1861, the weekly went back to seven columns, and August 21st King leased the paper to John B. King and George D. Bowman. Bowman was a former editor of the St. Anthony Express, and was to have been the political editor of the Atlas. This arrangement lasted, however, only to October 2nd, 1861. The paper then went back to King, and on July 23d, 1862, he became editor, publisher and proprietor of the paper. November 19th, 1862, W. S. and T. S. King became editors and proprietors. January 28th, 1863, W. S. and T. S. King were editors, and T. S. King, publisher and proprietor.

At Volume V, No. 1, May 27th, 1863, the Atlas enlarged to eight columns again and was published by the Atlas Printing Company, and shortly afterward Dana E. King took charge of the paper. May 18th, 1864, Dana E. King resigned. May 8th, 1867, is the last of the Atlas in the Historical Library. Shortly after, it was merged by King in the Minneapolis Tribune.

John G. Williams, who for a time was editor of the Minneapolis Journal, was local editor of the Atlas during most of the year 1863.

WILLIAM S. KING.

William S. King was born in Malone, Franklin county, New York, December 16th, 1828. He died in Minneapolis, February 24th, 1900. He began his newspaper career in Cooperstown, New York, in 1852, at the age of twenty-four, by running a campaign paper in the interest of Hale and Julian, the Free Soil candidates for President and Vice President, a forlorn beginning for a young man ambitious to succeed in a political career. But King did not think of that. He was anti-slavery clear through, and if the cause his candidates stood for could not get ten votes in the nation it made no difference with him.

Mr. King got his title of Colonel on the staff of General Burnside in the militia service of New York, before coming to Minnesota.

He arrived in Minnesota in the spring of 1859 and began the publication of the State Atlas, which finally became, with other combinations, the present Minneapolis Tribune. Colonel King soon opened his editorial batteries against the then popular "Five Million Loan Bill," a measure proposed to aid the building of railroads in Minnesota. He and Dr. Foster of the St. Paul Minnesotian stood nearly alone in opposition to the bill in the northern part of the state. Colonel King believed what he was doing was best for the future of Minnesota, and though its chance had been doubly forlorn he would have gone into the breach.

Again in the latter part of August, 1860, when a southerner and his northern sympathizers, from the Winslow House in St. Anthony, attempted to take possession of a negro woman who wanted to get to Canada, Colonel King stood in the entrance of the Nicollet House, Minneapolis, with a heavy cane raised and threatened to brain the first man who attempted to follow the woman into the hotel. And he would have done it, had not wiser counsels headed off the pursuit.

His political career began July 5th, 1861, when he was chosen postmaster of the House of Representatives in Washington. Afterward he was for several years surveyor of logs and lumber for the Second Minnesota District. But the crowning event of his life came after being elected to the 44th Congress, when he refused to obey a subpoena issued by a committee appointed by Congress to

investigate the proceedings of a subsidy for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Colonel King's hands were clean, but it is thought that he knew the hands of some of his congressional friends were not clean, and the committee wanted to make him implicate those friends in the transactions. King promptly placed himself beyond the reach of legal process. The Minnesota Legislature then took a hand and demanded the resignation of Colonel King. He replied from his place of refuge in a letter worthy of Junius. It so turned the popular tide in his favor that the Legislature withdrew the resolution by unanimous consent.

Colonel King's efforts in behalf of Minnesota and Minneapolis deserve special mention. The State Fair Association had acquired some land in the southeast part of Minneapolis, but could not make their fairs pay. King assumed control, and by his superb management gave Minnesota a standing for agricultural productions and first-class cattle that has never been lost. He organized the Lakewood Cemetery Association of Minneapolis, bought fourteen hundred acres at Lakes Calhoun and Harriet, southwest of the city, and there gathered the choicest breeds of cattle, one of the herd bringing $14,000 at auction. The farm was called Lyndale, but he overreached himself in buying and stocking. He was plunged into years of expensive litigation, and though the final decision was in his favor he lost most of his property. In his long newspaper career in Minneapolis, Colonel King had more to do in settling its journalism on a permanent and paying basis than any other man there.

He used the editorial pen as a butcher handles his cleaver, except that he never trimmed his cuts. Among his enemies he was rough and always ready. To his friends he was true as steel. In the community where he lived, he was generous to a fault, whether the worthy or unworthy craved his bounty. He was liberal and devoted in every project for helping Minneapolis, and that city will feel the need of him more and more as the years go by.

THE WRIGHT COUNTY REPUBLICAN.

The ninety-ninth paper started in Minnesota was the Wright County Republican. It was owned and edited by George Gray, who is still in the printing business. June 30th, 1859, was the date of the first issue. It was printed in Monticello, Wright

county. Its size was six columns, and its politics Republican. Mr. Gray used the press and material of the old Minnesota Times, which was owned by Z. M. Brown, and which had been idle until Mr. Gray bought it to begin the Republican.

The newspaper publishers of those early days had lots of trouble. Gray tells of the scarcity of printing material in the upper country in early times. He says:

"I was engaged to print the delinquent tax sales of Wright, Sherburne, Carver, Meeker and Kandiyohi counties, and all the lists came down upon me about the same time. Material ran short. I sent the office hand down on the steamboat to St. Anthony to borrow all the 'figures and quads' he could get hold of, while I took the steamboat for St. Cloud and depleted Mrs. Swisshelm's office of about half a bushel of needed material. Even then I ran out of quads before the sales were all in type. I then called in a carpenter, showed him a '3-em quad' and told him to make a peck of wooden ones. With the aid of those basswood auxiliaries, I got all my tax sales out on time.'

The Republican began at six columns, but at Volume III, No. 13, October 19th, 1861, it dropped to five columns. At No. 18, November 23rd, 1861, it ceased publication.

THE MANKATO RECORD.

It has been a difficult matter to get the exact date of the beginning of the Mankato Record, as the files of that paper in the Historical Society Library are in a fragmentary condition. The numbers, also, of a semi-weekly that was published in the earlier years seem to run together in a confused manner. By the files, therefore, nothing very definite can be learned. I find, however, that the Statesman of St. Peter says that the first number of the Record was printed July 4th, 1859, but the obituary newspaper notice of the death of Mr. Wise says July 5th, 1859. As the Belle Plaine Inquirer of July 7th, 1859, says that the first number of the Mankato Weekly Record had been received,—and mails were slow in those days,—probably July 4th, 1859, is the correct date of the first issue. I find elsewhere than in the files that the Record was run as a weekly until July 2nd, 1860, when it appeared as a semi-weekly. John C. Wise was the editor and proprietor of the Record. The semi-weekly was discontinued November 22nd, 1862, because of the heavy tax on white paper, and publication of the

weekly was resumed. It was a five-column paper at the start, and Democratic in politics. It was afterward enlarged to six columns and then to seven, and finally, when Orville Brown assumed control, it was enlarged to eight columns. May 25th, 1869, in company with E. C. Payne, Mr. Wise started the Mankato Review, and that in turn was merged with the Mankato Union October 31st, 1879, and later in the Free Press by Gen. James H. Baker. The Record was number one hundred of the Minnesota journals.

JOHN C. WISE.

John C. Wise was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, September 4th, 1834. He served his apprenticeship in the printing business, and in 1852, at the age of eighteen, became editor and publisher of the Maryland Whig, of Clearspring, Maryland. He afterwards had three years' experience in the Washington Globe office. In 1855 he started the Superior Chronicle, in company with Washington Ashton. In 1858 he sold his share of the Chronicle to his partner, and returned to Washington.

Mr. Wise set the first type and did the first press work ever done at Superior. In the spring of 1859, he went to Mankato and started the Mankato Record, the first issue being dated July 4th, 1859. He ran it until he sold the plant to Orville Brown November 28th, 1868. May 25th, 1869, in company with E. C. Payne, he started the Review, a Democratic paper, in Mankato. In 1883 and 1885 his two sons, Charles E. and John C. Wise, Jr., became associated with him. September 12th, 1892, the first copy of the Daily Review was issued.

In public duties Mr. Wise was active. He was one of the trustees of the village of Mankato in 1865. Several terms he was president of the Board of Education of Mankato; and he was an incorporator of the Board of Trade, once its president, and twenty-two years one of its most active directors. He served on two committees for the relief of destitute settlers in southwestern Minnesota; was postmaster of Mankato in 1865, served one year, and then was reappointed and served a four years' term; and was a member of two Democratic national conventions.

An unassuming man, a dignified editor, ever active in good works for Minnesota and Mankato, he died with his harness still on, November 17th, 1900, at the age of sixty-six years.

THE WEEKLY JOURNAL, NO. 2, OF WABASHA.

The hundred and first newspaper was the Wabasha Journal, No. 2, by H. C. Simpson. It began October 29th, 1859. The Journal started by Sanderson in 1856 has already been noticed. Simpson's Journal was started as an Independent, but August 11th, 1860, it became Republican. It was six columns in size. December 8th, 1860, the last number was issued in Wabasha. The good will was then transferred to N. E. Stevens of the Herald at Read's Landing, a rival town, and was called the Wabasha County Herald and Weekly Journal.

Simpson then advertised the press and material of his defunct paper for sale at one thousand dollars. It did not sell, and January 3rd, 1861, he began publication again at Volume 2, No. 6, in Lake City, as the Weekly Journal, W. J. Bright and H. C. Simpson editors, and H. C. Simpson, publisher. March 9th, 1861, the paper was enlarged to seven columns, and G. W. Marsh became associated as editor and proprietor, and E. Porter as associate editor. May 4th, 1861, Simpson left the paper in the hands of Marsh and enlisted in the army. August 21st, 1861, Marsh announced that he must suspend unless Lake City came to his relief. Apparently Lake City did not come, for about that time the Journal died.

THE ROCHESTER CITY POST

was the hundred and second Minnesota journal. It was begun November 5th, 1859, by D. Blakeley and C. H. Blakeley, under the firm name of Blakeley and Brother. It was a seven-column weekly Republican sheet, and its place of publication was Rochester, Olmsted county. November 14th, 1863, the paper enlarged to eight columns, with D. Blakeley editor and publisher. It ran as an eight-column sheet until February 3d, 1866, when it became a six-column quarto, Leonard and Booth being the editors and proprietors. October 12th, 1867, it again became an eight-column sheet under the same management, and S. W. Eaton was made associate editor. The name was then changed to the Rochester Post, the word city being dropped. This paper is now the Rochester Post and Record.

THE ROCHESTER CITY NEWS.

C. W. Blaisdell, who started and ran the Wasioja Gazette as long as it lasted, also began the Rochester City News in the fall of 1859. The Chatfield Democrat of October 29th, 1859, says the Gazette was moved from Mantorville to Rochester for that purpose. In the fall of 1860, W. H. Mitchell and Dr. L. H. Kelly bought the material and began the Rochester Republican. This substantially agrees with the files of the Republican in the Historical Library. Volume II, No. 18, March 5th, 1862, is the first found there. It was printed in Rochester, Olmsted county, and was Republican in politics. Dating back, I find Volume I, No. 1, to be November 9th, 1860. And yet the Belle Plaine Inquirer under date of November 24th, 1858, says, "The Rochester News has been sold by Blaisdell to W. H. Mitchell and Co., and will be published as the Rochester Republican." This notice of the Inquirer must have been premature, to say the least of it, as Blaisdell in 1858 was running the Wasioja Gazette, and the Republican, according to its own files, did not begin until the latter part of 1860. There are no files of the News in the Historical Library or elsewhere that I know of. The News, like the Gazette, was Independent in politics, and it was number one hundred and three in the Minnesota list.

THE DAILY WINONA REVIEW.

The Winona Review was started by the Winona Republican, November 19th, 1859, at Winona. It was a small, three-column sheet, Republican in politics. It ran four weeks, and then its name was changed to the Republican. It was the eighth Minnesota daily, and the first issued after Minnesota became a state.

THE RURAL MINNESOTIAN.

Regarding the Rural Minnesotian, of Wasioja, Dodge county, the Minnesota State News of St. Anthony says, under date of November 21st, 1860, that it has received the first number of the paper. That will give about November 15th, 1860, as the date of first issue. Neither its editor nor publisher is given, but it probably was intended to be the successor of the Minnesota Beacon, begun in December, 1859, by Rev. A. D. Williams and L. Mel Hyde. It seems to have suspended publication, however, because the Con-

server of Hastings on August 8th, 1861, says it had resumed publication. Williams had then retired, and Hyde had the management. There is only a single number of the paper in the Historical Library. That is Volume I, No. 28, of August 29, 1861, marked "New Series." Dating back, No. 1 would be February 21, 1861, which probably gives the correct date of resumption after the first publication referred to by the News of St. Anthony in November, 1860. At the time of resumption it was a spicy, agricultural journal, published by L. Mel Hyde and C. H. Clay, under the firm name of L. Mel Hyde & Co. What its subsequent history was I do not know. It seems to have started in Minneapolis as a semi-monthly, devoted to temperance. It was first issued there in 1858. In 1859 it became an agricultural weekly, and was removed to Wasioja in 1860, as above stated. It is listed one hundred and fourth in the newspaper list.

MINNESOTA BEACON.

The Minnesota Beacon was started in Minneapolis December 1st, 1859, by L. Mel Hyde and Rev. A. D. Williams. It was an eight-page, four-column, semi-monthly journal, devoted to temperance and agriculture. In July, 1860, it was moved to Wasioja, Dodge county. The last number in the Historical Library is the issue of September 15th, 1860. I cannot find that it ran any longer. The number of the Beacon in regular course is one hundred and five.

THE HASTINGS DEMOCRAT.

The first issue of the Hastings Democrat was dated December 3rd, 1859. Charles P. Adams was editor and publisher. May 5th, 1860, the firm of publishers became Charles P. Adams & Co. The issue of December 8th, 1860, has the name of John R. Mars as publisher. Adams, the editor of the paper, was a Democrat of the outspoken type, and strongly opposed to the Civil War. November 20th, 1860, he said in an editorial, "Accursed be the hand that draws a sword to sever the ties that bind the South and the North in one common brotherhood."

His opposition to the war rose to such a pitch that it was thought that one of his later editorials would call out a mob for the destruction of his paper. His reply to this exhibition of feel-

ing against him was characteristic of the man, as follows: "We hope these gentlemen will be honorable enough to give us fifteen minutes before they unceremoniously obtrude themselves into our sanctum, for we are anxious to give them a proper reception and a free ticket to their master with the long tail and cloven foot on the other side of Jordan."

The Civil War began, however, and then, patriotism overcoming party feeling, he said in words that will live, "The War has begun, and the Federal Government must be preserved."

He turned his efforts at once to the work of raising a military company, and on April 26th, 1861, was elected captain of the Hastings Volunteers, and the Democrat ceased publication. His company joined the famous First Minnesota, and he became lieutenant colonel of the regiment. He was finally made a brigadier general, served to the close of the War, and died on his farm in Vermillion township, Dakota county, November 2nd, 1893, at the age of sixty-three years.

The Hastings Democrat numbered one hundred and six in the list of Minnesota journals.

THE MINNESOTIAN AND TIMES

was a combination of the St. Paul Times and Minnesotian. Their history up to the consolidation has been given in my first paper on the Territorial period. The combination undertook to carry an old and a new series, but beginning at different dates, the old series of volume and number joined into the new with no more success than the unevenly matched team of editors worked the combination. The first number was issued December 8th, 1859, and the paper lasted until July, 1860, when the partnership was dissolved. They then tried again to run separately but failed, and Governor Marshall absorbed both in the St. Paul Press early in 1861. To properly identify this journalistic combination, I place the Minnesotian and Times as number one hundred and seven in the list of Minnesota newspapers.

THE DAILY MINNESOTIAN AND TIMES.

The daily of the Minnesotian and Times was begun December 8th, 1859, and was issued until July, 1860, as above stated. It was the ninth daily printed in Minnesota, and the second after the state was admitted.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Commonwealth was the name of an untimely monthly, which must be listed as one hundred and eight of the Minnesota journals. It was managed by a company called the Commonwealth Homestead Association, and was printed in the office of the Weekly Journal of Wabasha. It began December 19th, 1859, but how long it lasted I cannot tell, as the above brief reference in the Journal is all I can find regarding it. It was the last paper started in Minnesota in 1859.

THE DAILY WINONA REPUBLICAN

succeeded the Daily Review, December 19th, 1859. It was the third daily established after Minnesota became a state, and was the tenth daily started in Minnesota. The Weekly Republican was begun November 20th, 1855.

THE NEW ERA

was started at Sauk Rapids, Benton county, January 12th, 1860, instead of January 26th, 1860, as was erroneously stated in the notice of the Frontierman in Paper No. 2 of the Territorial series. Its editor and proprietor was William H. Wood, who bought the plant of the Frontierman after Mr. Russell discontinued the paper in the winter of 1859. The New Era was a six-column Republican paper, and had a literary department conducted by his wife under the name of Minnie Mary Lee. The files of the New Era are in a mixed condition in the Historical Library. The last I can find of the paper is a notice in the Minnesota State News of June 22nd, 1861, which says the New Era had suspended and that the press and material had been removed to St. Cloud, where the St. Cloud Union was to be begun by C. C. Andrews. He was later a general in the Union Army, and now is the head of the Forestry Commission of Minnesota. It is numbered one hundred and nine in the list of Minnesota journals.

WILLIAM H. WOOD.

William H. Wood was born in Loudon, New Hampshire, February 2nd, 1817. He graduated from Dartmouth College, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Michigan in 1845. In 1849 he removed to Sauk Rapids, Minnesota, and became editor of the Frontierman. He afterward owned and edited the New Era, as-

sisted by his gifted wife, who wrote under the nom de plume of Minnie Mary Lee. He was receiver of the United States Land Office at Sauk Rapids several years; was elected to the Minnesota Legislature in 1858; and was county attorney of Benton county many years. In 1869 he was elected president of New Athens College of Greensburg, Kentucky, and died soon after.

ST. PETER TRIBUNE.

The St. Peter Tribune was started at St. Peter, Nicollet county, February 15th, 1860. It was a seven-column Republican weekly. J. K. Moore began it as publisher, and it ranks one hundred and ten in general course. June 26th, 1861, Martin Williams bought a half interest in the paper, and J. K. Moore and Martin Williams were associated as J. K. Moore and Company. In the third paper of Journalism in the Territorial Period, I stated that Martin Williams established the Tribune. It was J. K. Moore. July 3rd, 1861, the paper dropped to the six-column size, owing to the difficulty of getting the seven-column size; but September 4th, 1861, it went back to seven columns again.

November 13th, 1861, Moore sold his interest to John Henderson, and Williams and Henderson ran it until July 2nd, 1862, when Henderson sold his interest to Williams and enlisted in the army and Williams went on alone. January 23rd, 1863, the paper dropped to six columns again. In September, 1863, Williams enlisted in the Ninth Minnesota, and A. R. McGill and T. M. Perry, Sr., and T. M. Perry, Jr., father and son, took charge of the Tribune until 1865, when the enlistment of Williams expired. April 6th, 1865, A. R. McGill, since governor of Minnesota and postmaster of St. Paul, became associated with Williams, and October 25th, 1865, the paper was again enlarged to seven columns, and continued under the firm name of Williams and McGill. November 29, 1865, McGill retired and Williams took the head of the paper until June 16th, 1869, when J. K. Moore returned after an absence of eight years and repurchased the paper. He assumed editorial control, and thus it passed to January 1st, 1885, when McGill purchased and held it until January 1st, 1887, when he sold it to P. V. Collins. In 1890 Daniel Fichthorn and J. A. Lochl purchased the paper and ran it until May, 1906, when Fichthorn sold his interest to Leonard N. Pehrson, and the firm of Pehrson & Lochl are still running it.

JOSEPH K. MOORE.

Joseph K. Moore was born in Enfield, Massachusetts, February 17th, 1828, and was educated in its public schools. At fifteen he learned the printer's trade, at twenty-four went to California from St. Joseph, Missouri, by ox team, on the overland route, worked in mines and newspaper offices three years, then returned to the States and located in Norristown, Penn. There he published the Republican. In March, 1859, he came to St. Peter, Minnesota, found the Free Press had been suspended by the hard times, bought a half interest in the plant and April 20th, 1859, started its wheels again. December 21st, 1859, the plant was totally destroyed by fire and had no insurance.

Mr. Moore then bargained for the printing plant of the old Traverse des Sioux Reporter, which was lying in the warehouse at Traverse des Sioux, subject to freight charges due J. C. Burbank. With that he began the publication of the St. Peter Tribune, February 15th, 1860, and made of it the journalistic success I have above noted.

In 1861, Mr. Moore was appointed postmaster at St. Peter, and, except three years, he held that position until 1885. His printing office was so well equipped that part of the state printing went to him in 1879, and all of it in 1880. In 1877 he was elected president of the Minnesota Editors and Publishers Association, and was re-elected in 1878.

In 1886, when A. R. McGill was elected governor, Mr. Moore was made his private secretary, and served until 1889. In 1890, he served as chief clerk in the construction of the World's Fair building built by the government in Chicago, and in 1892 he served in the same capacity in building the postoffice at St. Paul. Here he served until the administration changed in November, 1893. In the spring of 1894, he removed to Los Angeles, California, where February 4th, 1906, he died.

Few journalists of Minnesota have been more popular than Joseph K. Moore. Tactful and genial, yet yielding no principle of his political faith, he always had the respect of Republican and Democratic leaders and followers alike. He met the usual struggles of pioneer life in the west and never lay down in the business harness, and his seventy-eight years crowned a life of signal usefulness.

ANDREW R. M'GILL.

Andrew R. McGill was born in Crawford county, Pennsylvania, February 19th, 1840. He had a public school and academic education, and taught school until twenty-one. In June, 1861, he went to St. Peter, Minnesota, and became principal of the public schools of that place.

In August, 1862, he enlisted in the Ninth regiment of Minnesota Infantry, and took part in suppressing the Indian outbreak. His health failing, he left the service in 1863, and soon after was elected superintendent of schools for Nicollet county, and held the office two terms. During this time he became identified with the St. Peter Tribune, as above stated, but soon retired from any active management until January 1st, 1885, when he purchased the interest of Joseph K. Moore and was its active editor and proprietor until January 1st, 1887.

In 1865, Mr. McGill was elected clerk of the district court, and held the office four years. In the meantime, he studied law under Horace Austin, then district judge, and was admitted to the bar in 1868.

When Horace Austin became governor, Mr. McGill was appointed his private secretary, and in 1873 Governor Austin appointed him insurance commissioner, and he held that office until he purchased the interest of Mr. Moore in the St. Peter Tribune.

In 1886 Mr. McGill was nominated on the Republican ticket for governor of Minnesota and was elected. He afterward served as state senator of the thirty-seventh district, from 1899 to 1905. He was appointed postmaster of St. Paul in 1900, and served until he died October 31st, 1905.

Mr. McGill was a quiet, genial man of excellent judgment and sterling character. That he served the public well is shown by the many positions of trust he occupied. Socially he ranked high, and he honored all he called his friends.

THE TAYLOR'S FALLS REPORTER

was begun February 23rd, 1860, F. H. Pratt being editor and proprietor. It was a seven-column Republican paper and was the one hundred and eleventh in regular course. June 26th, 1862, its size was reduced to six columns. As the paper disappears from the

Historical Library from July 31st, 1862, to November 10th, 1864, I cannot tell when Ed H. Folsom assumed control as editor and proprietor, or what changes occurred in the interim. He did not continue long, as on January 27th, 1866, the paper appeared enlarged to seven columns, its original size, with Charles W. Folsom editor and proprietor. September 22nd, 1872, Charles W. Folsom died, and at Volume XIV, No. 3, November 15th, 1872, Ed H. Folsom became editor and publisher and so remained to July 11th, 1873, when the plant was sold to P. B. Walker and H. E. Barlow and became the Taylor's Falls Journal.

NORTHWESTERN FREE WILL BAPTIST.

The Northwestern Free Will Baptist was a religious monthly. It began in March, 1860, in Wasioja, Dodge county, and was continued until November, 1862, when it was discontinued. It was the one hundred and twelfth Minnesota journal. Rev. A. D. Williams was its editor.

STEELE COUNTY NEWS LETTER, NO. 2.

In its issue of March 31st, 1860, the Minnesota State News of St. Anthony said it had received the first number of the Steele County News Letter, published by A. B. Cornell at Owatonna, Steele county, to succeed the Owatonna Journal, which had suspended. It was Republican in politics. The Home Views of February 6th, 1861, says a paper called the News Letter would complete its first volume in four more numbers, which would date the first issue about March 6th, 1860. There is no copy in the Historical Library or elsewhere that I can find, so I can not fix these dates to a certainty.

The December 10th, 1861, issue of the Northern Statesman of Faribault says that A. B. Cornell of the News Letter had enlisted, and the St. Paul Press of December 19th makes the same announcement. The history of Steele county says, however, that the News Letter was published by Mrs. Cornell until 1863, when it was discontinued. The paper must have begun near the middle of March, 1860. I have listed it, therefore, as the one hundred and thirteenth of Minnesota journals.

I have named this News Letter No. 2, an earlier series having been noted by Fletcher Williams in his St. Paul Minnesotian locals of January 8th, 1859, as having met its death after sojourning five weeks in this vale of tears. A. B. Cornell came to Minnesota with his family in 1854, and made quite a stir in the early journalism of the Territory.

WASECA HOME VIEWS.

The first appearance of the Waseca Home Views in the Historical Library is at Vol. I, No. 14, which makes the date of first publication March 14th, 1860. It was seven columns in size and Republican in politics; J. W. Crawford, editor and publisher, with office at Wilton, Waseca county.

The files are fragmentary. Somewhere between November 28th, 1860, and January 2nd, 1861, A. B. Cornell becomes editor and publisher. At Volume II, No. 1, March 13th, 1861, Cornell retires, and Alexander Johnston, the local editor, takes his place. Here the files fail again until Vol. II, No. 26, September 5th, 1861. In that issue, S. J. Willis has joined Johnston, the paper has been reduced to six columns in size, and the announcement is made that the press upon which the Representative of Owatonna had formerly been printed had been purchased and moved to Wilton and would be used to print the Home Views. After Volume II, No. 29, September 26th, 1861, there are no more issues in the library.

From the history of Waseca county I get the following points about the Waseca Home Views.

It seems that A. B. Cornell owned the Home Views plant, and that the paper at first was printed at Owatonna by A. B. Cornell, being taken over to Wilton, Waseca county, and distributed. In the fall of 1860, for some reason the printing was done in the Central Republican office at Faribault, and N. W. Kittredge was editor.

A story is told of trouble between Crawford and Cornell. Cornell shut Crawford out of the office and the postmaster of Wilton would not let Crawford have the Home Views mail, and in consequence Crawford started the Waseca Citizen December 26th, 1860. This is the period when the files fail, so that there is no way but to accept what the county history says about it.

As Johnston and Willis began the Northern Statesman and Western Farmer at Faribault November 12th, 1861, it is very prob-

able that the Waseca Home Views died at or near September 26th, 1861, the date when its file ends in the Historical Library.

I find no authentic record of any other Home Views paper, and I think the above account can be accepted as essentially correct. It was the hundred and fourteenth news journal.

THE FREEBORN COUNTY STANDARD.

The first issue of the Freeborn County Standard that I can find is in the Historical Library. It is Volume I, No. 19, dated September 29th, 1860. Counting back to No. 1, I find the Standard began publication May 26th, 1860, as stated in its issue of May 14th, 1868.

It was begun by George S. Ruble and Joseph Hooker. They ran it until October 20th, 1860, when A. D. Clark bought it and continued it until July 25th, 1861. He then sold it to F. B. Webber, who ran it until October 10th, 1861. Webber sold it in turn to J. C. Ross, who held it until February 20th, 1862, then selling it to William Morin and enlisting in the army. Morin printed it until July, 1864, and then suspended its publication.

In March, 1865, Parker and Smith, D. G. Parker editor, bought the press and material and started the wheels moving again, and in 1870 the paper was still under the same management. It is still running, but it took six changes of ownership in five years to get firmly on its feet. It was the one hundred and fifteenth journal established in Minnesota.

STAR OF THE NORTH.

The Star of the North was a Democratic daily campaign paper, started in St. Paul, and its first issue was dated July 28th, 1860. H. H. Young, of the Henderson Democrat, was its editor, and it was run in the interest of John C. Breckenridge for the presidency of the United States. It was discontinued after the election in November. I have counted its weekly as the one hundred and sixteenth in my series, and the daily as the eleventh, being the fourth daily after Minnesota became a state.

THE FREEBORN COUNTY HERALD

was printed by Isaac Botsford, an eccentric journalist of pioneer days. It was begun at Itasca City, three miles from Albert Lea, in August, 1860. As there seem to be no files of the paper in exist-

ence, I cannot give the exact date of the first issue. It strenuously advocated the establishment of the county seat at Itasca City. The fall election resulted in favor of Albert Lea. That burst the Itasca City boom and the Herald as well. It had run three months. The press and material were then moved over to Blue Earth City, Faribault county, and were used by Botsford, April 20th, 1861, to start the Blue Earth City News. The Herald was the hundred and seventeenth weekly in Minnesota.

THE LITTLE GIANT

was a campaign paper started in St. Peter, Nicollet county, in August, 1860, Charles S. Bryant, editor, and Thomas M. Perry publisher. It supported Stephen A. Douglas for the presidency. The Minneapolis Plaindealer of August 11th, 1860, announces its reception. This is all I can find about it. No trace of it appears in the Historical Library. It counts one hundred and eighteen.

THE ANOKA REPUBLICAN.

No copies of the Anoka Republican are in the Library. The Minnesota State News of August 28th, the State Atlas of August 29th, and the St. Anthony Express and Minneapolis Plaindealer of September 1st, 1860, all acknowledge receipt of the first number. The date of the first issue was August 25th, 1860. A. C. Squire and Brother were editors and proprietors. It was a six-column weekly and Republican in politics. October 3rd, 1863, A. G. Spaulding purchased it, and changed its name to the Anoka Star. The Republican was the hundred and nineteenth weekly established in Minnesota.

FARMER AND GARDENER.

The Farmer and Gardener was an agricultural monthly, edited by L. M. Ford and Col. John H. Stevens in St. Paul. Volume I, No. 1, was dated November, 1860, by files in the Historical Library. The last of it in the Library is Volume II, No. 4, April, 1862. I cannot find any record of it after that date. It was the hundred and twentieth in the course.

THE ROCHESTER REPUBLICAN.

The first number of the Rochester Republican was issued November 7th, 1860. It was a seven-column Republican journal. It was started by W. H. Mitchell and Dr. L. H. Kelly, who purchased the press and material with which the Rochester City News had been printed. R. H. Mitchell was the editor. In 1861 L. B. Hoag brought over the material of the suspended Northfield Journal and joined Mitchell. Kelly then retired from the paper. In the summer of 1862 Hoag enlisted and September 17th, 1862, the paper was reduced to six columns in size. Shortly afterward Hoag retired, and S. W. Eaton of Green Lake, Wisconsin, took his place. March 9th, 1864, Eaton sold his half interest to Mitchell and retired. Mitchell went on alone as sole owner and editor until the fall of 1865, when he sold his interest to U. B. Shaver, who went on with Eaton until the spring of 1867. Leonard and Booth of the Rochester City Post then absorbed it and part of the material, and the Rochester Republican went out of business.

Shaver moved his share of the printing material to Kasson and began the Kasson Republican. Dr. Kelly had previously bought the material that Hoag had brought from Northfield, and in 1863 had started the Plaindealer at Owatonna. The Republican listed one hundred and twenty-first.

LA CRESCENT PLAINDEALER.

In the fall of 1860, H. E. Purdy removed his press and material from Minneapolis, where he had been publishing the Minneapolis Plaindealer, and began the La Crescent Plaindealer. The first number was dated November 27th, 1860. It was a seven-column Democratic paper, ably edited. The issue of Volume I, No. 52, December 31st, 1861, was Purdy's last. It closed an editorial service of over twenty years. January 7th, 1862, J. K. Ferguson became editor and publisher of the Plaindealer. November 11th is the date of the last number in the Library. It died soon after.

The State Atlas of February 12th, 1862, says that Purdy had become editor of the Southern Tier Leader of Belmont, Allegheny county, New York. This is the last I have heard of him. This La Crescent venture stands one hundred and twenty-second of my list.

THE DAILY ATLAS.

November 27th, 1860, William S. King started a daily issue of his State Atlas published in Minneapolis. It was the first daily started on the west side of the river, the Evening News being printed on the east or St. Anthony side. It did not have the support King expected, and after running twelve weeks it was discontinued. It was the twelfth daily started after Minnesota was organized as a territory, and the fifth after it became a state.

THE REPRESENTATIVE.

The Representative, which purported to be published in Owatonna, was printed in Faribault, Rice county. The irrepressible J. W. Crawford of the Waseca Home Views in its earliest days, and of the Waseca Citizen afterward, was its editor and publisher. Its first number was dated December 12th, 1860, and it began with the great spread of eight columns. It folded its wings some time in March, 1861, and its press was bought by Alexander Johnston and moved over to Wilton in September, 1861, to print the Home Views. It was the hundred and twenty-third in my list.

WASECA CITIZEN.

As has already been stated, the Waseca Citizen was begun at Wilton, Waseca county, December 26th, 1860. There seems to have been some trouble between Crawford, the former editor of Home Views, and its printer, which resulted in an attempt of Crawford to start another Home Views paper in Wilton, while the original Home Views office was in possession of the printer. Under such circumstances, the postmaster of Wilton refused to deliver the Home Views mail to Crawford. This resulted in the start of the Waseca Citizen by Crawford. March 13th, 1861, is the last of it that I can find. It rounds out a full hundred and twenty-four newspapers established in Minnesota, to the close of 1860, and twelve dailies.

Of the forty-nine weekly journals and five dailies begun between the close of the Territorial period, May 11th, 1858, and the close of 1860, only three of the weeklies, the Post and Record of Rochester, the St. Peter Tribune, and the Standard of Albert Lea, and one of the dailies, the Winona Republican, subsequently the Republican Herald of Winona, are now alive.

SUMMARY.

The first daily of the State period was the Review of Winona, the Minnesotian and Times of St. Paul was the second, the Republican of Winona was the third. The fourth was the Star of the North, of St. Paul, and the fifth the Daily Atlas, of Minneapolis. The Review of Winona began November 19th, 1859, and ran four weeks; the consolidated Minnesotian and Times began December 8th, 1859, and ran about seven months. The Winona Republican began December 19th, 1859, and is still running as the Republican Herald. The Star of the North was a Breckenridge campaign paper. It began July 28th, 1860, and died after the election. The Daily Atlas began November 27th, 1860, and ran twelve weeks.

That forty-nine new weeklies and five dailies started in Minnesota in less than thirty-two months, in the midst of one of the worst financial storms this country has ever seen, shows how firmly men believed in our future and were willing to trust the outcome of their journalistic ventures on the stormy sea upon which Minnesota came to her statehood. No doubt some of these men relied more fully on the inevitable mortgage and sheriff sales, and on the support from capitalists to float the sinking townsite ventures that always attend such periods, than they should have done. The failure of these ventures probably accounts largely for the early death of some of the new journals started in the hustling first thirty-two months of our statehood. But there was one lasting consolation about it. They had plenty of good company.

SEVENTH PAPER, 1861 AND 1862.

THE ST. PAUL PRESS.

On the first day of January, 1861, the publication of the St. Paul Press was begun by William R. Marshall. It was Republican in politics, and was the one hundred and twenty-fifth weekly and the thirteenth daily newspaper begun in Minnesota. In it the St. Paul Times was merged January 1, 1861, and January 27, 1861, the St. Paul Minnesotian followed. It therefore had a clear field in which to win success as a party organ. Joseph A. Wheelock,

one of the ablest writers that the journalism of Minnesota ever had, was its editor; and when, on March 1st, 1863, it formed an alliance with Frederick Driscoll, a man equally able as a business manager was secured.

With such superior outfitting, the St. Paul Press deserved success, and it came speedily and sure. The stone building on the southwest corner of Third and Minnesota streets was built for its special use. It became the organ of the Republican party of Minnesota. It had the profits of the state printing. Driscoll soon secured a renewal of the printing contract for the St. Paul Union. This led to a combination of the two papers, Driscoll buying Newton Bradley's half of the Press. Meantime, Marshall had joined the army, leaving Wheelock to care for his half of the paper, and was an invaluable aid to General Sibley in his campaign against the Indians as lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Minnesota Infantry.

That campaign successfully closed, Marshall went south in command of his regiment, having succeeded Colonel Miller when the latter was elected governor of Minnesota. There he joined the Sixteenth army corps and continued the brilliant career which afterward was to elect and re-elect him governor of Minnesota.

How the Press and Pioneer were united to form the Pioneer Press of today has been told in my first paper on Minnesota journalism in the Territorial period. There is, therefore, no need of further reference to the St. Paul Press.

WILLIAM R. MARSHALL.

William R. Marshall was born in Boone county, Missouri, October 17, 1825. He came to Stillwater, Minnesota, in 1847, remained there about three months, and then went to St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin. In those days his body was a six-foot bundle of muscle, of about one hundred and seventy pounds weight. During the winter of 1847-8, he and his hired man cleared about ten acres of heavy timber land back of St. Croix Falls. From the trees he contracted to furnish fifty cords of four-foot wood to burn in a brick kiln. While at the job one day he cut and split, unaided, four cords between daylight and dark. This was twice the day's work

of an ordinary man. There was not a quarrelsome fiber in Marshall's make-up, but it is said he thrashed one early pioneer within an inch of his life for calling him a liar.

In September, 1847, he pre-empted a claim, adjoining the claim that Franklin Steele had made, upon which was afterward built the main part of the town of St. Anthony. Marshall's claim is now an addition to East Minneapolis. Before completing his pre-emption, he returned to St. Croix Falls and was elected a member of the Wisconsin legislature; but when the western boundary of Wisconsin was fixed in 1848, as Marshall's residence was outside the Wisconsin state limits, he lost his seat.

In the spring of 1849 he returned to St. Anthony Falls, completed his claim, and surveyed the townsite of St. Anthony for Mr. Steele. In June, 1849, the Territory of Minnesota was organized, and Marshall was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of the legislature. He procured the passage of a bill organizing the first public library in Minnesota, and a fund of $200 was subscribed to start with.

In 1849 he and his older brother established the first general merchandise store at the Falls; but, having difficulty in getting their supply of goods, they removed to St. Paul and started the first iron and heavy hardware store in the Territory. This store stood on the corner of Third and Wabasha streets, and was called the "Sligo Iron Store." It was continued by Nicols and Dean, and is now one of the largest concerns of the kind in the Northwest.

In the spring of 1856, William R. Marshall, Richard Chute, A. P. Lane, Nathaniel McLean, Warren Bristol, and John S. Mann, organized the Republican party in Minnesota.

In 1855, Marshall joined a company which started a banking business in St. Paul, but in the crash of 1857 it went down. He then began the business of farming between St. Paul and Minneapolis. This business was not active enough to suit him, and January 1, 1861, he started the St. Paul Press and was its moving spirit until 1862, when he enlisted in the Seventh Minnesota regiment. He soon became its lieutenant colonel, and shortly after, when Stephen Miller, the colonel of the regiment, was elected governor of Minnesota, he became its colonel.

In 1862 he was with General Sibley in the expedition against the Indians. In October, 1862, he went south in command of his regiment, and in June, 1864, joined the Sixteenth army corps. December 15 and 16 he was in the battle of Nashville, and succeeded to the command of the Third brigade on the death of Colonel Hill. He was in the siege of Mobile in March and April, 1865, and was wounded in the advance on Spanish Fort. During May, June and July, 1865, he was in command of the post at Selma, Alabama, having been brevetted brigadier general in the previous March. In August, 1865, he was mustered out with his regiment at Fort Snelling.

In the fall of the same year he was elected governor of Minnesota, and was re-elected in 1867, serving until January, 1870. He then became president of the St. Paul Savings Bank. He was president of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1868.

In 1874 he was appointed one of the railroad commissioners of Minnesota, and served there until 1882. Retiring from public service, he was engaged during the next ten years in farming operations. In the fall of 1893 he was elected secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, and in 1894, becoming partly paralyzed, he resigned and went to Pasadena, California, to see if a change of climate would benefit his health. There he had a second stroke and died January 8, 1896.

William R. Marshall was made of sterling stuff. He was an able editor, and valiant as a defender of the right. Socially and politically of incorruptible integrity, the rough and ready doings of the early days of the Northwest were ennobled and bettered by his share in them.

EARLY NEWS DISPATCHES.

The first telegraph line to St. Paul was completed in the fall of 1860. J. M. Winslow, an enterprising hotel builder of early days, was the head man and main owner of the line. Earle S. Goodrich, the owner and editor of the Pioneer and Democrat, made a contract with Winslow for the exclusive first use of news dispatches coming over the line to St. Paul.

The Minnesotian stood it a while and then made a secret arrangement with some one in the printing department of Mr. Goodrich's paper for the first copy of each morning's issue. The Minne-

sotian then set up the new dispatches with a rush, and had its paper out nearly as soon as the Pioneer and Democrat. Goodrich soon discovered the leak, and to stop it he wrote about four columns of bogus dispatches, telling the most startling news he could invent, and let it go to the Minnesotian as usual. The Minnesotian swallowed the bait, and had its paper all over the upper town by four in the morning. The Pioneer and Democrat waited a little time after printing the issue that went to the Minnesotian, and then came out with the regular dispatches.

In the meanwhile, the Times had set up the bogus dispatches from an early copy of the Minnesotian, but by the time it was ready for the street the Pioneer and Democrat was out with the regular news as usual. The Times then put every printer of its force to setting it up, and soon sent its paper out with the regular and bogus news side by side, and had all kind of fun with the Minnesotian for being so easily victimized.

Mr. Goodrich continued to hold the exclusive first use of the dispatches until Governor Marshall started the St. Paul Press. Through Mr. Wheelock of that paper, an arrangement was then made with Mr. Goodrich for duplicate dispatches to be used by the Press. Marshall, however, received the impression that the agreement that Mr. Goodrich had with Mr. Winslow had been abrogated; while the understanding had with Mr. Wheelock was that it should be waived in the interest of the Press. This misunderstanding was then gone over with Mr. Knox, who held an interest in the Press, and Mr. Goodrich thought it was fully understood by all parties.

It appears, however, that Governor Marshall still held the belief that the agreement between Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Winslow had been terminated, and he felt hurt because he believed Mr. Goodrich had broken his word. He determined to have no further dealings with the Pioneer and Democrat, and started a midnight pony express to St. Anthony to get the dispatches from the Falls Evening News. That was pretty tedious, especially on stormy nights in January.

At last Governor Marshall concluded to go down to the Pioneer and Democrat office and have it out with Mr. Goodrich. I am reliably assured that instead of this interview being stormy it was amicable. Both were gentlemen and treated the matter in a gentle-

manly way. It was the first intimation Mr. Goodrich had received that Governor Marshall understood that the Winslow agreement with Mr. Goodrich had been terminated. It ended in an apology from Marshall for the injustice he had mistakenly done to Goodrich, and the whole matter was adjusted satisfactorily and harmoniously.

As regards the assertion that has been made, that violence or even threats had a part in the adjustment, I am satisfied that it was based on a mistaken view of the whole matter.

THE MINNESOTA COURIER.

The Minnesota Courier was the hundred and twenty-sixth newspaper started in Minnesota. B. F. Jones was its editor and publisher, and January 9, 1861, was the date of its first issue. Austin, Mower county, was the place of its publication, its size was six columns, and its politics Republican. Jones went into the army in 1862, but the paper continued until January 6, 1864, and there its files disappear from the Historical Library. I have no information of its further publication.

MANTORVILLE DEMOCRAT.

The Mantorville Democrat was started in Mantorville, Dodge county, by a man named Campbell. It ran only a few weeks, when the Freeborn County Standard of March 2, 1861, announced its suspension. I number it therefore, the one hundred and twenty-seventh newspaper, it probably having been started in the early part of January.

THE NORTHFIELD TELEGRAPH

was started in Northfield, Rice county, March 13, 1861. D. H. Frost, former associate editor of the Northfield Journal, was its editor and publisher. It was six columns in size, and Republican in politics.

December 4, 1861, Mr. Frost sold the paper to Charles H. Mann. March 19, 1862, the editor made announcement that the Telegraph had died at volume two, number fifty-two, "for lack of an office." The Telegraph was the one hundred and twenty-eighth journal started in Minnesota.

THE MINNESOTA CONSERVER.

The first number of the Minnesota Conserver was issued in Hastings, Dakota county, April 18, 1861. C. N. Whitney was its editor and proprietor. It was seven columns in size and Republican in politics. I have heard it said that August 8, 1861, a small daily was issued; but the paper for that date is in the Historical Society Library, and it is not a daily. November 20, 1862, Whitney sold the plant to Irving Todd. May 7, 1863, the name was changed to the Hastings Conserver, and November 13, 1866, it and the Hastings Independent united and became the Hastings Gazette, which is still running. The Conserver was the hundred and twenty-ninth paper started in Minnesota.

THE BLUE EARTH CITY NEWS.

of Blue Earth City, Faribault county, was begun by Isaac Botsford, April 20, 1861, and was the hundred and thirtieth paper in Minnesota. It was a six-column, Republican paper. November 2, 1861, Botsford bid his readers goodbye, having sold the paper. Blackmer and Hyatt took charge, N. B. Hyatt being the editor. The reason assigned by Botsford was that he wanted "to aid in putting down the thousands of armed traitors with which these United States are infested."

November 30, 1861, this item appears, headed "A Half Sheet."

> Owing to the sickness and death of an infant child noted elsewhere, the editor of this paper is absent from his post, and, there being no compositor to do the work but your humble servant, we are unable to give but a half sheet this week. All imperfections must be excused, for we are a green hand at writing editorials, and will not attempt to give you anything but an apology for a paper. Hoping that none will find fault with the uncouth appearance of the paper this week, we sign ourselves, The Devil.

Botsford advertised to take for subscriptions "everything that grew that he could use, and everything that could be made except counterfeit money."

February 8, 1862, Arthur Bonwell bought the interest in the paper owned by Blackmer, and the firm became Hyatt and Bonwell. In the issue of April 8, 1862, printed on wrapping paper, are the following comments:

We must print a paper. We are determined to let our readers know we still live, though deep snow, deep mud, deep rivers, and dishonest stagedrivers, all combine to prevent us from getting paper of the right size and color; and we are determined to print so long as our merchants have any wrapping paper, and we can get hold of it.

April 26, 1862, T. L. Christie bought the interest of Bonwell, and the firm became Hyatt and Christie. August 2, 1862, the Blue Earth City News was discontinued, and a paper called the Southwest Minnesotian was begun by the same firm.

THREE PER CENT A MONTH.

In sharp contrast with such early journalistic privations as are above described, I here present an epitaph suggested by a newspaper published in pioneer days. It was to be placed on a moneylender's tombstone. To those of us who lived here before the war, it is a realistic production.

"Here lies old Captain Dent;
Each month he charged his three per cent;
The more he made, the less he spent;
The more he got, the more he lent.
He's dead—we don't know where he went;
But if his soul to heaven was sent,
He'll own the harps and charge 'em rent."

GEN. JUDSON W. BISHOP.

In my fifth paper of the Territorial series the history of the Chatfield Democrat, No. 2, was given. This paper was sold by C. C. Hemphill, December 10, 1859, to Judson W. Bishop, who was then a resident of Chatfield. He sold in turn to J. S. McKenny and Co., May 11, 1861, just before he went into the army. It is proper, therefore, to give a biographical notice of General Bishop in my history of Minnesota journalism for 1861, so that it will come in regular course.

Judson W. Bishop was born at Evansville, New York, June 24, 1831. He received an academic education, and then took a course of study in the Troy Polytechnic school, celebrated for the thoroughness of its training for engineering work. Mr. Bishop came to Minnesota in 1857, and assumed a prominent part in the preliminary surveys of what are now the Winona and St. Peter and Southern

Minnesota railroads. These surveys being suspended, he settled in Chatfield, and in 1858 was principal of the Chatfield academy. In 1859 he purchased the Chatfield Democrat, and sold it in 1861, as above stated.

Immediately after this sale, he began raising a company of volunteers for Union army service, was elected its captain, and it was mustered into the Second regiment June 26, 1861. He was the first man mustered into that regiment and the last man mustered out of it, a record of which any man may be justly proud. He served under Gen. George H. Thomas three years.

General Bishop's rise in rank was rapid, being captain, June 26, 1861; major, March 21, 1862; colonel, July 14, 1864; brigadier general, April 9, 1865, and mustered out, July 20, 1865. He began at the beginning and saw the war through.

In the fall and winter of 1865 he returned to railroad work. He located the line between St. Paul and Winona, where now is the River division of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad, and did other important railroad civil engineering work until the spring of 1867. He then became chief engineer of the system of what is now known as the St. Paul and Omaha, and completed it. He was then made its general manager, and served in that capacity eight years, until 1881, when he resigned. In 1883 he organized the St. Paul Trust Company. He resigned that position a few years ago, and has since devoted his time to improving his real estate holdings in St. Paul.

General Bishop, now well into the seventies, is rounding out a life of signal usefulness, and is respected and honored by all who know him.

J. H. M'KENNY.

The biographical notices of J. H. McKenny and his brother, J. S. McKenny, follow appropriately in this connection. They bought the Chatfield Democrat No. 2, May 11, 1861, from Gen. Judson W. Bishop. They ran it together until 1867, when J. S. McKenny died. J. H. McKenny and one of his sons became sole owners soon after, and later on another son joined the firm, and the owners thereafter were J. H. McKenny and Sons until the death of the father, May 23, 1878.

J. H. McKenny was born in Chambersburg, Pa., October 24, 1813. He learned the printer's trade and worked at the case in Kentucky and St. Louis, and finally established and became publisher of the Iowa Territorial Gazette at Burlington, Iowa. In 1842 he was elected sheriff of Des Moines county, Iowa, and served two terms. In 1848 he enlisted in the Mexican war and was made a quartermaster. He was detailed to take the Winnebago Indians to their new home in northern Minnesota, and was made sutler in 1849 of the fort then called Fort Gaines, but afterward Fort Ripley. He resigned soon after, and in the spring of 1854 was made receiver of the United States land office at Brownsville, Minn. In 1856 the land office was moved to Chatfield, Fillmore county, and he went with it. He was re-appointed at the expiration of four years and served until 1861, when he purchased the Chatfield Democrat, of which he was editor and publisher until his death, as above stated. He was a member of the Democratic state convention in 1864, and was for many years a leading member of that party. Mr. McKenny ranked high as a journalist, and as an upright man he had no superior.

J. S. M'KENNY

was born in Petersburg, Va., April 9, 1817. He went to Chatfield in July, 1861, when the Chatfield Democrat was started, and joined J. H. McKenny, his brother, in the management of it under the firm name of J. S. McKenny and Co. He died at St. Peter, Nicollet county, July 31, 1868. He was always cheerful and of indomitable industry in his calling, and an honest, square man in all his ways.

THE GOODHUE VOLUNTEER,

of Red Wing, Goodhue county, was started with the printing material of Red Wing Sentinel No. 2. J. H. Parker purchased it May 3, 1861, and the Volunteer was then organized. As the attempt was made to carry the volume and number of the Sentinel, and as the first number in the Historical Library is dated February 19, 1862, it is difficult to get the exact date of the first number of the Volunteer; but it probably did not begin far from the date of organization, and so I have placed its beginning May 3, 1861.

Parker and Allen were the publishers, and J. H. Parker its editor. The paper was seven columns in size, and aimed to be independent in politics, but wholly patriotic in tone. It was the hundred and thirty-first paper in regular line in Minnesota.

September 3, 1862, Allen retired from the firm, and Parker continued to run the paper. December 24, 1862, it was reduced to six columns, no reasons being given. June 15, 1864, it named Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for president. August 24, 1864, the paper was again enlarged to seven columns, and shortly after, according to Hancock's History of Goodhue County, it was purchased by the Red Wing Printing Company, and became the Red Wing Argus.

THE ST. CLOUD UNION.

I cannot find anything very definite as to the exact date of beginning of the St. Cloud Union. It was printed on the press and type of the New Era, which had been started at Sauk Rapids, Benton county, in January, 1860, by William H. Wood. The New Era suspended about the time the St. Cloud Union was started. The press and material of the New Era came handy, and were leased by Gen. S. B. Lowry and C. C. Andrews, the promoters of the Union venture.

The date of first issue of the St. Cloud Union was June 7, 1861, as near as I can figure it. It was soon found that Andrews, the editor, did not agree with Lowry politically. The Civil War had begun. Lowry was a Democrat of pro-slavery proclivities, while Andrews was a war Democrat of the most ultra kind. August 23, 1861, Andrews resigned. Lowry tried to run the paper according to his notions. It was not a success, and the press and material went back to Wood, who, about May 1st, 1862, began the Minnesota Union. It ran until some time in 1863 when Spafford and Simonton bought it. They ran it into 1864, when R. Channing Moore became its editor and changed its name to the St. Cloud Times. The Times is still running. The St. Cloud Union was the hundred and thirty-second weekly started in Minnesota.

GEN. C. C. ANDREWS.

As General Andrews was editor of the St. Cloud Union most of the time while it lived, and in 1880 was editor and principal owner of the St. Paul Dispatch, a short sketch of his life is in order here.

He was born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, October 27, 1829; was educated there, and at Harvard Law School; was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1850; and began the practice of law in Boston in 1853. He was appointed a clerk in the office of the solicitor of the United States Treasury Department in March, 1855, and served until May, 1857, when he resigned and went to St. Cloud, Minnesota. In 1859 he was elected to the Minnesota senate as a Democrat.

In the spring of 1861 he and General Lowry leased the press and material which William H. Wood owned and had used to publish the New Era at Sauk Rapids, Benton county, and began the publication of the St. Cloud Union. The beginning of the Civil War and the ardent patriotism of the man caused him to abandon his editorial enterprise. He enlisted and was mustered in as a private October 11, 1861, in Company I of the Third Minnesota Infantry. He was appointed captain of his company in the following November; colonel in August, 1863; brigadier general, January 4, 1864; and major general, by brevet, by President Lincoln, March 9, 1865.

In May, 1869, he was appointed minister to Sweden and Norway, and there did valuable service until November, 1877. In 1880 he was editor and principal owner of the St. Paul Dispatch. In 1882 he was made consul general for the United States at Rio de Janeiro, and served until 1885. In 1895 he was appointed chief fire warden of Minnesota, an office which he still holds, and where he is doing valuable service in preserving the forests of our state from fires.

The career of General Andrews has been marked by thoroughness in whatever he has undertaken. When he has served the public, it has always been with conscientious fidelity. In literary work he has done much, chief of which are two volumes of Minnesota in the Civil and Indian wars, a history of St. Paul, a digest of opinions of attorney generals, and a work on administrative reform.

THE WINONA STATE.

The Winona State was first issued July 17, 1861. It was a Democratic paper, and succeeded the Winona Democrat. Massey and Wheeler were its publishers and proprietors. Wheeler soon retired. It ran until about the close of the year, when it suspended and the material was taken to St. Paul and used to print a paper called the St. Paul Journal. The Winona State was the hundred and thirty-third weekly started in Minnesota.

THE DAILY STATE.

The Winona Daily State was begun and continued the same time as the weekly, being the fourteenth daily in Minnesota.

THE MINNESOTA VOLKSBLATT.

The St. Paul Press of November 19, 1861, says the Minnesota Volksblatt made its first appearance on Saturday, November 16, 1861. It was published by Philip Rohr and Co., with Dr. Fischer, late Democratic candidate for state treasurer, as its editor. Volume V, No. 216, is the first of the Volksblatt that appears in the Historical Library files. The date is December 30, 1865, and Charles H. Lienau is its editor.

Charles H. Lienau bought an interest in the paper shortly after Rohr began its publication, and after a little time became its sole proprietor. It used to be printed on the site of the new postoffice near the old city hall, and had a sign that could be read from Third street. It was made a daily, October 9, 1866, and in 1877 was united with the Staats Zeitung, and the combination became the Volkszeitung of today.

CHARLES H. LIENAU.

Charles H. Lienau was born in Monckhagen, Holstein, Germany, February 27, 1835. He came to America in 1854, chopped in the Wisconsin woods awhile, and then came to St. Paul, arriving in 1857. He began as a helper in a grocery store at the Seven Corners, and finally became its proprietor. He ran it with his accustomed energy until the fall of 1861 when Philip Rohr induced him to take an interest in a new German newspaper called the Volksblatt that he had just started. Rohr soon sold out to him and went to Bavaria, Germany.

Lienau was elected an alderman of St. Paul in 1862, and in 1863 became city comptroller, and in 1866 represented Ramsey county in the Minnesota legislature. Soon afterward he went to Watertown, Carver county, and engaged with his brother in the milling business. Carver county soon made him judge of probate, then a representative in the state legislature, then a state senator.

Shortly after the consolidation of his newspaper, the Volksblatt, with the Zeitung, Lienau returned to St. Paul, when a stock company was formed to run the consolidation, with Lienau as its president, Albert Wolff its editor, and Theodor Sander its manager.

Lienau afterwards became a member of the board of education of St. Paul and was made its president. In 1881 he was elected register of deeds of Ramsey county, and in 1885 he again represented Ramsey county in the state legislature. Several years ago he removed to Redlands, Cal. He died in March, 1906, at the home of his son, John Lienau, in San Francisco. Lienau was an able and influential journalist, and ranked high as a business man and a citizen.

THE WEEKLY LAKE CITY TIMES.

The Lake City Times of Lake City, Wabasha county, was the one hundred and thirty-fifth paper started in Minnesota. It was a seven-column Republican sheet. John McBride was proprietor, and Oliver D. Eno editor and publisher. Its first issue was dated September 28, 1861. September 20, 1862, Eno resigned as editor, and McBride ran it alone. There are no later issues in the Historical Library, but the first number of the Lake City Leader, dated August 5, 1865, says J. H. Perkins and William J. McMaster had bought the Times plant, and with it had started the Leader.

THE VALLEY TRANSCRIPT.

The Transcript was the hundred and thirty-sixth newspaper started in Minnesota. Volume I. No. 19, the earliest seen by me, is dated February 5, 1862. The Conserver of Hastings of September 26, 1861, says it had received the first number of the paper. It was a six-column sheet, Republican in politics, and printed in Carver. The issue of the paper closed with July 23, 1862, when C. A. Warner bought it, and moved the material to Chaska, where he started the Valley Herald.

THE PRESTON REPUBLICAN

was started November 2, 1861, in Preston, Fillmore county. It was seven columns in size and Republican in politics. It was formerly the Chatfield Republican, having been started there November 5, 1856. More liberal proposals were made, however, by the town of Preston, so it secured the removal of the paper from Chatfield. J. E. Burbank was its editor. January 11, 1862, M. L. Burbank became its publisher. May 5, 1865, J. E. Burbank resigned the editorial charge, and W. W. Williams became editor. July 20, 1866, a break comes in the files of the Historical Society, until December 26, 1866, when W. A. Hotchkiss, formerly editor of the Northwestern Democrat of Minneapolis, took the place of Williams and F. V. Hotchkiss became publisher. February 15, 1867, W. A. Hotchkiss bought the interest of F. V. Hotchkiss, and the paper has remained under his control until the present time, under the name of the National Republican. It was the hundred and thirty-seventh newspaper started in Minnesota.

THE SCOTT COUNTY JOURNAL.

the hundred and thirty-eighth journal started in Minnesota, was begun by Frederick Driscoll, November 7, 1861, at Belle Plaine, Scott county. The material used belonged to the Belle Plaine Land Company. Of the financial troubles of 1857, this company had its full share. Col. H. P. Adams, of Syracuse, New York, was an officer and stockholder. At his invitation, Driscoll went to Belle Plaine in May, 1857, to serve as bookkeeper of the company. The company became insolvent, and D. W. Ingersoll, of St. Paul, was appointed assignee, and Driscoll was made his agent. Among the assets of the company was the Belle Plaine Inquirer, which had been started December 3, 1857, to prop up the overloaded burdens of the company. After employing several editors, the Inquirer had to suspend publication in the summer of 1861, and Driscoll took the plant for what the company was owing him for services rendered.

Driscoll had no knowledge whatever of the printing business. To add to the discomforts of the situation, the paper had always been intensely Democratic, and Scott county was the banner Democratic county of the state. Driscoll, however, was a Republican,

with plenty of nerve and backbone in his composition. He changed the name of the Belle Plaine Inquirer to the Scott County Journal, raised the flag of the Republican party, and waded in, and, for a man who knew nothing of printing or journalism when he started, he made a lively paper for about a year. Then finding an opening in St. Paul that suited him, he picked up his plant, went down there, and November 3, 1862, he started the St. Paul Union.

THE NORTHERN STATESMAN AND WESTERN FARMER.

The Northern Statesman and Western Farmer was started at Faribault, Rice county, November 12, 1861, by Johnston and Willis, Alexander Johnston being its editor. The Conserver of Hastings said the name of the paper was too long for this vale of tears. So it proved, for the last issue I can find is dated March 18, 1862. It was the hundred and thirty-ninth paper published in Minnesota.

THE NORTHWESTERN WEEKLY UNION.

Volume I, No. 1, of the Northwestern Weekly Union is dated November 30, 1861. It was published by George Gray in Monticello, Wright county, and was really an extension of life of the Wright County Republican, which began June 30, 1859, and which was the first of Gray's Monticello journalistic ventures. The Republican closed November 23, 1861, and the Union began November 30, 1861. The Union did not live long. Its first five issues were run at four columns. It ended with a tax sale December 6, 1862. It was the hundred and fortieth Minnesota paper.

GEORGE GRAY.

George Gray was connected with Minnesota journalism in various capacities from the time he worked on my old paper, the St. Anthony Express, in the spring of 1857, until he sold the Northern Statesman plant at Monticello in the spring of 1871, a period of about fourteen years, and during twelve of them he ran his own paper. That was a long time to live and pay expenses of running country journalism in the sparsely populated Minnesota of those early days.

Gray was born in Lockport, N. Y., March 6, 1836, and came to Minnesota in the spring of 1857. After leaving the St. Anthony Express office in 1858, he bought the type of Donnelly's defunct

paper at Nininger, and February 1, 1859, started the St. Anthony Advertiser. He ran it until June 1, 1859, and then sold it to Connolly and Haven, and not long afterward it was discontinued. He then went to Monticello, and bought the plant of the Monticello Times, which had suspended publication. With this he started the Wright County Republican, June 30, 1859. He ran that until November, 1861, when he turned it into the Northwestern Weekly Union. That paper suspended publication in December, 1862, as above stated. Gray leased the plant to Hon. Samuel Bennett, state senator of Wright county, in the spring of 1863, and went east. Bennett started a paper called the Courier, May 2, 1863, ran fourteen issues and quit. About that time Gray returned, and he and Bennett took up the remains of the Union, and with them began the Northern Statesman, August 1, 1863. This was run a few months, when Bennett got discouraged and withdrew. There was very little currency up there for expenses but hoop poles and ginseng in those days, but Gray hung on. Bennett died June 10, 1865.

Not content with the rough road he was traveling with the Statesman on his back, Gray went over to Anoka in 1865 and started the Anoka Union, which Granville S. Pease shortly after acquired, when Gray had grown footsore on his daily tramps between Monticello and Anoka. May 6, 1871, Gray sold the Statesman to T. A. Perrine and moved to Michigan. There in Reading, Hillsdale county, he started a new paper called the Reading Tribune, and ran it until he got the ague, when he sold out and came back to Monticello and ran a mercantile business from 1876 to 1888.

In the winter of 1888 he took the journalistic fever again. He bought the Otter Tail County Farmer, published at Fergus Falls, where he removed with his family. The next year he sold out of that to the Daily Journal Company of Fergus Falls, and removed to Minneapolis, and is now a member of the Gray Printing Company of that city. Though past seventy, Gray seems to have not yet come to the chloroforming period of life.

THE SCOTT COUNTY ARGUS.

The Scott County Argus was the name given to the hundred and forty-first paper started in Minnesota. Judge John L. Macdonald and his brother, C. F. Macdonald, now editor of the St. Cloud Times, were the proprietors, Judge Macdonald being the editor. The date of the first number was November 13, 1861, and the material of the St. Anthony Express, whose history was given in my "Journalism in the Territorial Period," was used. The Argus was a seven-column Democratic sheet. December 14, 1861, the name was changed to the Shakopee Argus. The place of publication was Shakopee, Scott county.

May 31, 1862, M. C. Russell took the place of C. F. Macdonald and became assistant editor, and the paper was enlarged to eight columns. The August 6, 1862, issue of the Mankato Record announced a semi-weekly edition of the Argus, but I have no means of confirming this statement, as the files of the Argus from July 22, 1862, to July 8, 1863, are not in the Historical Library. At the latter date, however, the paper appears as a six-column sheet, with Judge L. L. Baxter as editor, and a young man named Faith as publisher. In a note to me Judge Macdonald explains this by saying that he sold the paper to Baxter and Faith in the fall of 1862.

September 10, 1864, H. J. Peck took the place of Baxter, and the publishing firm became Baxter and Faith, the paper becoming a seven-column sheet again. September 22, 1864, the name of H. J. Peck appeared alone in the columns of the paper as publisher and proprietor. October 15, 1864, M. C. Russell returned, and the firm became Peck and Russell, Peck being the political and Russell the local editor. July 15, 1865, the paper was reduced to six columns; August 19, Peck sold his interest to Russell; and September 2, 1865, the paper went back to seven columns, and was named the Shakopee Weekly Argus. The last issue in the Library, until February 14, 1867, is September 26, 1865. February 14, 1867, Henry Hinds was in control, and so it passed into the seventies. The paper is still running.

JOHN L. MACDONALD.

John L. Macdonald was born in Glasgow, Scotland, February 22, 1836; went to Pittsburg, Pa., and from there to St. Paul in 1855; studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Shakopee in 1859. Later he was superintendent of schools and prosecuting attorney of Scott county, and in 1869 was elected to the state legislature from that county. In 1871 he was elected state senator. He was mayor of Shakopee in 1875, and in 1876 was elected judge of the Eighth judicial district of Minnesota, serving nearly ten years. Afterward he retired to private life, but his name was soon placed on the Democratic ticket in his district for Congress, and he was again elected. At the close of his congressional term he removed to St. Paul, and a few years later to Kansas City, Mo., where he died suddenly July 13, 1903, from the effects of a street railroad accident of the December previous.

His journalistic experience covers a little over one year on the Belle Plaine Inquirer in 1860 and 1861, as described in my last paper of the Territorial series, and about one year on the Scott County Argus, which he, in company with his brother, C. F. Macdonald, organized in Shakopee in November, 1861, as above narrated.

COLIN F. MACDONALD.

Conlin F. Macdonald, brother of Judge John L. Macdonald, has had nearly forty-five years of Minnesota journalistic experience. He was born in St. Andrews, Nova Scotia, September 23, 1843, and came with his parents to this country in 1848, and to Minnesota in 1855. He began his journalistic work when sixteen years of age, in the old Belle Plaine Inquirer office.

May 31, 1862, he left the Argus office in Shakopee, and August 18, 1862, enlisted in the Ninth Minnesota Infantry, and served until August 24, 1865. In 1866 he went back to the Shakopee Argus and was associated with M. C. Russell in its management until the spring of 1867. From that time until 1875 he was compositor in the St. Paul Pioneer office. January 13, 1875, he purchased the St. Cloud Weekly Times, and ran it until September 27, 1887, when he started the Daily Times, St. Cloud's first daily newspaper, and has ever since been its editor.

Mr. Macdonald was elected state senator from Stearns county in 1876, 1878, and 1880. He was delegate at large of the National Democratic convention of 1884; and was elected mayor of St. Cloud in 1883, 1884, and 1885. He was receiver of the United States land office nearly eight years, and department commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1905.

These brothers came from sterling Scotch ancestry, and, as the above records prove, have demonstrated their worth in many useful ways since they came to Minnesota over a half century ago.

THE UNION EXPRESS.

The Union Express, by Kelly & Sanborn, was the hundred and forty-second paper. It seems to have succeeded the Owatonna News Letter, which was started in 1860 by A. B. Cornell to supply the vacancy caused by the suspension of the Owatonna Journal. All I can find of the Union Express is what the St. Paul Press and the Northern Statesman of Monticello say. The former, under date of December 19, and the latter December 24, 1861, say that the Steele County News Letter has given place to the Owatonna Union Express.

THE ST. PAUL JOURNAL.

The St. Paul Journal was started in St. Paul January 1, 1862, by Thomas E. Massey. The press and material of the Winona State were brought up from Winona and used to print the Journal. It was Democratic in politics, ran a seven-column issue, and lasted until October 1, 1862. It was the hundred and forty-third journal established in Minnesota.

THE MINNESOTA UNION.

The Minnesota Union was started by William H. Wood with the press and material of the St. Cloud Union, after it came back into his hands. Only one of the issues are in existence that I can find. That is filed among the numbers of the Minnesota Statesman of Monticello. As the Hastings Conserver announces, under date of May 15, 1862, the return of the press and material to Wood, I have placed its beginning at May 1, 1862.

The date of the first number in the Historical Library is May 1, 1863, for Volume II, No. 48, showing that Wood carried the

old number of the St. Cloud Union right along, the date of the first number of that paper being June 7, 1861, as already stated.

The Minnesota Union must be counted as a separate journal, and is the hundred and forty-fourth started in Minnesota.

THE MINNEAPOLIS ADVERTISER

was started by G. S. Cyphers early in June, 1862,—the exact date I do not have. The State News of June 14 announces its advent, but does not give the date. As the Scott County Argus, the Goodhue Volunteer, and the Valley Transcript of Carver, also notice the first issue, it will do to place its beginning about the tenth of June. It was the hundred and forty-fifth newspaper in regular course in Minnesota. How long it ran, and what its changes were, I have no means of knowing, as there are no further notices of it that I have been able to find. Writing of Minneapolis reminds me of

THE ST. ANTHONY OF 1847.

In my third paper on "Journalism in the Territorial Period," I gave a list of voters in St. Anthony Falls township, now East Minneapolis, on October 30, 1848. The election was held for the territorial delegate to congress. There were forty-two voters at that time. In September of 1847, save the old government mill, on the west side of the river, there were no improvements whatever at the falls. On the east or St. Anthony side there was a log house, where Franklin Steele held his claim. Luther Patch and his family occupied this house. A log building was being constructed for the use of the men who were to build the mill dam. Pierre Bottineau's house, on the river bank above Nicollet island. Calvin Tuttle's claim shanty, and two or three French squatters' cabins, were the improvements. Luther Patch and his family, the workmen on the log house where the dam was to be built, and Calvin Tuttle and a few French half-breeds, were the only inhabitants, where now stands the city of Minneapolis.

THE CLEVELAND HERALD.

After the defeat of Douglas in the presidential election of 1860, Thomas M. Perry, who had published the Little Giant, a Douglas campaign sheet in St. Peter, went back to Cleveland, Le Sueur

county. He owned the material with which he had published the Cleveland Leader. This he had discontinued when he had started the Little Giant. He now opened up again in Cleveland and started the Cleveland Herald, ran it a few months, and then sold the material to Monroe Edwards, who took it to Lower Le Sueur and started the Le Sueur County Gazette. The Herald was the hundred and forty-sixth newspaper printed in Minnesota.

THE SOUTH WEST MINNESOTIAN.

The history of the South West Minnesotian of Blue Earth, Faribault county, shows the erratic way in which many of the early newspapers of Minnesota were managed. The Blue Earth City News, mentioned earlier in this paper, was started April 20, 1861, and ran until April 26, 1862, when J. L. Christie bought the interest of Arthur Bonwell and it was run until July 12, 1862, by Hyatt and Christie. Then there is a break in the Historical Society files until August 2, 1862, when the paper appears as the South West Minnesotian, without loss of a number, and still run by Hyatt and Christie. September 13, 1862, the paper was run by W. B. Hyatt, and he complained at being left alone on account of the Indian war. As I can find no further account of it, the paper probably died soon after. In order to preserve the identity of this paper, I have to class it as a distinct newspaper and count it the hundred and forty-seventh newspaper of the state.

LE SUEUR COUNTY GAZETTE.

I find in the August 7, 1862, issue of the Scott County Journal, that it had received the first issue of a paper called the Le Sueur County Gazette. It was the hundred and forty-eighth printed in the state. The circumstances of the issue of this paper I have given in my notice of the Cleveland Herald. Monroe Edwards started the Gazette, and ran it until he was killed in the Indian outbreak at New Ulm, in the latter part of August, 1862. The Stillwater Messenger of August 22, 1862, is my authority for the death of Edwards.

In 1865 Mr. Perry regained possession of the material of the Gazette, and with it started the St. Peter Advertiser.

THE VALLEY HERALD,

a six-column paper, was established in Chaska, Carver county, with the press and material of the Valley Transcript of Carver, which had been discontinued July 23, 1862. Charles A. Warner, afterward state senator from Carver county, was the purchaser, and September 1, 1862, the first number of the Herald was published. Warner was editor and proprietor, and M. C. Russell publisher. Shortly after its start, W. B. Griswold joined Warner as editor and publisher. March 4, 1865, Warner says Griswold had retired, having secured a competence in publishing the paper. Warner then went on alone. Running a mercantile business and a printing establishment, and mixing considerably in politics, kept Warner from sleeping much in the day time. At Volume IV, No. 19, January 13, 1866, the paper was enlarged to seven columns, and on the 27th, Lucian Warner, a brother of Charles A., who had virtually been editor and publisher for about a year, became associated by recognition at the head of the paper. At No. 39 of this volume the paper was sold to F. A. Du Toit, who changed its politics from Republican to Democratic, became editor and proprietor, and has continued its management to the present time. It was the hundred and forty-ninth paper started in Minnesota.

Charles A. Warner died in 1867. Lucian succeeded to the mercantile business and to the office of postmaster of Chaska, which, combined, they held fifteen years.

Lucian Warner afterward became extensively interested in the brick business in Chaska. This finally grew to such volume that he changed his residence to St. Paul, where most of his brick marketing was done. He has contributed in no slight degree to the upbuilding of St. Paul.

THE ST. PAUL UNION.

The St. Paul Union was the hundred and fiftieth in regular course of Minnesota weeklies. It was Republican in politics, and its daily was the fifteenth of the dailies, seven having been started during the Territorial period, and seven between the beginning of statehood and the starting of the Daily Union.

The first number of the Union was dated November 3, 1862, Frederick Driscoll, who began his journalistic career as owner and

editor of the Scott County Journal, was owner and editor of the St Paul Union. Driscoll ran it until it was merged in the St. Paul Press, February 28, 1863.

FREDERICK DRISCOLL.

Frederick Driscoll was born in Boston, Mass., July 31, 1834. He received an academic education, but, his father having died, he was early thrown on his own resources. He was employed as bookkeeper in a wholesale house several years, but in 1856 he was attacked by the "Go west" fever. He began business in Clinton, Iowa; but, finding progress slow, he went up to Belle Plaine, Scott county, Minnesota, and became bookkeeper for the Belle Plaine Land Company in 1857. Four and a half years later, he was roughly tumbled into journalism, as described in the above history of his Scott county newspaper.

It was after Mr. Driscoll bought his plant, in the fall of 1862, and began the St. Paul Union, that the strenuous fun of his journalistic life began. As this series of papers has nothing to do with the partisan aspect of Minnesota journalism, I shall refer you to H. P. Hall's "Observations," pages 57 to 60, inclusive, for that phase of Mr. Driscoll's connection with St. Paul journalism. As Mr. Hall was on the Union as reporter and news editor in those days, he was posted. In 1863 Mr. Driscoll was elected state printer, in opposition to the St. Paul Press. Newton Bradley owned half the Press, and Driscoll bought his interest, which led to a consolidation, February 28, 1863. William R. Marshall owned the other half of the Press. This was acquired later by Mr. Wheelock, and thus a union of a superb editor and an equally superb business manager was begun, which, although the two men were not always congenial personally, lasted with great benefit to each for nearly forty years. Mr. Driscoll was a representative in the Legislature from Scott county in 1863.

Frederick Driscoll was, and, though now past seventy-two, still is, the very incarnation of hustle. He has for several years been the main driving wheel of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in Chicago. His later career is a standing refutation of the nonsense that a man in good health of body and mind has a call, when past seventy, to lie down and let a younger

man supplant him. If he allows it from choice, all right; but a man, healthy and fairly optimistic, and wishing to do business, can balance judgment and experience against stronger force and swifter speed and win, until he has lived at least ten years on borrowed time, if he so determines. The trouble with many men is that they grow sour and pessimistic as they grow old. No man is rated higher by his fellows than he rates himself.

THE SCHOOL FRIEND.

An eight-page quarterly, called the School Friend, seems to have been printed by T. F. Thickstun, principal of a Baptist school, called the Minnesota Central University, in Hastings, Dakota county, some time in 1862. The dates of the beginning and ending I cannot find. With this vague notice I am obliged to leave it. There is no doubt of its existence, however, and it counts one hundred fifty-one in the list.

SUMMARY.

Of the twenty-five weeklies started between January 1, 1861, and January 1, 1863, only the Scott County Argus and the Valley Herald of Chaska are now running under the names they had when they started. The St. Paul Press and the Volksblatt combined respectively with the Pioneer and the Zeitung, and became the Pioneer Press and the Volkszeitung; and the Preston Republican is now the National Republican. The remaining twenty have lost name and identity completely.

Of the hundred and fifty-one journals started in Minnesota before the end of the year 1862, only twelve are now alive. These are the Pioneer Press and the Volkszeitung, of Ramsey county; the Republican Herald, of Winona county; Mantorville Express, of Dodge county; Red Wing Republican, of Goodhue county; Wabasha Herald, of Wabasha county; Post and Record, of Olmsted county; St. Peter Tribune, of Nicollet county; Albert Lea Standard, of Freeborn county; Scott County Argus, of Scott county; and the Valley Herald, of Carver county. Memories are all that remain of the other one hundred and thirty-nine Minnesota journ-

als started prior to 1863. Where and how most of them lived and died has been nearly as difficult of search as to find where Goodhue, the first Minnesota editor, was buried. "How soon we are forgot when we are dead."

Eighth Paper, 1863 to 1865.

During the four years and fourteen days between the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12th, 1861, and the surrender of General Joe Johnston to General Sherman, April 26th, 1865, only twenty-nine newspapers were started in Minnesota. During the same length of time, immediately preceding April 12th, 1861, eighty papers were begun; and during the four years and fourteen days immediately following the close of the war, sixty-two papers were begun.

Our people were anxious to get war news, but most of the Minnesota promoters of new newspapers and a large share of those already in the business were at the front in those days.

THE NORTHWESTERN DEMOCRAT.

No files of the Northwestern Democrat are in the Historical Library. The State Atlas of Minneapolis gives its date of beginning, at Hastings, Dakota county, about April 18th, 1863. The history of Dakota county says it was begun in the spring of 1863, was Democratic in politics, and ran to a conclusion in about eighteen months. Frank J. Mead was its editor and publisher, and it was the hundred and fifty-second journal started in Minnesota at that date.

THE COURIER.

The Courier was the name of a small Republican paper started at Monticello, Wright county, April 25th, 1863. Its editor and publisher was Samuel Bennett, state senator from that county. It ran fourteen issues, and then died of non-support. It counted one hundred and fifty-three on the newspaper list.

THE OWATONNA PLAINDEALER.

The issues of the Owatonna Plaindealer begin in the Historical Society's Library at Volume I, No. 23, October 1st, 1863, making the date of first issue April 30th, 1863. L. H. Kelly, M. D., was editor and proprietor of the Plaindealer. It was six columns in size and Republican in politics. The place of publication was Owatonna, Steele county. At Volume III, No. 33, December 7th, 1865, it was enlarged to seven columns, and at that time had become one of the best paying newspapers in southern Minnesota. At Volume IV, No. 13, July 19th, 1866, it disappears from the files of the Historical Society, but I find further mention of it in the history of Steele county, which says that in 1866 it was still further enlarged to eight columns, and in the fall of that year was sold to Tappan, Higbee and Hathaway; that shortly after this sale the name was changed to the Republican Journal, and a few weeks later to the Owatonna Journal, under Higbee, Spellman and Bickham. The Plaindealer was the hundred and fifty-fourth journal started in Minnesota.

HISTORICAL ACCURACY.

I have found, as a rule, that the newspaper files of the Historical Society are more reliable than the histories of the papers in the different counties; but, even in the files, volumes and numbers tangle me sometimes.

For instance, the files of the Owatonna Plaindealer begin at Volume I, No. 23, October 1st, 1863. I run back and find Volume I, No. 1, was April 30th, 1863. I come to the Owatonna Journal and find the files begin at Volume V, No. 38, January 9th, 1868. I run back to get its date of first issue, and find that, also, is April 30th, 1863. Two Republican papers beginning in the same village on the same day is unusual. I turn to the history of Steele county, and find that Kelly sold the Plaindealer in the fall of 1866; that the name was changed at that time to the Republican Journal; and that in a few weeks afterward the outfit was again sold, and the name again changed, to the Owatonna Journal. It appears from the record that the Owatonna Journal has appropriated the volumes and numbers of the Republican Journal and Owatonna Plaindealer, and the files show no explanation of it.

Where changes of owners and names of newspapers have been made, and, somewhere along the road, the original name has again been assumed, I have numbered them, as I did the Stillwater Messenger, where the Republican intervened, giving the history of the Republican by itself, while it ran, and calling the Messenger No. 1 and No. 2, without regard to volume and number in the files of Messenger No. 2.

In the case of such papers as the Pioneer Press of St. Paul and the Republican-Herald of Winona, dating back volumes and numbers causes no confusion, for I can trace the branches as feeders of the main line; but where the name of the main line has been changed, as of the Owatonna Plaindealer, and an attempt is made by the volume and number to call it the Owatonna Journal, without explanation, the case is different. As well might John, in a genealogical line of today, go back to his great-grandfather James, call him John, and ignore all the other James and John names along down the way. Upsetting an ancestral line in that way, would make no end of trouble, but it is the way some newspapers have of upsetting journalistic lines. The worst I can wish them is that they could have my job in writing these papers on Early Journalism.

THE WASECA COURIER.

All I can find of the Waseca Courier is what the minutes of the Minnesota Editorial Association say about it. They say that in April, 1863, J. C. Ide began the Waseca Courier. It was printed in Owatonna, by A. B. Cornell at first, and afterward by L. H. Hall. It was discontinued about December 1st, 1863. It counted one hundred fifty-five in our list of newspapers.

L. H. KELLY, M. D.

Dr. L. H. Kelly was born at Ovid, N. Y., in 1808. In November, 1860, he joined W. H. Mitchell in the publication of the Rochester Republican, as stated in the sixth of this series of papers. He remained with that paper about one year. In April, 1863, he began the Owatonna Plaindealer, and ran it about three years and a half, as has been stated.

September 11th, 1868, Dr. Kelly purchased the Northfield Recorder, a paper published in Northfield, Rice county, and two weeks afterward changed its name to the Northfield Enterprise. He ran the Enterprise until 1870, when he sold it to Hon. Charles A. Wheaton, who was then conducting the Northfield Standard.

From Northfield, Dr. Kelly went to Faribault, and began a paper called the Faribault Leader. He sold the Leader about a year after to A. E. Haven, of LaCrosse, who turned it into the Faribault Democrat, which is still going. Dr. Kelly died in Owatonna in August, 1872.

THE HENDERSON MONITOR.

I find the Henderson Monitor quoted by the State Atlas of Minneapolis under date of June 24th, 1863. I have tried to get further trace of it but have not succeeded. All that seems to remain is a name and a number. The number is one hundred and fifty-six.

THE MOWER COUNTY REGISTER.

The hundred and fifty-seventh paper started in Minnesota was the Mower County Register. It begins in the Historical files at Volume I, No. 35, March 10th, 1864, making number one date July 16th, 1863. The paper was started by H. R. Davidson, at Austin, Mower county. It was a six-column Republican sheet. H. R. Davidson was editor and publisher until Volume 1, No. 45, May 26th, 1864, when he died at the age of twenty-five, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles H. Davidson.

At Volume II, No. 2, July 14th, 1864, James T. Wheeler, of St. Charles, Illinois, who furnished the money to begin the paper, became a partner of Davidson. Between Volume II, No. 9, September 1st, 1864, and Volume IV, No. 25, January 3rd, 1867, the Register drops out of the files. At the latter date the paper is seven columns in size, and is still conducted by Davidson and Wheeler. The issue of March 28th following appears without the name of Wheeler, and the statement is made that Wheeler had not had any business interest in the paper for the preceding year, his name having been continued in the partnership relation, because he had furnished the money to start the paper, and in the after settlements made with the Davidsons had been uniformly kind and lenient with them.

At Volume V, No. 14, October 17th, 1867, the paper enlarged to eight columns. At Volume VII, No. 5, August 12th, 1869, H. O. Basford became a partner; and March 30th, 1871, D. W. Craig was admitted and became editor of the paper. June 29th, 1871, the name was changed to the Austin Register, which is still running.

CHARLES H. DAVIDSON.

Charles H. Davidson and his brother, H. R. Davidson, were the founders of the Mower County Register, now the Austin Register. Charles H. came to Austin in 1858. He began his journalistic career on the Mower County Mirror, the first newspaper started in that county. Its founder was David Blakeley, afterward prominent in the journalism of the Northwest. Young Davidson began there as a roller boy at the age of eleven years. C. H. Davidson sold his interest in the Register to his partner, H. O. Basford, in 1878, and bought the Mower County Transcript, which he sold in turn in 1886, thus completing a connection with southern Minnesota journalism of about twenty-three years.

In February, 1887, Mr. Davidson became the president of the Austin State Bank, afterward the Austin National Bank. He was vice president and manager of the Kansas National Bank, of Wichita, Kansas, from 1895 to 1898. He was also postmaster of Austin, Minnesota, six years; was a prominent mason and odd fellow; and was largely influential in the business circles of southern Minnesota. He died September 22nd, 1901.

GROWTH OF JOURNALISM.

A matter of journalistic history worthy of being preserved here is the fact that in the year 1775 there were only twenty-seven newspapers printed in the United States. The first newspaper in this country was started in 1704. As early as 1830 the United States, with a population of less than thirteen million, published more newspapers than Europe, with a population of a hundred and eighty-five million. In the year 1900, 21,325 periodicals were published, of which 15,681 were weeklies and twenty-two hundred were dailies.

THE MANKATO WEEKLY UNION.

In July, 1863, Charles H. Slocum purchased the press and material of the Mankato Independent, and July 17th, 1863, began the Mankato Weekly Union. It was a seven-column Republican paper. Slocum ran it until Volume II, No. 48, June 9th, 1865, when William B. Griswold bought the plant and became its editor and proprietor. July 12th, 1867, Griswold tried to wipe out the identity of the Independent by reaching back from Volume V, No. 1, of the Union, to Volume I, No. 1, of the Independent. By this method, quite common with the newspapers of those days, he made a jump in one week from Volume V, No. 1, to Volume XI, No. 1.

At Volume XI, No. 50, June 19th, 1868, nearly a year after this long jump was made, the Union was enlarged to eight columns; and at Volume XII, No. 26, January 1st, 1869, G. K. Cleveland became associated with Mr. Griswold under the firm name of Griswold & Cleveland. The paper ran under this management until Volume XVIII, No. 11, September 11th, 1874, when Griswold sold his interest to Mr. Cleveland, his partner. Mr. Cleveland continued the paper to Volume XXI, No. 10, August 31st, 1877, and then sold to George W. Neff. At Volume XXIII, No. 18, October 24th, 1879, Mr. Neff sold to Gen. James H. Baker, and the Union went out of business. The plants of the Union and Record were then consolidated in the Mankato Free Press, which is still running. The Union was the hundred and fifty-eighth newspaper started in Minnesota.

CHARLES H. SLOCUM.

Charles H. Slocum, my old partner in the St. Anthony Express from August, 1857, to the fall of 1860, was born in Buffalo, New York, March 15th, 1836, and came to St. Anthony, now East Minneapolis, in 1857. He had learned the printer's trade in 1853, and, while associated with me, was the publisher of the Express. After leaving the Express, he worked in the office of the St. Paul Daily Times until 1863. He was the telegraph courier of General Marshall, bringing down the midnight telegraphic dispatches from the office of the Evening News of St. Anthony, on horseback, in all sorts of winter weather, as described in my last preceding paper.

July 17th, 1863, Mr. Slocum started the Mankato Weekly Union, as above stated. June 9th, 1865, he sold the Union to William B. Griswold, and in 1867 went to St. Charles, Minnesota, and started the St. Charles Herald and ran it seven years.

Mr. Slocum was assistant clerk of the House of the Minnesota Legislature five terms. In 1874 he purchased the Post, of Blue Earth City, Faribault county, and was the postmaster of Blue Earth City nine years. He returned to St. Paul in 1884, but in the later years I have lost track of him.

It seemed to me that Slocum never slept. Honest, industrious, overflowing with energy, he made a success above the average of the newspaper men of early days.

THE WHIG OF SEVENTY-SIX.

The Whig of Seventy-six was put on the exchange list of the State Atlas of Minneapolis, under date of November 25th, 1863. I do not find it in the Historical Library. July 25th, 1863, is as near as I can get the date of its start. It was published in Winnebago City, Faribault county, and the owner, whoever he was, sold the plant about the middle of the next March to J. L. Christie, formerly of the Chatfield Republican. What he did with it I have not been able to find out. It counts one hundred and fifty-nine on the list.

THE NORTHERN STATESMAN.

By the aid of the files of Col. Samuel E. Adams of Minneapolis, which he has so generously donated to the Historical Society, combined with what George Gray, its old editor and proprietor, can remember, I have a pretty complete history of the Northern Statesman of Monticello, Wright county. It was started August 1st, 1863, by Mr. Gray and Hon. Samuel Bennett.

In the two preceding papers of this series, I have given an account of Gray's previous journalistic ventures in Monticello. These ended with the close of the Northwestern Weekly Union, December 6th, 1862. Somewhat discouraged, Gray went down to Fort Snelling and tried to enlist in the army, but the examining surgeon would not have him. He then went back to Monticello, leased his idle printing plant to Hon. Samuel Bennett, who had been elected to the Minnesota Senate from Wright county

a year or two before. Gray then went east. Bennett began the Courier April 25th, 1863, ran fourteen numbers and failed, as described in the beginning of this paper. About that time Gray returned, and he and Bennett hitched teams to pull the Minnesota Statesman. Bennett soon dropped out of the harness, and in 1864 was appointed appraiser of Sioux Indian lands by the government. He died June 10th, 1865.

I have traced the Statesman through the files of the Historical Society, and find it began with a five-column issue August 1st, 1863, as above stated. May 4th, 1864, the partnership with Bennett was dissolved. At Volume III, No. 24, February 10th, 1866, the paper was enlarged to six columns, and April 7th, 1866, it swelled to eight columns. At Volume V, No. 28, February 28th, 1868, it shrank to four columns, and ran at that size until April 11th, 1868. Then a county tax sale came along and boosted it up to six columns again. It did not change from that elevation during the remainder of its life.

From Volume VI, No. 23, December 12th, 1868, to August 31st, 1869, the paper is not in the files, and in the meantime the volume and number jumped to Volume XI, No. 4, showing the Statesman had grown five years in about nine months. This count was continued to Volume XII, No. 42, May 6th, 1871, when the press and material were sold to T. A. Perrine, Gray moved to Michigan, and his newspaper ventures in Wright County ended. The career of the Statesman also ended at that date, and Perrine began the Monticello Times at Volume I, No. 1, June 3rd, 1871.

The history of the Northern Statesman gives me another lot of trouble in matching dates of publication with volumes and numbers carried in the files. Evidently Mr. Gray followed a custom common in those days, of dating back to the first number of his pioneer ancestral paper, the Wright County Republican, which started June 30th, 1859. But giving the Statesman a start with the Republican volume and number will hardly account for the swell of 666 total weekly issues, in the 620 weeks between June 3rd, 1859, and May 7th, 1871. The Statesman was the hundred and sixtieth newspaper started in Minnesota.

THE ST. PAUL DEMOCRAT.

The St. Paul Democrat was started as a campaign paper in September, 1863. It was edited by Hon. John L. Macdonald, and was discontinued about January 1st, 1864. It was the hundred and sixty-first Minnesota newspaper.

THE ST. PAUL EVENING DEMOCRAT

was the evening daily edition of the St. Paul Democrat, and was the fifteenth daily started in Minnesota.

THE ANOKA STAR

was started with the plant of the old Anoka Republican, whose history, as far as I could get it, was given in my sixth paper. The Republican was started August 25th, 1860, by A. C. Squire and brother. October 3rd, 1863, A. G. Spalding bought the Republican plant, and the same day started the Anoka Star, and advertised to supply all advance pay subscribers of the Republican with the Star. At Volume I, No. 49, September 3rd, 1864, the Star disappears from the Historical Library, but rises again January 28th, 1865, when Charles N. and Ed. H. Folsom appear as editors and publishers, Spalding having dropped out somewhere in the interim. Volume II, No. 26, April 1st, 1865, is the last of it in the library. I have heard, however, that T. G. Jones ran it awhile after the Folsoms left it, but he soon tired out and the Star set forever. It counted one hundred sixty-two in the journalistic procession.

THE WILTON WEEKLY NEWS.

In November, 1863, the press and material of the Waseca Home Views were purchased by Hiel D. Baldwin, of Wilton, Waseca county, and the hundred and sixty-third paper was started, called the Wilton Weekly News. James E. Child was its editor. The first issue was dated December 8th, 1863. It was six columns in size and Republican in politics. Within a few weeks Mr. Child purchased the plant and ran it until the last of October, 1867, when he closed the office and removed the outfit to Waseca, and it became the Waseca News.

THE NEW ULM POST.

The New Ulm Post, a journal printed in the German language, was the hundred and sixty-fourth Minnesota newspaper. It was started in New Ulm, Brown county, February 12th, 1864, according to the files of the Historical Society. This date is obtained by taking Volume XXVIII, No. 16, the first of the paper that appears in the files, and dating back to the beginning. A pamphlet called the "Chronology of New Ulm" claims February 5th as its beginning. You have the two authorities, and can take your choice.

Albert Wolff was its first editor, and Wolff and Hofer its publishers. Wolff soon retired, and in July, 1864, Ludwig Bogen assumed control, and about a year later Lambert Naegele joined him. In February, 1870, Ernest Brandt, the present editor and proprietor of Der Fortschritt, took Naegele's place. In April, 1873, the Post printed an English edition for a short time, but this was soon dropped.

April 6th, 1886, Ludwig Bogen, one of the ablest writers the German-American press of the Northwest ever had, died, and the Post was transferred to Alfred A. Bogen, his son. The following fall, J. H. Strasser, now of Minneapolis, was employed as editor. September 8th, 1892, Mr. Strasser became owner of the Post, and April 13th, 1896, sold it to Edward and Armand Petry, who ran the paper as Petry Brothers, editors and publishers, until November 20th, 1905, when they sold in turn to the New Ulm Publishing Company. That company also acquired the New Ulm Review. Edward Petry retained his position as editor of the Post until his death, November, 26th, 1906, when his brother, Armand Petry, succeeded him and is still its editor.

A PIONEER NEWSPAPER TRUST.

It may somewhat surprise the staid old Pioneer Press of today to be called the champion newspaper trust of the Northwest. Nevertheless, up to date, it has absorbed seventeen weekly papers and two dailies, and only two of the nineteen, the Minneapolis Tribune and the Mail, got away before the digestion was complete. This is how it was done.

May 28th, 1849, the Minnesota Chronicle went into the Minnesota Register. February 10th, 1851, the Register was absorbed by the Minnesota Democrat. November 1st, 1855, the Minnesota Democrat was swallowed by the St. Paul Pioneer, and, as an aid to digestion, the mixture was labeled the Pioneer and Democrat.

July 4th, 1858, the Pioneer and Democrat, in another hungry mood, took in the Financial Advertiser, Joseph A. Wheelock's first newspaper venture. Afterward, by a roundabout road, other journals went into the larder of the insatiable Pioneer, then called the Pioneer and Democrat. They came in this order: January 1st, 1861, the St. Paul Press absorbed the St. Paul Times; January 27th, 1861, the St. Paul Press absorbed the St. Paul Minnesotian; and March 1st, 1863, the St. Paul Press took in the St Paul Union, Frederick Driscoll's paper. In the meantime the Pioneer, having no further use for its Democrat attachment, cut it off September 5th, 1862, and the paper again became the St. Paul Pioneer of early days. Finally, April 11th, 1875, the St. Paul Press itself went down the cavernous throat of the Pioneer, and its memory was embalmed in the compound name of the Pioneer Press.

The next year, May 2nd, 1876, the Pioneer Press went up to Minneapolis and repeated the Jonah act, swallowing nine additional weekly newspapers and two dailies. William S. King and David Blakeley acted as sponsors for the whale. Here is the way that was done. Going back nineteen years, the Northwestern Democrat, which was established in 1855, went into the Gazette in 1857; the Gazette went into the Journal in 1858; and the Journal went into the State Atlas in 1859. Through another roundabout procession of Minneapolis trust feeders to the Pioneer Press, the Minnesota Republican was changed January 7th, 1859, to the Minnesota State News; and in 1863, that weekly paper and its daily were absorbed by the State Atlas. The Minneapolis Chronicle was started June 14th, 1866, and the State Atlas got it May 25th, 1867. Later, the Minneapolis Tribune got the Atlas, and May 2nd, 1876, the Pioneer Press got the Tribune, and next swallowed the Mail and its daily.

With the Northwestern Democrat, the Gazette, the Journal, the Minnesota Republican, the State News and its daily, the Chronicle, the Atlas, the Tribune, and the Mail, all safely down, the

Pioneer Press regurgitated the Mail and sold it to David Blakeley. In that act, the Minneapolis Tribune also came up, got lost, and was found by Blakeley; and today, like the Pioneer Press, the Tribune is going it alone, none the worse for the adventure.

THE PLAINVIEW ENTERPRISE.

According to the History of Wabasha County (page 924), the Plainview Enterprise was begun in Plainview, Wabasha County, in the early part of 1864. It was a four-page, six-column, Republican paper, owned and edited by N. B. Stevens, the former owner of the Wabasha Herald. It ran only a few weeks, and then was discontinued; and in April, 1864, Stevens went to Paxton, Illinois. That is one story.

According to another story that I get mainly from the files, Stevens sold the job printing business of the Wabasha County Herald to U. B. Shaver, publisher of the Pepin Wisconsin Press, July 19th, 1862. He retained his press and material and an editorial interest in the paper. It is said, without any proof to support it that I can find, that, either before or soon after this sale, Stevens went over to Plainview and started the Enterprise. During all that time, however, the firm name in the Herald files was continued as Shaver and Stevens, editors, and U. B. Shaver, publisher. The following October, Shaver resold half of the job business to Stevens, and the files also show that this business arrangement was continued until September 17th, 1863. Then comes another provoking lapse in the Herald files, until May 12th, 1864. Mr. Shaver was then announced as sole editor and proprietor, Stevens having sold his interest in both business and plant and gone to Paxton, Illinois.

As the story that Stevens started the Plainview Enterprise between July and October, 1862, is rumor not proved by facts, and the account of his starting it in the early part of 1864 is in the published county history, I have accepted the latter as correct, fixing the period between February and April, 1864, as the approximate time of its beginning. It numbered one hundred and sixty-five in the newspaper line.

THE MINNESOTA SOUTHWEST.

The earliest evidence of the Minnesota Southwest of Blue Earth City, Faribault county, I find in the Historical Society files at Volume IV, No. 40, January 4th, 1868. The first issue, therefore, must have been April 9th, 1864, provided there was no mistake in numbering the issues, which no one could be sure of in those days. It is near enough, however, for practical purposes. One hundred and sixty-six is its number in the Minnesota list.

This paper had no connection with the Southwest Minnesotian, into which the Blue Earth City News was turned as a new paper, August 2nd, 1862. That paper was discontinued by N. B. Hyatt in the fall of 1862.

Carl Huntington was editor of the Minnesota Southwest in 1868, and I think he started it. It was a seven-column Republican sheet. At Volume VI, No. 8, June 12th, 1869, still under Huntington, the paper was enlarged to nine columns. It ran that size until Volume VIII, No. 20, September 2nd, 1871, when Huntington sold it to Mr. M. H. Stevens. I cannot find what Stevens did with it.

THE ST. CLOUD TIMES.

The St. Cloud Times, of St. Cloud, Stearns county, was started April 9th, 1864. It was a six-column Democratic paper. R. Channing Moore was its editor, and Moore & Company the publishers. At its fourth number, April 30th, it was enlarged to seven columns. At the seventh number, on May 8th, Thomas and J. H. Simonton purchased the paper. From Volume I, No. 31, November 5th, 1864, to Volume III, No. 24, September 15th, 1866, the issues miss from the files, but I am told that Simonton and Brother, and afterward Simonton and Barnes, ran the paper in the interim. When it reappears in 1866, it is an eight-column sheet, and is published by A. J. Reed and Co.

At Volume VI, No. 10, June 5th, 1869, Mr. Reed retires, and L. A. Evans and James J. Green assume control, Evans as proprietor, and Green as editor and publisher. This relation lasts until Volume VI, No. 31, November 6th, 1869, when Green retires, and the next week the name of Evans appears alone at the head of the paper. November 20th, 1869, Mr. Green publishes a notice

in the Times, under date of November 16th, that he has leased the Times of Evans, but no period of continuance is mentioned. The paper then runs with Green as editor and publisher, and Evans as proprietor, to the close of 1869, when the issues disappear from the Historical Library files until January 7th, 1871. I am informed by Mr. Green, who is still in the journalistic field as editor of the New Ulm News, that he remained editor of the Times until September, 1870.

May 20th, 1871, Mr. Evans sold the Times to R. W. Delano, who ran the paper to Volume IX, No. 32, November 16th, 1872, when he sold to W. H. Lamb and J. H. Rhodes. The next week after this sale, fire destroyed the office, but four weeks later the paper went on again under W. H. Lamb, who ran it until Volume XI, No. 42, January 20th, 1875, when, still at eight columns, C. F. Macdonald bought it, and at this writing he still owns and runs it. It counts one hundred and sixty-seven in my calendar of Minnesota newspapers.

THE RED WING ARGUS.

Hancock's History of Goodhue County says that, at the discontinuance of the Goodhue Volunteer, that paper furnished the Red Wing Printing Company with press and material to begin the Red Wing Argus. The Volunteer began with the press and material of Red Wing Sentinel No. 2, which was discontinued by William Colvill and his patriotic associates when the war began, in the spring of 1861. As the earliest number of the Argus in the Historical Society files is Volume IV, No. 13, January 2nd, 1868, its first issue must have appeared October 13th, 1864, not long after the last number of the Volunteer in the Historical Library, which is August 24th, 1864.

September 31st, 1868, the Argus temporarily suspended publication, owing to financial difficulties; but at Volume V, No. 1, December 3rd, 1868, it resumed with C. F. George editor, after having had no editor at the head of its columns between January and December, 1868. The Argus at this time was conducted by the Red Wing Printing Company, until Volume V, No. 27, June 3rd, 1869, when the company sold the plant to Capt. Charles L. Davis, who assumed control with Capt. E. R. Otis acting as editor.

They ran the paper at seven columns until February 15th, 1872. It was then enlarged to eight columns, and the name of Otis disappeared from the head of the editorial columns, Davis remaining as proprietor. November 22nd, 1888, the paper dropped back again to seven columns. At Volume XXXIII, No. 43, September 11th, 1897, Davis sold the plant to Sulser, Shedd, and Livingston. The new owners at once enlarged the paper from four pages of seven columns each to twelve pages of six columns each, and it ran that size to February 12th, 1898, when it was reduced to eight pages of six columns each. December 18th, 1897, the names of Sulser, Shedd and Livingston dropped out; and January 1st, 1898, the Commercial Printing Company were in possession, and have so remained to the present. It numbers one hundred sixty-eight.

DAN S. MERRITT.

A short biographical sketch of Dan S. Merritt should have appeared in connection with my account of the Goodhue Volunteer, in Paper No. 7, next preceding this; but that paper was too long, even without it, and so the sketch was necessarily omitted. In April, 1864, Mr. Merritt became associated with J. H. Parker as publisher of the Volunteer, Mr. Parker being the editor. He remained in charge of the mechanical department until the eleventh of November following. This fact was not mentioned in my history of the Volunteer.

Dan S. Merritt was quite prominent as a newspaper publisher and editor in the days of early journalism. He was born in Newburgh, New York, May 11th, 1816, and began his trade as printer in the Newburgh Gazette office in 1830. In 1837 he started the Kalamazoo (Michigan) Whig, and sold out in 1838. After taking the rounds of several newspapers, he returned to Kalamazoo, and from there went to Pontiac, Michigan, and, in company with James C. Hutchins, purchased the Pontiac Jacksonian.

In July, 1855, they removed the press and material to Red Wing, Minnesota, and began the publication of the Red Wing Sentinel, No. 1, as stated in my second paper on Journalism in the Territorial Period. May 15th, 1856, they sold the Sentinel press and material to Alexis Bailly, and it was moved to Hastings and used to start the Dakota Weekly Journal. Bailly and Hutchins

then opened the Kelly Hotel in Red Wing, but soon sold out of that, and in the spring of 1857, the fever of journalism taking them again, they bought the Red Wing Gazette from Bennett Brothers and changed the name to the Red Wing Sentinel, No. 2, as stated in my fourth Territorial paper. March 26th, 1859, Merritt sold out of the Sentinel to Littlefield and Maginnis and went to farming. He soon abandoned farming, however, and returned to Red Wing, and from there went to Marquette, Michigan, and helped launch the Lake Superior News. He remained there two summers. He then returned to Red Wing and took an interest in the Volunteer, the successor of the Red Wing Sentinel, No. 2, becoming its publisher. In April, 1864, he sold out of the Volunteer and went to St. Paul, and from there went to Hastings in the spring of 1866 and helped start the Dakota County Union. He afterward returned to St. Paul and thence went to Delano, Wright county, and helped start the Citizen. He remained there until 1874, when, after tracking him through eight newspapers, I have lost sight of him.

Merritt was a journalistic hustler, but, like many a bright man of the old days, Wanderlust held him with relentless grip. He started many good things that profited others more than they did Merritt.

THE ANOKA SENTINEL.

The date of the last number of the Anoka Star in the Historical Library files is April 1st, 1865, as already stated in this paper. That was when Charles W. and Ed. H. Folsom seem to have left it. The following week the Sentinel began on April 8th, with Charles W. Folsom editor, and J. M. Thomson publisher. It was a six-column paper, with no salutatory and no politics. It ran thirteen issues, and then Folsom printed his valedictory, ascribing lethargy and lack of interest as the cause of the suspension. Folsom seems to have abandoned journalism in Anoka at this point. Thomson appears again in the fall of 1866, as the father of the Anoka Press. The Sentinel stands at one hundred and sixty-nine on my list.

THE LAKE CITY LEADER,

of Lake City, Wabasha county, was begun August 5th, 1865, by T. H. Perkins and William J. McMaster, who had purchased the plant of the Lake City Times. It was a seven-column, four-page Republican paper. From Volume II, No. 51, July 20th, 1867, to Volume III, No. 3, August 16th, 1867, the numbers are missing in the Library. The paper reappears at the latter date enlarged to eight columns, still run by McMaster and Perkins. At Volume V, No. 6, September 3rd, 1869, Perkins sold his interest to Dr. E. C. Spaulding, and the firm became McMaster and Spaulding, editors and proprietors. It ran to Volume VI, No. 11, October 7th, 1870, in that way. The next week it enlarged to eight pages of six columns each. At Volume VII, No. 45, June 7th, 1872, Oliver Jones joined the firm and it became the Leader Printing Company. At Volume X, No. 2, August 6th, 1874, E. C. Spaulding left the company. The heading then became William J. McMaster and Oliver Jones. At Volume XI, No. 23, January 6th, 1876, McMaster and Jones still ran it as the Leader Printing Company. Then at Volume XI, No. 32, March 11th, 1876, Morris C. Russell joined the company as associate editor, and the firm became McMaster, Jones, and Russell. At Volume XII, No. 12, October 21st, 1876, Mr. McMaster left the paper, on account of ill health, the Leader Company disappeared, and the firm of Jones and Russell took its place. July 7th, 1877, the paper dropped from eight pages of six columns each to four pages of eight columns each. November 16th, 1878, it went back again to the old issue of eight pages of six columns, Jones and Russell being still in the saddle.

At Volume XV, No. 10, October 11th, 1879, McMaster, having partially regained his health, repurchased Russell's interest and resumed his old place as editor of the Leader, the firm being McMaster and Jones; but March 13th, 1880, McMaster had to finally give up. McMaster and Jones then sold the Leader to Alexander C. Jameson and Benjamin Northrup, of Indianapolis, Indiana, and shortly afterward McMaster died. Jameson and Northrup continued the Leader until March 1st, 1881, when Jameson retired and John A. Leonard, the foreman of the paper, took his place. This arrangement continued until May 7th, 1881, when the firm of Northrup

and Leonard became Northrup and Company, and the name of the paper was changed to the Review, and September 6th, 1882, the Review died. The Leader was the hundred and seventieth paper started in Minnesota.

WILLIAM J. M'MASTER.

William J. McMaster was born in Belfast, Ireland, September 23rd, 1838, and came to this country in 1848. He learned the printer's trade and entered the office of the Waumadee Herald, at Read's Landing, Minnesota, in 1857. A few days later his two brothers, who had started the paper, were drowned in Lake Pepin, as stated in my history of the Herald recorded in the Territorial part of these papers.

Young McMaster then joined Lute A. Taylor, of the River Falls Journal, in Wisconsin, and afterward worked a while as compositor in the St. Paul Press office. August 5th, 1865, he formed an alliance with T. H. Perkins, and started the Lake City Leader, as above stated.

Mr. McMaster was one of the most unselfish men ever identified with Minnesota journalism, and ranked among its brightest and ablest writers. Lute Taylor said of him, "McMaster was one of the purest, kindest and best men I have ever known." That he was also a man of forceful character is shown by the continued prosperity of the Leader while he was able to manage it.

THE ANOKA UNION.

The Anoka Union was the hundred and seventy-first paper in Minnesota. George W. Gray, the sole survivor of early Monticello journalism, claims to have started the Anoka Union as a sort of side issue in September, 1865. Gray had begun the Wright County Republican June 30th, 1859, and had worried along, printing news and delinquent tax sales for five counties, and whittling out basswood 3-em quads by the peck to help out. He ran the Republican until November 23rd, 1861, and then turned it into the Northwestern Weekly Union, which closed with a tax sale December 6th, 1862. Then he leased his plant to Sam Bennett, who started the Courier April 25th, 1863, ran fourteen issues and stopped. August 15th, 1863, the twain started the Northern Statesman. Gray soon

became sole owner and editor, and hung on with a bulldog grip until May 6th, 1871, when the Statesman expired, with a tax sale to soothe its dying hours, and T. A. Perrine bought the plant. It was during the Northern Statesman period that Gray says he went over to Anoka and started the Union. He found tramping eight miles from Monticello to Anoka and back every day made his feet sore. So a few weeks later, when Granville S. Pease came along, it did not take Gray long to make a bargain with him, and shortly afterward Gray abandoned Anoka journalism. Pease had the usual hard time of it, in his early years with the Anoka Union, but he also stuck with a bulldog grip, and now, for many years, he has lived on "Easy street."

Volume II, No. 46, July 18th, 1867, is the first that I find of the Anoka Union in our Library. At that date H. A. Castle was editor, and G. S. Pease publisher; the size of the paper was seven columns, and it was Republican in politics. The date of beginning must therefore have been September 7th, 1865. At Volume IV, No. 47, July 22nd, 1869, the paper was enlarged to eight columns. At Volume VII, No. 16, December 26th, 1871, Castle retired; and three weeks later, January 16th, 1872, M. Q. Butterfield became editor. This arrangement continued to Volume VII, No. 40, June 11th, 1872, when the name of Butterfield disappeared without comment, and Pease went on alone, as he has continued to the present time.

GRANVILLE S. PEASE.

Granville S. Pease is a native of Albany, New York. He was born September 15th, 1845, and came to Minnesota in 1856, and was educated in the St. Paul public schools. He began his journalistic career as paper carrier and newsboy. April 2nd, 1866, he purchased a half interest in the Anoka Union, which was then about six months old, and became its sole owner June 1st following. This was before he was twenty-one years of age.

Strict attention to business and superb fitness for journalism have given him a standing in the profession second to no newspaper owner and editor in Minnesota. Politically, the Union is one of the most influential of the Republican journals of the state. Mr. Pease was elected secretary of the Editorial Association of Minnesota in 1889, and its president in 1892.

HOUSTON COUNTY JOURNAL.

Volume II, No. 31, July 2nd, 1867, is the first of the Houston County Journal that I can find. This indicates the date of first issue to have been December 5th, 1865. J. Smith and P. P. Wall were the publishers and editors, and the place of publication was Caledonia, Houston county. It was a seven-column Republican paper. The files run in the library to September 24th, 1867, and then skip to February 2nd, 1869, when Wall Brothers were running it, as editors and publishers. August 31st, 1869, is the last of it that I can find. Its number is a hundred and seventy-two.

BROWNSVILLE FREE PRESS.

The Brownsville Free Press was started in Brownsville, Houston county, December 15th, 1865. It was a six-column newspaper, and aimed to be independent in politics. Charles Brown was its editor. It ran until May 21st, 1869, and was then merged in a paper called Western Progress, which had been started the previous 28th of April. Western Progress was a four-column quarto, monthly, and was moved to Spring Valley, Fillmore county, in May, 1870. A year or two after this date, Charles Brown was taken to the St. Peter Insane Asylum, where he died June 26th, 1873. The Free Press was the hundred and seventy-third newspaper started in Minnesota.

CONCLUSION.

Finding that I could not cover the war period of Minnesota journalism with a single paper, I have made two by extending the time from January 1st, 1861, to January 1st, 1866, a total period of five years.

The new journals started during this period number forty-nine. Two of them, the St. Paul Press and St. Paul Union, ran dailies. Of these forty-nine journals only six are still running, under the names given them over forty years ago. These are the Scott County Argus, the Valley Herald, New Ulm Post, St. Cloud Times, Red Wing Argus, and Anoka Union. All of these live papers were started during the war years, and three of the six are Democratic in politics.

Seven dailies were started during the Territorial period. These were the St. Paul Pioneer, St. Paul Minnesotian, St. Paul Times, St. Paul Free Press, Minnesota Democrat, afterward consolidated with the Pioneer under the name of Pioneer and Democrat, the Falls Evening News, and the Hastings Ledger. The Pioneer is the only daily of that period now alive.

Nine dailies were begun later, in the years 1858 to 1865. They were the Winona Review, the Minnesotian and Times of St. Paul, Winona Republican, Star of the North of St. Paul, the State Atlas of Minneapolis, St. Paul Press, Winona State, St. Paul Union, and St. Paul Evening Democrat. Of these dailies, only the Winona Republican, now the Republican-Herald of Winona, survives.

Of the one hundred and seventy three journals, other than dailies, started in Minnesota before January 1st, 1866, the twelve named in detail in the paper preceding this, and the New Ulm Post, St. Cloud Times, Red Wing Argus, and Anoka Union, making a total of sixteen, are now alive; and the first newspaper, the Pioneer, was begun April 28th, 1849. Ninety per cent of newspaper mortality in fifty-eight years gives a long mortuary list, but all honor to the dead, for every one helped to place Minnesota in the proud position she now occupies.

CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE INKPADUTA MASSACRE.*

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

The paper here presented is derived from numerous accounts in the state and county histories of Minnesota and Iowa, and from narratives and information given by persons who were witnesses of parts of this history, some of whom are still living. A former paper on this subject, read by Hon. Charles E. Flandrau before this Society in 1879, was published in its third volume of Historical Collections (pages 386-407), which the present writer has endeavored to supplement by relating especially the events that preceded and followed the massacre.

Among the sources most consulted is the History of Iowa, in four volumes, by Hon. Benjamin F. Gue, published in 1903. Four chapters in its first volume portray these thrilling scenes of about half a century ago.

SINTOMNIDUTA KILLED BY HENRY LOTT.

The Indians who claimed the site of the present city of Faribault as their principal ancient camping ground and who hunted along the Cannon and Straight rivers, and thence to the headwaters of the Blue Earth and the Iowa line, were known as the Wahpekuta band of Dakotas.

A chronic warfare had existed from time immemorial between all the Dakota or Sioux tribes and the Ojibways on the north and the Sacs and Foxes on the south.

About 1840 the Wahpekutas were suffering severely because of the unusual bitterness of this war, which they attributed to the bloody propensity of one of their own sub-chiefs, named Wandisapa (Black Eagle), whose vicious activity on the warpath provoked constant retaliation from the enemy.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, October 9, 1905.

One day Tasagi (His Cane), head chief of the band, attempted to remonstrate with Black Eagle for his over-warlike disposition, which kept the enemy ever stirring like a nest of hornets; but the savage warrior would brook no reproof even from his head chief, and in the quarrel that ensued Tasagi was slain. Fearing the vengeance of the tribe, Black Eagle with a few partisans, mostly relatives, fled to the Vermilion river in South Dakota. There the outlaw chief met his death in two or three years and was succeeded by Sintomniduta (Red all Over), also known as Napenomnana (Two Fingers), from the fact that one hand had only two fingers as the result of the accidental discharge of a gun. He was a large, powerful Indian, fully as aggressive and warlike in disposition as his predecessor,—well fitted to lead a gang of savage freebooters.

In 1842 the government removed the Sacs and Foxes from northern Iowa, and soon thereafter Sintomniduta removed with his band into their vacated hunting grounds, fixing his principal camping place about where Fort Dodge now stands.

The lawless character of this band attracted to it desperadoes and fugitives from justice from other bands, until it became notorious even among the Indians for its wild and desperate character. It was called the "Red Top" band, perhaps from the habit of carrying streamers of scarlet cloth tied to the points of their long lances. Besides these spears, they were armed with smooth-bored guns, bought from French traders, and each carried bows and arrows, a big tomahawk, and a scalping knife.

Sintomniduta was married to a sister of the noted Sisseton chief Ish-tah Kha-ba (Sleepy Eye), who, with a portion of his followers known as the Little Rock band, often hunted in the territory along the upper Des Moines.

In 1845 there lived at Red Rock in Marion county, Iowa, a somewhat notorious western character named Henry Lott. He was a small, spare, dark complexioned man, who claimed to be of New England origin, and his wife was reputed to be the daughter of one of the early governors of Ohio or Pennsylvania. But the family had greatly degenerated from its noble origin, and the freedom of pioneer life was used by it as an occasion for lawless deeds.

Lott dealt in horses, but his method of acquiring them was very suspicious. He also pretended to be an Indian trader; but the

principal commodity received by the red man in exchange for his furs was the poorest grade of whiskey.

In 1846 Mr. Lott left Red Rock at the request of his neighbors, and after a short sojourn at Pea's Point, he located upon the Des Moines at the mouth of Boone river. Here he came into contact with Sintomniduta and his wild followers, and in December, 1848, they became involved in a serious quarrel, which finally led to dire consequences to the red and white inhabitants of both northern Iowa and southern Minnesota.

As to the particulars of this quarrel, the accounts do not agree. Some say that the Indians traced five ponies, which they had missed, to Lott's stable, that the chief gave him five days to quit his dominions, and that, on his failing to comply with this order, Sintomniduta and his band decked their war paint and forcibly drove Lott and a grown-up stepson from their home. As the two in their flight glanced back from the bluffs of the Boone, they imagined that they saw the cabin in flames and heard the dying shrieks of Mrs. Lott and the younger children, who had been left in it. Lott and his stepson fled down the Des Moines about one hundred miles to the nearest white settlement, at Pea's Point.

Here John Pea undertook to raise a company to go back with Lott to look for his family and punish the Indians. At Elk Rapids, chief Chemeuse (called "Johnny Green") of the Pottawattamie and Musquakie tribes volunteered to join the expedition with twenty-six braves, glad of an opportunity to go on the warpath once more against their old enemy, the Sioux.

With this force of Indians and six white recruits under John Pea, Lott hurried back, but on arriving at his cabin found it standing and his wife and children safe, except his son, Milton, a lad of twelve years, who, his mother said, had left the cabin for fear of the Indians shortly after his father, and had not been seen since.

A search disclosed the fact that Milton had followed the tracks of his father and brother down the Des Moines, probably only a few hours behind them, though they knew it not, until, exhausted by cold and hunger, he fell in the snow and perished within three miles of where stands the present town of Boonesboro. A few months later the mother, who had been overcome by terror and grief, sickened and died, and Lott laid both deaths to his account against Sintomniduta.

The old chief and his band easily eluded the war party Lott had brought with him to punish them, until, running out of provisions, they soon returned to their homes disappointed.

Fort Dodge was abandoned by the war department in 1853, and the soldiers were all transferred to the new military post on the Minnesota, called Fort Ridgely. Captain Woods, with most of his command, left for the new post on April 18th, 1853, and Lieutenant Corley followed on the 2nd of June with the remainder. Thus the Upper Des Moines country was left without protection.

In November of this same year (though some claim, perhaps more correctly, that it was 1852), Henry Lott, whom we had left near the mouth of Boone river, removed with his stepson up on the east branch of the Des Moines, and built a cabin and cleared a small piece of land on the east bank of this stream, nearly opposite the mouth of Lott's creek, in section 16 of Humboldt township. He took with him a few trinkets and two or three barrels of whiskey, and, as was his wont, engaged in the Indian trade.

In the winter of 1853-4 Sintomniduta was encamped two or three miles south of Lott's cabin, on the right bank of Bloody Run in section 4 of the township of Grove. For some reason the chief and his family, consisting of two squaws (one of whom, as some say, was his aged mother) and five or six children, were left alone for a period of time during January, 1854. When Lott discovered this, he concluded that his long sought opportunity to glut his vengeance for the death of his wife and son had come. Apparently that occurrence had long been forgotten and he and the chief had been on the best of terms, but in fact Henry Lott was as bitter as ever down in his heart.

Having drawn his plot and gotten everything in readiness, Lott and his stepson rode down to Sintomniduta's camp, one afternoon, and reported that they had just discovered a herd of elk, a mile or so up the creek, at what is known as the Big Bend, and invited the chief to help hunt them. The prospect of a lot of fresh elk meat delighted the heart of Two Fingers and his family, and he readily accepted the invitation. Before starting, Lott treated the chief liberally with whiskey, of which he was very fond, and then the three rode off to the hunt. When the appointed place was reached, and the chief, because of the liquor and his eager search

for the game, was wholly off his guard. Lott and his stepson shot him in the back dead. Taking his pony and gun they went home, and, disguising themselves in Indian garb and paint, they stole down to the chief's wigwam at dusk. The two squaws and children had heard the firing about sundown and were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the three hunters with the elk meat. Suddenly out of the gloomy forest leaped upon them what they supposed were two Indians of the deadly Sacs and Foxes. One squaw and three or four of the children were butchered before they could get away from the wigwam; but the other squaw, with her babe in her arms and accompanied by a boy of twelve and a girl of ten years, fled a few rods before she and her babe were overtaken and slain. The boy also received a blow on the head and was left on the ground for dead. The girl, however, managed to hide in some brush and dead grass so as to baffle in the darkness every effort of the murderers to find her. Their bloody work finished, Lott and his son gathered what furs they considered of value, and then set fire to the wigwams. They had already loaded their wagon with the furs and other things worth saving at their own cabin, and now they put that building to the flames, with intent to lead to the belief that they had also been attacked by the same enemy.

Lott and his son thereupon passed hurriedly and as unperceived as possible down the river, disposed of their property and escaped to California, and the last heard from them was a letter a year or two later from the stepson to some friend near Fort Dodge, stating that his father had been killed in some broil in the gold state. This letter was probably written to mislead the authorities and get them to abandon the search for the murderer.

The little girl who had escaped into the brush, found on the next morning that there was life still in her brother, Joshpaduta, and in time he revived. The two subsisted on roots and bark until some days later they were discovered by some of their own people.

The bodies of the slain had been horribly mangled by wolves and other wild animals.

The murder was reported at once by the Indians to the military authorities at Fort Ridgely, and to the white settlements about Fort Dodge, where on departure of the soldiers Major Williams had been commissioned a sort of peace officer.

Both Indians and whites at first thought, as the two surviving children had reported, that the dastardly deed was the work of some of their prowling Indian foes; but the inability to find the bodies of either Lott or his stepson, and the discovery of the telltale wagon track, soon revealed to the satisfaction of all who the real murderers were. Places where the fugitives had stopped and people who knew them, with whom they had talked, and who had seen in their possession the gun and pony of Sintomniduta, were also found, putting the matter beyond doubt.

THE MASSACRE AT OKOBOJI AND SPIRIT LAKES.

Inkpaduta, the brother of Sintomniduta, succeeded to the chieftainship of the Red Top band. When he knew that white men were the slayers of his brother and family, it was only upon the most positive assurance given by the military at Fort Ridgely and at a number of councils held between the whites and the Indians along the Des Moines, to the effect that the white people emphatically discountenanced the dastardly deed and would speedily apprehend and hang the murderers, or would turn them over to the Indians for punishment, that an immediate massacre of the settlers was averted.

Coroner John Johns and Granville Berkley, the prosecuting attorney of Hamilton county, Iowa, went up and viewed the remains of the murdered Indians, and brought back with them Sintomniduta's skull, under the pretext that they wished to examine it for marks of violence. A coroner's jury was then summoned at Homer, the county seat, and the late chief's surviving son and daughter and other witnesses were examined before it, but the whole proceeding was turned into a farce and a joke. It is said that Berkley acted as interpreter as well as attorney at the inquest, and that he humorously applied Greek terminology to Indian words and disputed in a bantering way with an old frontier man named William R. Miller as to the correct translation. It is also said that, instead of burying the chief's skull or returning it to his friends, he nailed it to a pole over his house.

All this did not tend to allay the suspicions of the Indians as to the white man's sincerity in denouncing the murder and promising to avenge it. In fact, no further effort was made by the author-

ities to apprehend the murderers, though the Indians were pacified with many fair promises all that year and the next.

In 1856 it was very evident to Inkpaduta that all these promises were in bad faith, that in fact the whites never intended to apprehend the murderers, and that, if the brutal death of his mother, brother and relatives was ever to be avenged, it must be done by himself after the custom of his fathers. That such a wild, expatriated band of savages, already ill disposed toward the whites because of the appropriation of their lands, should resort to desperate deeds under such added provocation, is not to be wondered at. A massacre of the white settlers was often discussed at their camp fires during the fall and winter of 1856, and war dances were frequently held to work up their courage to the proper pitch.

Joshpaduta, the orphan son of Sintomniduta, had, since the murder of his parents, been brought up by a white family named Palmer, but made frequent visits to his Indian relatives. On these visits he discovered the murderous intent of Inkpaduta and his followers, and fully warned his white benefactors of their danger. The whites, however, paid no heed to reports of peril the Indian youth brought them. Finally, about midwinter, fearing the threats of his own people if he lived any longer among the whites, "Josh," as he was called, suddenly disappeared and was never heard of again.

In January, 1857, Inkpaduta and his band started down the Little Sioux river, and were very insolent and overbearing to all the settlers. At Smithland they were turned back by them. It is claimed that a dog bit one of the Indians, and that he shot the dog. The owner of the dog in his anger struck the Indian. The settlers, fearing trouble, went to the Indian camp and took away all their guns. The next morning, the Indians went to the house where their guns had been stored, and, finding only a woman at home, they took back their guns, but offered no violence to the woman.

Returning up the river in an uglier mood than ever, they entered the house of Abner Bell on February 21st, 1857, drove the family from the house, killed some cattle, and plundered the house of provisions and clothing. On February 24th, they entered the house of James Gillett and committed like depredations. It is also claimed that, at the site of the village of Peterson, they not only killed the cattle of A. S. Mead, but they knocked down his wife and

carried off his daughter, Hattie, as a prisoner to their camp; that they also entered the cabin of E. Taylor, and, after knocking him down and pushing his boy into the fireplace, dragged his wife away as a captive. Both women were released, however, the next day.

Delegations of citizens were dispatched at once to Fort Dodge, Webster City, and other points, to complain of these outrages, and to get aid at once to restrain and punish the Indians. Nothing, however, came of these appeals for help, and the savages were permitted to continue their depredations.

The winter of 1856-7 was almost the longest and hardest ever experienced in the Northwest. The snow and cold started early in November, and on December 1st a great snow storm set in which lasted without any abatement for three days and three nights, covering the ground on the level to the depth of three feet. This was followed by storm upon storm, until the snow was drifted in some places twelve and even twenty feet in depth, as in valleys and ravines. Spring did not come until the last of April, it continued cold through May and June, and some of the great snowbanks in deep secluded glens had not entirely disappeared even in July. The cold and hunger suffered by the Indians in such a winter tended to exasperate their evil tempers and gave them some excuse for taking provisions, but it is quite evident that the main intent of Inkpaduta and his band was to work themselves up to the killing point,—to feel, as it were, of the whites and see how much fight there was in them, and whether they were really dangerous.

From Gillett's grove, near the present site of the village of Spencer, the Indians went north some twenty miles to Lake Okoboji (Place of Rest), where a few settlers had located the summer before. They were Rowland Gardner, his wife and three children, and his son-in-law, Harvey Luce, his wife and two children, whose joint cabin lay farthest south, and who were the first actual settlers, having come July 16th, 1856, from Clear Lake, Iowa. About a mile north of them, on the east side of the strait connecting East and West Okoboji lakes, lived James H. Mattocks, his wife and five children; and with him was stopping Mr. Madison and his son eighteen years old, the others of the family not yet having come from Delaware county, Iowa, where also had been the former home of Mr. Mattocks. On the west side of the strait, about one hundred

rods from the Mattocks cabin, stood a log building, which had been erected by a townsite company, composed of Messrs. Freeborn, Louver, Granger, Sweney, Herriott, and Snyder, of Red Wing, Minn. This company had been formed in May, 1856, to start a townsite on the lake, and their building was occupied by Dr. Herriott, Carl Granger, and Bartell A. Snyder. Two or three miles farther up the lake, on its east bank, had located Joel Howe, his wife and six children, also a son-in-law, Alvin Noble, with his wife and one child, and another son-in-law named Ryan, while with Noble resided Joseph M. Thatcher and wife and one child. About five miles farther north lived the only settlers on Spirit Lake, Mr. William Marble and his wife.

This small isolated settlement seemed to Inkpaduta and his warriors to offer the best opportunity in which to begin the massacre they had planned. The Indians arrived at the southerly end of Lake Okoboji on Saturday, the 7th of March, 1857. The band comprised twelve or thirteen warriors, besides two boys and a number of squaws and papooses. The next morning most of the warriors went up to Mr. Gardner's house and demanded breakfast, which was given them. They at once became ugly and insolent and evidently had intended to begin the massacre there, but the prompt action of the three men, Gardner, Luce, and Clark, who happened to be present, rather disconcerted them. On leaving the cabin, they shot some of Gardner's cattle and showed plainly that they were bent on mischief.

After dinner they went to the house of Mr. Mattocks. Just how the trouble there was started will never be known. The Indian story was that it arose over their taking some hay for their horses. It seems that it took some time for the savages to get to the actual killing point, as Mattocks had sent to Granger's cabin for help, and Dr. Herriott, Snyder, and Joe Harshman had gone to his aid. They all were in the act of fleeing from the Mattocks cabin to the Granger cabin, Mrs. Mattocks and the children ahead and the four men bringing up the rear, when they were shot from an ambush, or the men were treacherously fired upon by some Indians who were walking in their rear, and the women and children were dispatched next. The bodies were all found in a group on the path.

The Indians then enticed Carl Granger from his cabin, and killed him in front of his door. Luce and Clark they ambushed as they were going from Gardner's to warn the other settlers; and then, returning to Gardner's cabin, they treacherously shot Mr. Gardner and butchered all the family except one daughter, Abbie, whom they took captive.

That night the Indians celebrated the success of their bloody work with wild orgies. The next day they continued the slaughter at the cabins of Howe and Noble, killing all except Mr. Thatcher, who happened to be away from home for provisions, and Mrs. Thatcher and Mrs. Noble, whom they carried away into captivity.

On the 13th they came to the cabin of Mr. Marble on Spirit Lake, and, killing him, they took his young wife as a captive. In all, thirty-four persons were killed in the Spirit Lake settlement, besides Mrs. Thatcher and Mrs. Noble, who were slain some weeks later in captivity. None of the bodies were scalped. Mr. Mattocks' cabin was the only one burned, but all the rest were plundered and the stock everywhere killed. Having glutted their vengeance on this little settlement, Inkpaduta and his band repaired to Heron Lake, dragging with them the four women prisoners.

RELIEF EXPEDITIONS FROM FORTS RIDGELY AND DODGE.

The awful tragedy was first discovered by Morris Markham, a young man who had been making his home with Gardner and Howe that winter. He was away during the massacre on a trapping expedition, but returned on the evening of the 9th of March. Seeing what had happened, he fled in haste to Granger's Point, whence George C. Granger accompanied him to Springfield, or Des Moines City, another small, isolated settlement on the Des Moines river, which had been started the previous summer and was located where the village of Jackson, Minn., now stands.

Most of the settlers there had come from Iowa, and had their claims on the east side of the river; but William and George Wood had come from Mankato, Minn., and laid out a townsite on the west side and built a trading post there, which they then occupied. Learning of the outbreak, the settlers gathered at the house of J. B. Thomas for mutual protection, and dispatched Joseph B. Cheffins, a young frontier man who had come out with the Woods from Mankato, and Henry Tretts, a young German, to Fort Ridgely for

help. These messengers left Springfield on the morning of the 18th of March, and reached the fort on the forenoon of the next day.

The commanding officer, Colonel E. E. Alexander, promptly detailed Captain Barnard E. Bee, with forty-eight men, to go to the scene of trouble, with Joseph La Framboise as guide. Judge Flandrau, then Sioux agent, and Philander Prescott, volunteered to accompany the expedition. The command was ready by 12:30 p. m. of that same day.

Owing to the heavy cumbersome military equipment of that time, it was deemed inexpedient to attempt the short cut over the prairies, as there was no road in that direction and the snow lay in heavy masses all over the country and was beginning to thaw.

A most circuitous route was therefore adopted, going down the Minnesota river to South Bend, and thence southwest along some sort of a road as far as to the claim of Isaac Slocum, on the Watonwan a few miles below the present village of Madelia. Their progress was attended with many difficulties and great hardships. Most of the time was spent in extricating the teams from one snow bank after another; and as it melted somewhat during the day, the soldiers' clothing became soaking wet and then would freeze about them as they bivouacked on the snow in the frosty nights. The expedition reached South Bend, three miles west of Mankato, on Saturday night, the 21st of March, and remained there the next day, gathering supplies. Judge Flandrau and Mr. Prescott, who had pressed ahead as far as Slocum's place to learn more fully, if they could, as to the outbreak, returned to meet Captain Bee at South Bend, but with no special news except that they had found the road almost impassable.

It was thought advisable for Flandrau and Prescott to return to their posts at Fort Ridgely, while Captain Bee with his force pushed on to Springfield. By night of the 24th Slocum's house was reached.

Here every semblance of a road ended, and as what was reputed to be the biggest drift in the country lay square across their way some ten miles beyond, in which some Springfield men with a load of provisions had been stuck for days, Captain Bee sent a squad of men ahead on the 25th, who spent all day cutting a road through this snow bank.

While Captain Bee is thus employed, let us glance at affairs elsewhere. After dark on March 15th, Orlando C. Howe, R. W. Wheelock, and B. E. Parmenter reached the cabin of Joel Howe on Lake Okoboji, with a load of provisions from Fort Dodge.

They knocked at the door, wholly unconscious of the terrible tragedy which had occurred there just one week before. Receiving no answer, they entered the house, started a fire in the stove, and began to cook supper. The glow of the fire lit up the room, revealing much disorder, and, in one corner, a pile of hay with a boot protruding from it. One of them went and picked up the boot, when to his horror he found a human foot and limb attached, and the horror of all three can hardly be imagined when on removing the hay they discovered under it the bloody, ghastly remains of five of the family piled in a heap. It did not take the three men long to vacate that house of death. Driving their load out on the prairie, they released the oxen and hurried back on foot, with their terrible tale, all the way to Fort Dodge, where they arrived on Saturday, the 21st, the same day Captain Bee reached South Bend.

The news was also carried the same night to Homer and Fort Dodge and roused the whole country. Mass meetings were held on Sunday, the 22nd, at Fort Dodge and Webster City, and three volunteer companies organized at once, one known as Company D, with J. C. Johnson as captain, at the latter place, and Companies A and C at the former place, with Charles B. Richards and John F. Duncombe as their respective captains. There were about thirty to thirty-five men in each company.

Company D left Webster City Sunday at noon and passed the night at Fort Dodge. Next morning, the 23rd, all three companies started on their memorable journey, under the general command of Major Williams, who, though seventy years old, had volunteered to lead the expedition. The hardships endured by this brave little army of something over a hundred men on their long and terrible march through snow and storm and icy floods are of thrilling interest. Time will not permit us now, however, to relate them; and we pass both relief expeditions, cutting their way, foot by foot, through the ramparts of winter, to glance at the fortunes of the Springfield settlement.

ATTACK AT SPRINGFIELD (NOW JACKSON), MINN.

On Wednesday, March 25th, two of Inkpaduta's band appeared at the Wood Brothers' store, in the Springfield settlement, and bought eighty dollars worth of ammunition, for which they paid in gold, doubtless part of the Spirit Lake plunder. The settlers protested to the Wood boys against this sale, but they seemed skeptical of every report against the Indians.

The next day, March 26th, about 2 p. m., Inkpaduta and his warriors came to the settlement. Under some pretext or other they enticed William Wood and his brother some distance away from their store, and treacherously murdered both. They found Josiah Stewart with his wife and three children at home, and while one of them, under the pretext of wanting to buy a hog, got him out in the yard, the others shot him dead from ambush, and then murdered his wife and children, except one boy, who managed to hide and escape.

Nearly all the other settlers were still gathered at the log house of J. B. Thomas, for fear of the Indians, and were anxiously awaiting the return of their messengers from Fort Ridgely with the soldiers. Therefore when Willie, the ten year old son of Mr. Thomas, saw a man coming down the road that afternoon, he thought it was Henry Tretts, one of the messengers, and ran into the house with the news. It proved to be an Indian dressed as a white man, and when the people rushed out to meet him a volley of bullets fell among them from a number of other Indians close by in ambush. Little Willie fell, mortally wounded. The others all got back into the house and barricaded the door, but it was found that Mr. Thomas had been shot through the left wrist, David Carver in the side, and Miss Swanger in the left shoulder.

The Indians kept shooting at the house until after dark, and the whites fired back from port holes made between the logs. When Mrs. Church and Miss Gardner after dusk were watching one side of the house, they noticed an Indian steal up by a tree near the house, and as there was no white man near, Mrs. Church picked up a gun she had just loaded with buckshot, and taking aim fired upon him. Miss Gardner said she saw the Indian fall, and some months later, when the premises were examined, the tree by which the Indian stood was found to contain some buckshot in it at about

the proper height for a vital spot, and a dead Indian was found buried in another tree not far distant, wrapped in a blanket and with a white man's pillow under his head.

Whether Mrs. Church killed the Indian she shot at, may not be positively known, but if she did it was probably the only one killed in that massacre. There was one wounded at Lake Okoboji, but otherwise no Indian is positively known to have been injured in the whole outbreak.

After this shot from Mrs. Church and whatever execution it may have done, if any, the Indians quickly retired. About midnight the whites evacuated the house, and, putting the wounded with the women and children into an old sleigh behind a pair of oxen, fled down the Des Moines. The team became exhausted on the way and these refugees, thirty-three in number, on the fourth day, March 30th, were met by Major Williams' command, on the open prairie some miles beyond the Iowa line, in a most miserable plight, cold, hungry, and wet. In all there had been seven killed at the Springfield settlement and three wounded.

PURSUIT OF INKPADUTA AND HIS BAND.

On the same day as the attack on Springfield, Captain Bee's force left Slocum's, and on Saturday, the 28th, after a most laborious march, reached a point on the Des Moines, about eight miles north of Springfield, where a half-breed from Traverse des Sioux, named Joe Coursolle (called "Gaboo" by the Indians), had established a small trading post the year before. From reports Captain Bee expected to find the hostile band at this place, and had deployed his men for battle when approaching it, but was disappointed. Coursolle, and the few Sissetons and half-bloods whom they found there, informed them that Inkpaduta and his band had wiped out the settlements on Spirit Lake and at Springfield; that they were now encamped at Heron Lake, about twenty-five miles farther west; and that they had four white women with them and a large amount of plunder, including many horses that they had stolen.

Early the next morning, Lieutenant Murray and twenty-three men, mounted on all the ponies and mules available, were dispatched in pursuit of the foe, with Coursolle as guide. When they reached the grove on this lake, they found abundant traces of their camp, in the quantity of plunder left behind, but the camp ashes

indicated that they had been gone two or three days. Their trail led toward a grove four miles to the west and thither the soldiers pursued, but only to find another deserted camping place. The guide gave as his opinion, after an examination, that this camp also was two or three days old, and further pursuit was abandoned because the expedition lacked supplies. It was afterward learned however, from the captives and the Indians, that the soldiers were close upon the enemy at this point, and that they fully expected to be attacked in a few minutes, when to their suprise and relief the soldiers withdrew.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

On the next day, Monday, March 30th, Lieutenant Murray was sent with the mounted detachment to scout for Indians, and to bury the dead in the Spirit Lake settlement, while Captain Bee took the remainder of the command to Springfield. Arriving there, he found two helpless cripples, named Robert Smith and John Henderson, and an infant child of A. P. Sheigley, who, not being at the Thomas house at the time of the midnight exodus, had been left behind. Smith and Henderson were Englishmen, who the previous December had attempted to drive their cattle across the prairie to Blue Earth county and had been overtaken by a blizzard and so severely frozen that one lost a foot, and the other both feet. They informed Captain Bee where the settlers had gone, and he sent a messenger after them, who on March 31st met the volunteer expedition from Fort Dodge at Granger's Point on the Iowa state line.

Major Williams, learning thus of the arrival of United States soldiers on the scene, and that the Indians had fled, halted his command, intending to return on the morrow. Learning further, however, that Lieutenant Murray had returned to Springfield after burying Mr. Marble only, and without visiting Okoboji at all, he detailed twenty-three men to proceed there and bury the dead. Captain Aldrich was to command, but failing to make his horse cross the river, he returned, and the detachment went in charge of Captain Johnson.

Having performed their gruesome mission, they started on their return march on Saturday, the 4th of April. It was a warm day and the melting snows flooded the country, when suddenly in the

afternoon a terrible blizzard swept down from the northwest. Captain Johnson and a young man named Burkholder who had just been elected clerk of court of Hamilton county, became separated from the rest in the blinding storm and perished, but their bones were not found until ten years later. The sufferings of both detachments of the Iowa volunteers who were caught on the open prairie by this fearful storm, were most appalling. All, except the two above mentioned, finally, after days and nights of the severest hardships, reached their homes.

Captain Bee, having buried the dead at Springfield and left Lieutenant Murray with twenty men to guard the few survivors, returned across the country with the others of his command to Fort Ridgely, which he reached on the 9th of April.

ALARM OF THE FRONTIER SETTLERS.

The news of the outbreak went like fire through all the settlements, throwing the whole country into a frenzy of fear, and the wildest rumors were spread broadcast.

On section one in the extreme northeast corner of Watonwan county are three small lakes with groves of trees. Here five or six families of peaceable Sissetons were fishing, oblivious of trouble, near the cabin of Theodore Leisch and Philip Schaffer. In the same grove a little to the north lived Bisier and his family, and north of him Boeckler and family. Hearing of the massacre, these people became uneasy at the mere presence of an Indian, and leaving their cabins fled to the house of Isaac Slocum. This started the rumor that these Indians, who in the story had grown to several hundred in number, were on the warpath. Joseph Cheffins happened to reach Slocum's cabin at this time, on his way to Mankato from Springfield, and his description of the horrors that he had just witnessed did not tend to allay the fears of the people.

Slocum and others sent by him to Mankato requested immediate help to protect the settlers on the Watonwan. Reaching Mankato on Friday night, April 10th, Cheffins delivered his message, rendered a hundredfold more impressive by his vivid report of the scenes he had beheld two weeks before at Springfield. The fire bell hanging in the Mankato House was rung to call the people together, a mass meeting was held at the log school house, and as a result a company of thirty-eight volunteers, with Dr. William

F. Lewis as captain, left the next day for Slocum's cabin on the Watonwan, four or five miles below the village of Madelia. Having reached their destination that evening at a late hour, at daybreak the next morning, on Sunday, April 12th, they proceeded to the small Indian camp by Leisch and Schaffer's cabin, four or five miles off, and surprised the savages by a sudden attack. A warm skirmish was kept up for a few minutes from behind trees. One Indian was hit in the arm and two or three of the whites had narrow escapes. Soon both parties retreated, fleeing in opposite directions, each imagining itself pursued by the other.

The excitement now was at its height. All the previous day and night refugees had been pouring into Mankato, St. Peter and other towns, and the quiet of this Sabbath day was completely forgotten in the turmoil of teams and terror stricken people. The news of the little skirmish reached Mankato in a few hours, but magnified to a battle in which a number had been killed on both sides; and it was reported that the Mankato company was then shut up in Slocum's cabin, besieged by several hundred painted savages. On this same Sunday, Captain Dodds with about forty volunteers from St. Peter reached Mankato, and, hearing the many startling reports, the captain dispatched a mounted messenger to Fort Snelling for military aid, and then hurried on to reinforce the Mankato company.

On Monday the two companies united forces at Slocum's place, and went down the Watonwan to the mouth of Perch creek, where Sintomniduta (All Over Red), a Sisseton sub-chief, with a small band had been encamped during the winter. They found the place deserted, and in the camp ashes was discovered a stone painted red, and on a log trough, which had been used for holding maple sap, a pair of snow shoes pointing southeast, and, tied to a branch above them, a number of goose bones. It simply meant, "All Over Red has gone southeast of here to hunt wild geese."

This same Monday a company of about thirty volunteers under George McLeod as captain, from Traverse des Sioux, passed through Mankato. The next day they ran across Sintomniduta and his band, with a few other Sissetons, up on the Blue Earth river not far from the site of the village of Vernon, and chased the astonished Indians, squaws, and papooses, far over the prairie and across

the Watonwan toward the northwest. One feeble old squaw and one starved little pony, with quite an amount of Indian furniture, fell into the hands of these doughty warriors from Traverse.

The same Tuesday a company of Welsh and German settlers on the Little Cottonwood, under Colonel S. D. Shaw as captain, drove away from a point on that stream, about a mile west of the Blue Earth county line, a band of Indians, probably those whom the Mankato company had skirmished with on Sunday. After their departure, the body of a German bachelor named Brandt was discovered in the brush back of his cabin, probably murdered by these Indians in retaliation for that Sunday attack.

The people of Judson and Nicollet townships formed another volunteer company at the old townsite of Eureka, with Mr. Bean as their captain. After building a fort of some sawmill logs, they marched to Swan lake, where as usual the old Sisseton chief, Sleepy Eye, had his village, and requested him and his followers to quit their ancient home.

The courier whom Captain Dodds had dispatched to Fort Snelling for aid reached there Monday morning, and Colonel Smith was ordered to Mankato at once with one hundred and sixty soldiers. He advanced with great deliberation, spending two days at Belle Plaine. Doubtless he had heard the rumor, which had been carried to nearly all the eastern towns of the state, to the effect that Mankato and St. Peter had been captured and burnt by nine hundred Yankton and Sisseton Sioux, and that this savage horde were sweeping down the Minnesota valley with fire and tomahawk. Even St. Paul organized military companies expecting the barbarian foe would be upon them soon. Colonel Smith and his force did not reach Mankato until Saturday, April 18th, and after spending three or four days reconnoitering as far as the Watonwan and finding no Indians he returned.

The excitement now began to abate, and things soon assumed their accustomed tranquillity.

RESULTS OF THE MASSACRE.

Inkpaduta and his murderous band retired unmolested to their old haunts beyond the Big Sioux river, carrying their plunder and prey with them, and encamped by what is now known as Lake Madison in South Dakota. There they were found about the 5th

of May by Mak-pi-ya-ka-ho-ton (Sounding Heavens) and Se-ha-ho-ta (Gray Foot), two young Sioux brothers who had been Christianized by the missionaries Riggs and Williamson. The young men were out hunting, when they heard that a band of Wahpekutas were camped at Lake Madison, having three white women as captives. The fourth, Mrs. Thatcher, had been killed when crossing the Big Sioux. They at once set about rescuing the women, but it took all the property they had to purchase the release of one, and the choice fell on Mrs. Margaret Ann Marble. The young men treated her with the utmost kindness, and on May 21st, 1857, delivered her to Dr. Riggs, and later were given a small reward by the government for this service.

The matter of rescuing the other two women was now taken up by Dr. Riggs and Judge Flandrau, and on the 30th day of May, three Christian Indians, Paul Mazakuta-mani, Angpetu Tokecha (Otherday), and Chetanmaza (Grass), were sent on the difficult mission. Before they reached the hostile Indians, Mrs. Noble had been killed, but they managed to purchase the release of Miss Abbie Gardner, and on June 23rd, at the Fuller House in St. Paul, she was formally delivered by them to the governor.

About the last of June a son of Inkpaduta ventured down to the camp of White Lodge, on the Yellow Medicine river, in quest of a wife. His presence there coming to the knowledge of the authorities, a detachment of soldiers and friendly Indians were sent to apprehend him, and as he was trying to escape he was shot and killed by one of the Indians.

The government now insisted that the Indians punish the Inkpaduta murderers, on penalty of withholding their annuities until it was done. After much protest on the part of the Indians, they were finally induced to undertake an expedition against the outlaws. They left Yellow Medicine on July 22nd, in charge of A. J. Campbell, the United States interpreter. There were in this party one hundred and six Indians, prominent among whom were the notorious Little Crow and four half breeds, two of whom were John and Baptiste Campbell, who some years later were hung at Mankato. It is claimed that this expedition came upon Inkpaduta's band about July 28th, near Lake Madison in South Dakota, and killed three of them and captured two squaws and a boy. This was the only attempt made to punish these murderers.

The band soon afterwards fled with their chief into the British possessions far beyond Prince Albert, where, it is said, some of their descendants still live.

Thus do we recall the first of our Sioux massacres, a time that tried the souls of the pioneers. Its origin was unfortunate and its results disastrous. It cost the whites the loss of some property, but much more it cost the loss of forty-five precious lives.

More important than all else, perhaps, it cost a loss of prestige with the Sioux, for they saw how easily a mere handful of them could destroy many white people without the loss of a warrior, and how impotent the whites were to punish the injury done them, as all the punishment that Inkpaduta received had to be inflicted upon him by the Indians themselves.

These considerations had great weight with Little Crow and his followers, five years later, in deciding on the second and greater massacre.

THE SITE OF LE SUEUR'S FORT L'HUILLIER.*

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

No event in the annals of old Louisiana appeals more to our interest than the founding in 1700 of Fort L'Huillier. The daring enterprise of Le Sueur in pushing so far into the very heart of the wilderness, the romantic records we possess of the adventures he and his followers met, and the mysterious copper mine which they claimed to have discovered, all contribute to our zest in the story, and especially so since the scene is laid in our midst.

In spite, however, of the attention paid to this historical event, no special attempt has heretofore been made to locate upon the ground the exact site of the old fort.

To aid in determining the location, we possess three nearly contemporary authorities: first, an extract from the daily journal of Le Sueur, the leader of the expedition, which La Harpe copied into his history of Louisiana; second, the Relation of Penicaut, a ship carpenter, who was a member of Le Sueur's party, and whose account of the founding of the fort and life therein, as given by him in Paris some years later, was written down by a friend, and preserved; third, early French maps of this locality, on which the fort is designated.

From these original sources we learn that the fort was situated on the Blue Earth river, about a league from its mouth, on the east bank, close by and just below where its eastern tributary (designated on one map the "St. Remi," on another the "St. Henry," and on later maps as the "Le Sueur") empties into the Blue Earth, on a point of land about a quarter of a league distant from the timber. Three quarters of a league above it, on the Blue Earth river, were the copper mines of green earth.

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* Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 14, 1904.

It is also stated that the fort was situated at 44 degrees and 13 minutes north latitude; but, by reason of the evident inaccuracy of any such calculation which Le Sueur could then make, it has little value as an exact statement.

As the fort consisted of three or four log cabins inclosed by a log palisade, the timber used in its construction must have been conveniently obtained, since Le Sueur's party had no means to transport it except by hand. It is also evident that in selecting a site for a fort it would be natural to fix upon the strongest and most commanding position in the vicinity where good water and building material were handy.

Right at the confluence of the Le Sueur and Blue Earth rivers stands a large natural mound, about sixty to seventy-five feet high, with a few acres of fairly level land on its top. It is on the right or eastern bank of the Blue Earth river, and just below the mouth of the Le Sueur river. Its side toward the Le Sueur is so precipitous that no timber can grow thereon, and its side toward the Blue Earth river is extremely abrupt, but wooded; while in its rear lies a small fertile valley, extending from one river to the other, and varying in width from a quarter to half a mile or more. This valley, now called the "Red Jacket valley," in its original state was a strip of meadow land, which cut the mound off from the timber and bluffs beyond. The sides of the mound toward this valley are also quite steep, but were always, as now, grass-covered, with here and there a few scattering bur oaks.

The top of the mound is now a cultivated field; but originally it had a grove of two or three acres of heavy timber upon it. The highest point is immediately opposite the junction of the two rivers, where this grove once stood. It is a most commanding spot and affords a magnificent view of the Blue Earth and Le Sueur valleys.

Some of the early settlers remember noticing, before the land was grubbed and cultivated, indications of an old excavation just at this point. The place by actual measurement is distant from the mouth of the Blue Earth river about a French league, or somewhat less than three miles; and the bed of blue or green clay, which the Indians used for pigment, and which Le Sueur supposed to contain copper, is found three-quarters of a league farther up the Blue Earth, in its southeastern bluff, and nowhere else.

On the very top of the mound, and within a few feet of where the fort must have stood, a fine large spring of running water gushes forth, which in pioneer days never failed in summer or winter.

In fact, the top of this mound tallies exactly with all the data we possess regarding the fort's location, while no other spot tallies with any of them.

A careful study of the foregoing facts, with a thorough personal inspection of the country, made many times during the summer of this year 1904, has convinced the writer beyond a doubt that this natural mound at the mouth of the Le Sueur river, on the farm now owned by Mr. J. H. Ray, is the site of the old Fort L'Huillier; and this conclusion is fully and unanimously concurred in by Gen. James H. Baker, Judge Lorin Cray, and Prof. U. O. Cox, who in September of this year personally investigated the sites of both the copper mine and the fort.

DISCOVERY OF THE SKELETONS OF MANY SIOUX KILLED IN WAR, BURIED NEAR FORT L'HUILLIER.*

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

Last June (1907) a Blue Earth county farmer, named William Mitchell, while digging into a mound on his farm for some gravel came upon a large number of headless human skeletons.

The mound in question is a mere natural formation and of a very common appearance. It embraces about half an acre of ground, and rises only about four or five feet above the adjoining land. It is located in a bit of pasture land in the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 33 in South Bend township, Blue Earth county. At the western foot of the mound lies a boggy swale extending northeast and southwest. Originally the mound and all the land east of this swale to the Le Sueur river, about a mile distant, were covered with timber. Since the mound lay in the margin of the woods at the edge of the meadow or swale, the trees on it were never very large or numerous, but there was a thick growth of underbrush. The trees and brush were cleared off, however, a number of years ago.

The earliest settlers claim that when they first came into the country, in 1853, '54, and '55, the principal Indian trail leading out of the Minnesota valley, the Big Woods, and the Mankato country, into the regions along the Blue Earth and the vast plains beyond in the south and southwest, passed through the present city of Mankato and over the Walker hill into the Red Jacket valley, where it skirted along the foot of the mound upon which in 1700 Le Sueur had built Fort L'Huillier, when prospecting along the Blue Earth river for the blue or green earth supposed to be an ore of copper. At the western foot of that mound the trail crossed

* Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, October 14, 1907.

the Le Sueur river and ascended the opposite bluff, and, following the highest ground, passed over the top of this small mound now on the Mitchell land about a mile and three-quarters southwest of the site of the old fort.

Seventeen skeletons have been found, all of them headless and belonging to adult males. Two flint arrowheads, with broken points, were found among the bones; and had any search been made before the skeletons and the gravel about them had been removed, doubtless more arrowheads would have been discovered. These arrowheads, and the fact that the bodies were decapitated, indicate strongly that the seventeen were killed by some savage foe. It is very evident, also, that the bodies were buried in dug graves, as the ground over them showed clearly that it had been disturbed, —chunks of clay and considerable gravel being found near the top, while some black soil was discovered near the bottom,—but elsewhere than above the bodies, the black soil, gravel and clay were in their natural positions.

The bodies had all been laid out after the manner of white men in burial. Each body had been laid on its back, with the arms close to the sides and both legs stretched side by side. Nothing was found with the skeletons except the two arrowheads above mentioned. The graves were from two and a half to three feet in depth. In one instance at least four bodies had been laid side by side in one grave. The dug graves, the laying out of the bodies, and the absence of aboriginal implements and trinkets, indicate very strongly that the burial was the work of white men.

The bones looked very old, and the gravelly knoll was well adapted for their preservation. It is certain that no such slaughter or burial has occurred in this locality since the advent of the white settlers into Blue Earth county in 1852. Neither was there any indication then of any graves on the spot, nor any tradition among the Indians, as far as known, of any such slaughter. Since the establishment of Fort Snelling, through the creation of the Sioux Agency, the planting of trading posts by the American Fur Company under General Sibley, and the founding of the Sioux mission stations by the American Board, all in the Minnesota valley, and each furnishing regular written reports, the events of the valley have been fairly well known. But there is no account of any white

men being killed or lost in the region of the Blue Earth; and it is hard to conceive of so many whites being killed, and afterward buried by white men, without history knowing something about it. It is indeed hard to believe that even so many Indians could have been massacred in this locality since Fort Snelling was established, and we not know of it.

To whom, then, do these skeletons belong? Who did the killing, and who performed the burial?

The Indians were not in the habit of burying in dug graves. They had no tools adapted for digging. They sometimes would lay a body on the surface of the ground and raise a mound over it with loose earth carried in baskets, but that was not the way in this case.

The only time prior to the coming of the present settlers when there were any white people in this locality who possessed implements for digging, was in 1700 and 1701, when Le Sueur maintained here at Fort L'Huillier a company of French miners prospecting for copper.

From Penicaut's account of this expedition we learn that the fort was abandoned in the late summer or autumn of 1701, because of an attack made in its vicinity by a band of Maskoutins and Foxes, allied tribes of Wisconsin Indians, who killed three Frenchmen in some woods about two gun-shots beyond the fort. Penicaut himself had left the fort the previous spring, and hence his statement regarding this matter is very meager and it is evident that he did not know any of the particulars.

On pages 48 and 49 of the "History of the Minnesota Valley" is given a letter dated August 31st, 1703, written by La Mothe Cadillac, then in command at the French post at Detroit. From this letter we learn that just at this time there was a very bitter warfare between the Foxes and their allies on one hand and the Sioux on the other, that the former were determined to prevent the French from establishing trading posts among their enemies, the Sioux, and that Le Sueur's expedition to the Blue Earth country had particularly aroused their opposition.

It is therefore not improbable that this mound may mark the spot where, in 1701, a large band of Fox and Maskoutin or Miami warriors made an ambush for a number of the Sioux as they were

coming into or out of the fort; that they carried away the heads of their detested foes as trophies for the scalp dance; and, word of the terrible catastrophe which had befallen the Sioux being immediately carried to the fort close by, that the garrison of miners who then occupied it went out with their picks and shovels and buried the bodies. These Frenchmen must have been quite intimately acquainted with this band of Blue Earth Sioux as they had been among them about a year, and even common humanity, aside from friendship, would dictate to the simple miners the propriety of giving their red friends the rite of burial, especially since their bodies lay on or beside the main road or trail, within a mile and three-quarters from the fort. As the twelve who composed the garrison at this time, with d'Eraque, their commander, all seem to have reported later, in the spring of 1702, at the French settlements near the mouth of the Mississippi, it is evident that none of them were killed. It appears, however, that traders frequented the fort, and the three Frenchmen reported by Penicaut to have been killed may have been attached to them, and if there were three whites among the slain it would add another incentive for the burial. Such a massacre, so close to Fort L'Huillier, and inspired partly as a protest to its establishment, would naturally terrify the miners and give good reason for their sudden abandonment of it.

While in a measure this explanation of mine is a theory, still it seems to me to be the only theory which will fully accord with all the facts of this recent discovery.

ADDRESS AT FORT SNELLING IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE TREATY OF PIKE WITH THE SIOUX.*

BY GEN. JAMES H. BAKER.

EARLY EXPLORERS, MISSIONARIES, AND TRADERS.

The region denominated Minnesota is not a land wholly devoid of ancient annals. It is true we have no venerable ruins or broken temples, no turreted castles, no specters of dead empires, to salute the eye. But there are some legacies of the immemorial past which may fill the soul of the antiquary with respect for our elder days. In some remote age the mound builders were here, and left traces of pottery, stone, and copper, which baffle our archæological friends.

In the twilight of our recorded history came the intrepid Le Sueur, with his bronzed followers, passing this very point more than two hundred years ago, with the daring spirit of Cortez or Pizarro in quest of fabled gold.

The Jesuit fathers also appear upon the scene, Allouez, Marquette, and other devoted missionaries, who planted the banner of the cross amid our northern Indian tribes. They imprinted their early presence as nomenclators, calling rivers, lakes, and islands for their patron saints. The people of the Northwest are yet to build a monument to the memory of these immortal followers of Loyola.

After these came the great British fur companies, lords of the North, who exercised dominion and power far away from the eye of civilization, with wonderful stories of despotism and adventure. Violence, bloodshed, and open war, marked the career of conflicting interests.

* This Celebration was on September 23, 1905. In the series of speakers, General Baker represented the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers and the Minnesota Historical Society.

Following these was the advent of American influence, and Astor, Crooks, Stewart, Oakes, Borup, and other bold and adventurous spirits, raised the American flag on our northern confines.

What a panorama of wonderful life was here enacted! Religious enthusiasm first gave our northern regions to the world, and the great fur companies afterward held them with baronial power. These were the scenes of the long ago, which may yet fill pages of our history with all the fascination of romance.

Such was the grand prelude to our own day, when John C. Calhoun's memorable order to Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth flung open the gates of the Northwest on the golden hinges of opportunity, and thence came that stream of progressive changes, the end of which no prophet can foresee.

THE TREATY BY PIKE IN 1805.

One hundred years ago this day Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, in behalf of the United States, and certain chiefs of the Sioux nation, at a council duly held on the island within our view, which bears his name, purchased this tract of land, "from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, up the Mississippi, to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river." For this grant of land $200 in sundry presents and sixty gallons of whiskey were paid in hand, and $2,000 more in cash at a later period. Whiskey then, as later, seemed to be necessary to baptize an Indian bargain.

Subsequently, in 1817, Major Stephen H. Long, of the United States army, in a report to the war department, recommended this locality at the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers as a suitable site for a permanent fort. There it rested till events in the Northwest revived the subject. The treaty of 1818 with England, fixing our northwestern boundary, was treated lightly by our English neighbors, and the trading posts of the great fur companies were not withdrawn, though Lieutenant Pike, with a fearless hand, had torn down the British flag wherever displayed. A tide of white settlers was setting toward the Northwest, and the savages of the country, yet under British influence, were to be repressed.

BUILDING AND NAMING THE FORT.

John C. Calhoun was then secretary of war under President Monroe. The patriotism of the secretary was as wide as the country. Two generations have carped at Calhoun, subsequently the great apostle of human slavery; but at that hour he was our friend, and issued the momentous order which opened the doors of Minnesota to settlement and civilization. He directed Henry Leavenworth, Lieutenant Colonel of the Fifth United States Infantry, to transfer the bulk of his regiment, then rendezvoused at Detroit, Michigan, to the junction of the St. Peter's (now the Minnesota) and Mississippi rivers, for the purpose of establishing a military post at that vital point, on ground covered by Pike's sleeping treaty.

A tedious and perilous journey, through a tangled wilderness, brought Leavenworth and his command to the Mendota side of the St. Peter's river, where, in September, 1819, the first cantonment was formed which foreshadowed the fort yet to come. The high water of the ensuing spring flooded the camp, and Colonel Leavenworth hastily moved over the St. Peter's river to some well known springs, and called the new place "Camp Coldwater." It was nearly a mile above the present fort, on the Mississippi river, where the new cantonment was made. Leavenworth next prepared plans for a permanent fort, and the site selected was about three hundred yards west of the present fort, and on the first rise back from the river. These plans were subsequently materially altered by his successor, Colonel Snelling.

Leavenworth named the post "Fort St. Anthony." The material used was hewed logs and lumber. Of the latter much was required for so large a fort. They found all that was necessary on the Rum river. A muley sawmill was erected at the Falls of St. Anthony, and the logs were cut with a whip-saw. All the labor was done by the soldiers of the command.

During the winter of 1819-20, the scurvy broke out in a most malignant form, and more than forty died. Thus a cemetery was made, coeval with the founding of the fort. It was the autumn of 1823, before the soldiers' barracks were so far completed as to permit their occupancy, and the officers' quarters were partially occupied that winter.

In June, 1821, Col. Josiah Snelling, of the Fifth Infantry, succeeded Leavenworth, who was promoted to the colonelcy of another regiment. The new commander changed the entire plan of the fort, and the location was moved to its present site. On the 10th of September, 1821, the corner stone was laid, and formal ceremonies were held; the band played, songs were sung, and whiskey was issued to the joyous throng. The stone for building the fort was quarried from the very bluff on which the structure rose. The soldiers did the work, and were paid wages as mechanics. The design was diamond-shaped, to accommodate itself to the conformation of the bluff.

Thus the fortress rose, with tower and outlook, guardhouse and hospital, commissary and barracks, offices and chapel, walls and parapets. It stood overlooking the confluence of two noble streams, like a castle upon the Rhine, at once the cradle and defense of our earliest civilization. And now, looking at its origin and all it has been and is, there should be written on its bastioned front the memorial of John C. Calhoun. The first commander, mindful of the man who gave him the order to erect this post, named one of the large and beautiful lakes not far away, in the southwestern part of the present city of Minneapolis, Lake Calhoun; and the other was named for Colonel Leavenworth's wife, Lake Harriet.

Gen. Winfield Scott visited the fort in 1824, and he was so pleased with the energy and activity with which Colonel Snelling had pushed the work of construction that he earnestly recommended that the fort be called Fort Snelling, in honor of its efficient builder. This recommendation was approved, and a special order was issued to that effect.

OFFICERS OF FORT SNELLING.

It is no purpose of this paper to pursue in detail the wonderful story of civilization building at this remote post, however intensely interesting. The procession of the years moved on in these then solitudes, and with them occurred those peculiar histories which mark military posts in the wilderness. There were joys and sorrows, loves and hates, peace and passion, marriages and deaths, some drinking and immorality, with noble, daring and chivalric honor, —the memories of all of these cluster about this historic spot. But, amid it all, the propulsive force of the presence of this citadel of the nation's power went on and made for civilization.

From 1819 to 1900 more than a hundred commanding officers came and went. Their influence, their individuality, their brother officers, their wives, made this place the center where culture and refinement shed light and luster into the barbaric world by which they were surrounded. The elevated tone and culture of those who from time to time comprised its official life had a most admirable influence upon the rugged early settlers, softening and refining our first society. That elevating influence has never perished. The fort was the West Point of our primitive society.

The long list of commanding officers included a splendid body of men whose character and ability were an honor to the service. Many of them became conspicuous in the great struggle of the Civil War. There was the stately Terry, the gallant Gibbon, and Canby, the hero of Mobile, which are historic names.

Colonel Josiah Snelling is entitled to special notice. Though he had the vice of his times, drinking, yet his duties as an officer were diligently performed. He possessed energy, push, and special ability to deal with the situation. He was sent here to build a fort adapted to the extreme frontier; and he built, for that day, an imposing fortress, and under conditions, as to material and labor, of the very poorest. Gen. Winfield Scott declared the building to be most admirable. Snelling deserves a statue, or a memorial tablet, and I trust the time will come when it will be erected on these grounds.

It must be remembered, too, that this fort furnished one president of the United States. Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor was here as commander from May 24, 1828, to July 12, 1829. Subsequently he was the hero of the Mexican war, winning renown on many battlefields. He became the idol of the American people, who recognized his integrity and superb courage, and by a burst of popular favor they raised him to the highest office in their gift. He had four daughters, some of them lively girls at this fortress; and the youngest of them became the wife of Lieut. Jefferson Davis, by an extraordinary elopement. Taylor was said by tradition to have been rigid in domestic matters, and when tattoo was sounded he would send the young gallants to their quarters.

THE MISSISSIPPI AND STEAMBOATING.

Many things affected the fortunes of those early days, most of all, perhaps, the Mississippi river. For thousands of years its turbid waters had kissed the feet of yonder promontory awaiting the coming of the Anglo-Saxon. Great lakes and great rivers are the highways which the Almighty has prepared for the developing of the interior of great continents. Corporations cannot own or control them. They are, as the oceans, free. This mighty stream ministered to the necessities and comforts of the new fort.

The great event of those years of solitude was the arrival of a steamboat. When the smoke, gracefully curling amid the green trees, told that a boat was coming, it brought out the women, officers and men, and the startled Indians from their wigwams, and filled the very air with expectancy and joy. Then came the mail, the letters, the news,—and the wilderness, for a vivid moment, touched the very heart of the great throbbing world beyond.

This Amazonian river was then the one vast artery of trade and travel, the magnet which drew all things to its ever flowing current. Gathering up scores of affluents, and receiving the outflow from a thousand distant lakes, it was the living thread that held all commercial and social life. Mighty changes have been wrought, and the stream is denied some of its primitive power; yet it still flows on through its murmuring pines and by rocky shores, singing as it goes Tennyson's cheery song,

"For men may come and men may go,
But I go on forever."

FAMOUS GUESTS.

The visits of distinguished men to the fort were inspiring events to the secluded garrison. Gen. Winfield Scott in 1824 was entertained right royally at the fort. He was the guest of Colonel Snelling. All the officers and their wives and daughters, ten in number, were present at his reception, and the ladies were distinguished by their elegant dress and flashing diamonds.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the noted scholar and the discoverer of the sources of the Mississippi, was their guest in July, 1832.

Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, a distinguished savant and famous as an astronomer, in 1836 studied the stars from the old tower through

our clear atmosphere. He was the most congenial and polite of all the foreigners who ever visited the fort.

Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan and a statesman of high repute, was here in 1820.

George Catlin, famous for his work on the North American Indians, studied the habits and costumes of the savages under the protection of the fort, where he long had a studio.

Count Beltrami, an Italian of finished education, a great explorer and author, was here during Colonel Snelling's day. We have a county named in his honor.

Gen. John C. Fremont, of fame as an explorer, and afterward the first Republican candidate for the presidency, was here as a guest in 1838. He was a friend and companion while here of Nicollet.

Captain Frederick Marryat, the English author who wrote "Peter Simple" and "Midshipman Easy," was at the fort in 1837. His "Diary in America," which provoked such hot discussion, was partly written at the fort. General Sibley pronounced him "rough and conceited" in character.

The visits of such men as these did much to keep the garrison in healthy touch with the outside world, and to give education and tone to officials and men.

Life at a frontier post is not always peaceful and happy. Two duels are of record in which blood flowed. In 1826 a young officer fought a duel with the son of Colonel Snelling, whom he wounded. At the court-martial which tried the case, the accused objected to the testimony of an officer on the ground that he was an infidel. As a result of this allegation, another duel followed, and more blood flowed.

SLAVES AT FORT SNELLING.

It may surprise some of you to know that slavery once actually existed on Minnesota soil. Fort Snelling was the scene. The facts are essentially these: Major Taliaferro, who was Indian agent for so many years, had inherited a number of slaves, whom he brought to Fort Snelling in 1825. Surgeon Emerson and Major Garland also brought slaves to the post about the same time. Major Garland sold a negro man to Alexis Bailly, by bill of sale, who retained him in slavery. Taliaferro hired out his slaves, male and female, to the officers of the garrison as servants.

Surgeon Emerson possessed a slave at the post by the name of Dred Scott, which name was destined to become a household word throughout the nation, and to vitally disturb the politics of the whole country for years. Dr. Emerson bought from Major Taliaferro a pretty mulatto girl named Harriet, who had broken many hearts in the garrison. Scott and Harriet were married at the fort in 1836 by the Indian agent. They had two children, Eliza and Lizzie. Subsequently Dr. Emerson was ordered to St. Louis, and he sold the four slaves to one Sandford, his brother-in-law. These slaves afterward brought suit for their freedom, which suit was carried to the supreme court of the United States, and thence came the Dred Scott decision, so celebrated in our political history. Thus the humble slave of Fort Snelling, in his appeal for personal liberty, did more for the overthrow of American slavery than the march of armies or the eloquence of senates.

JOSEPH RENSHAW BROWN.

To notice the history of this fort without the mention of Major Joseph Brown, whom I so well knew, would be to omit one of the most conspicuous and imperial characters there introduced into our frontier life. Joseph Renshaw Brown came to the site of Fort Snelling in 1819 as a drummer boy of the troops who came to build the fort. Without education, but with a vigorous intellect, strong common sense, measureless energy, and boundless good humor, his life was typical of our frontier days. Living with the unlearned, he became a ruler; but had he been bred in Boston he would have been one of the foremost men of the Athens of America.

Whether as a soldier, a trader, a politician, a legislator, or a journalist, he was a positive power. A self-cultivated and self-organized power, he laid his forming hand on everything in the territory. Others may have had more shining qualities, but Brown was the greater man. He was the Warwick of his day, and out-witted politicians called him "Joe, the Juggler."

His culture was what was shed upon him from the fort. If in the wigwam he was a barbarian, in the capital he was a statesman. Of all the men who came to Minnesota by way of the fort, in point of force, tact, influence, vigor of intellect and diversity of power, precedence must ever be given to Joseph R. Brown.

HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY.

With this portrait should go a companion picture; and yet the man I shall mention was totally unlike Brown. Henry Hastings Sibley came to Mendota in 1834, and at once established himself there, adjoining Fort Snelling, as agent of the American Fur Company. Young, tall, strong, with a fine intellect, speaking French like a Parisian, he came to assert himself in the surroundings of a purely savage life, an era which tested his individuality. Soon his force and genius were felt in the grand drama then being enacted. He was the annex to the fort near by, supplementing it in the work of delivering over the wilderness to civilization. Refined by the very nature of his constitution, his home became like a court on the frontier. He was, in fact, the baron of the border, and the stone house which he built in 1835, still standing at Mendota, was the castle where he dwelt as a cavalier, and dispensed a most generous hospitality.

We must ever admire the nobility of Sibley's character, his integrity, his open, frank and undissembling manner, his cultured tastes, the soundness of his judgment, his unflagging industry, and his pure patriotism. To take him out of our early history would be like dropping Adams or Franklin from the period of the Revolution. He stood for all that was good, refining, and forceful, in our formative period. He was one of the noblest of the august fathers of this State. In his greatness and usefulness, he was out-ranked by no man, save it be Alexander Ramsey, and these two stand as twin Corinthian pillars, sustaining and adorning the creative period of our Commonwealth.

CHARLOTTE OUISCONSIN VAN CLEVE.

I should also do wrong to this occasion, were I to omit the name of Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve. Her father was Major Nathan Clark, of the regular army. She was born July 1, 1819, at Fort Crawford, while her parents were on the way from Detroit to this place. She spent eight years of her earliest life on these historic grounds. She witnessed the arrival of the first steamboat, the "Virginia," which visited the fort. Her memory has been a storehouse of historical reminiscences, and her writings have adorned many pages of our history.

The friend of the Indian, the mother of the poor, she richly deserves to be tenderly remembered. Honored by all, she still lives in Minneapolis, her head crowned with the frost of years, the snows that never melt; and today she is present at this memorial celebration.

HISTORY OF THIS FORT AND RESERVATION.

Notwithstanding the treaty made by Pike in 1805, the Indian claim to the reservation was not wholly extinguished until the treaty of 1837, which was ratified by the senate in 1838. Many settlers even located on the land, and they were only forcibly removed by the government in 1840.

The reservation was reduced from time to time by sales of land. But in 1857 the whole reservation was in imminent danger of being abolished as a military reserve. Franklin Steele, formerly the fort sutler, privately negotiated with John B. Floyd, then secretary of war, for the reservation, including the buildings. The sum to be paid was $90,000, of which $30,000 was actually paid. Floyd withdrew the troops, and Steele assumed possession.

Associated with Steele was one Dr. Archibald Graham of Virginia. Strange to relate, this Graham, as it was afterward developed in testimony, was a silent partner of Floyd himself. The infamous secretary was guilty of "graft" in the transaction. Later on a Congressional investigation was had. It was then that Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, denounced the sale as "one of Floyd's infernal fly-blown contracts." Recognition of the attempted sale was strenuously resisted in Congress, chiefly by Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, then in the House of Representatives. A suit at law between the government and Steele resulted in a compromise, the government reserving to itself 1,531 acres, including the buildings, and turning the remaining part over to Steele in satisfaction of his claim.

The United States government resumed possession of the fort in 1861, and thus this noble military reservation was saved and perpetuated. After that time, however, its fortunes languished till in 1878 Gen. Alfred Terry, then in command of the department, earnestly recommended additional buildings, and Alexander Ramsey, then fortunately secretary of war, made liberal appropriations for quarters and grounds. Thus the tide was turned, which has

resulted in making Fort Snelling one of the most complete military posts in possession of the government. And so long as the United States of America has an army, so long will this grand old fort be maintained for military purposes.

During the Civil War, Fort Snelling again became the scene of life and military activity. Company by company the Minnesota regiments for the South rendezvoused at the fort, and were mustered into service by Captain Nelson. If you call the roster of first colonels of those regiments only two are now living, Col. William Crooks, of the Sixth, and myself, of the Tenth. The life and pageantry at the fort in those days was grand and impressive. How many brave and gallant sons of Minnesota went forth from Fort Snelling, to battle for the Republic, and, alas, how many never returned!

This confluence of the waters of the St. Peter's and Mississippi rivers was a noted spot in the years long gone by. The very atmosphere of this unique headland is perfumed with some of the earliest and most romantic events recorded in our history. It is therefore a consecrated and venerable spot, where we celebrate this commemorative day.

This occasion will soon pass into history. None here assembled will behold its return. Who shall gather in this place a century hence to celebrate a like occasion? Will the bugles of war then have ceased to sound? Will Janus forever have closed his temple? Will this fortress be converted into a temple for the arts of peace? When war shall have forever "smoothed his wrinkled front," will the state university itself, grown greater than Heidelberg or Oxford, with its thousands of students, be transferred hither, to find wider scope for culture and art?

But whosoever they shall be, they will assuredly recount the proceedings of this day. They will celebrate then, as we do now, the story of the awakening of a great empire. Whosoever they may be, we bid them welcome to these groves, to these healthful skies, to these verdant valleys, to these everlasting hills. May the end of that second century find them in the enjoyment of good government, of civil liberty, of perpetual peace, with an opulence of culture, all crowned with the genius of Christianity herself.

THE LIFE AND MILITARY SERVICES OF ZEBULON M. PIKE.*

BY THE SECRETARY, WARREN UPHAM.

Every human life is an interesting drama. Grandly so, and truly noble, was the life of Zebulon Montgomery Pike; and it ended with a halo of immortal glory, as a patriot soldier who died for his country.

He was born in Lamberton (now a part of Trenton), N. J., January 5, 1779. His father was a captain in the Revolution, and continued in the federal army service. The son, Zebulon Montgomery, was of slender form in his boyhood, of pale and very fair complexion, with a gentle and retiring disposition, but with a resolute spirit. He received only a scanty common school education. At the age of fifteen years he began service as a cadet in his father's regiment, and was promoted when twenty years old to the rank of first lieutenant.

From Gen. James Wilkinson, in command on the Mississippi, Lieut. Pike received orders in 1805 to conduct an expedition to its upper streams and lakes, for several purposes, as to negotiate treaties with the Indians, to secure a conformity with the laws of the United States by the agents of the Northwest Company and others engaged at the far north in the fur trade, and to extend geographic exploration. Pike started from St. Louis, on this expedition, August 9, 1805, with twenty soldiers, in a keel boat seventy feet long, provisioned for four months.

On the 23rd day of September, 1805, on the island at the mouth of the Minnesota river, since called Pike island, he made a formal purchase by treaty, from chiefs of the Dakotas or Sioux, of a large tract reaching from the Minnesota river to the Falls of

* An address given in the Pike Centennial Celebrations, at Fort Snelling, September 23, and at Little Falls, October 16, 1905.

St. Anthony, and another tract at the mouth of the St. Croix river, these lands passing thus to the ownership of the United States for military purposes.

Proceeding up the Mississippi, Pike and his party were overtaken by early snow and cold, on October 16th, and were obliged to winter at Pike rapids, in what is now Morrison county. The site of his stockaded encampment, or fort, has been identified there, on the west shore of the river, by Hon. Nathan Richardson, of Little Falls. The party relied largely on the abundant game of the region for their sustenance.

In the winter, setting out December 10th, Pike advanced afoot, with a few of his men, to Sandy, Leech, and Cass lakes, attained the objects of his expedition concerning the relations of the fur traders to the United States, and returned to the fort at Pike rapids on the 5th of March. Thence descending the Mississippi, he reached St. Louis on the last day of April, 1806. His very interesting journal gives our earliest detailed description of the upper Mississippi region above the mouth of Elk river, with many names of lakes and streams, and a definite view of the conditions then prevailing at the fur-trading posts.

After a few weeks, Pike was again despatched by General Wilkinson, to treat with the Indian tribes and explore the country west and southwest of St. Louis, to the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers. In this second expedition, on December 3, 1806, he measured the altitude of the very conspicuous mountain in central Colorado which has been since called Pike's Peak. Proceeding southward and unintentionally entering Spanish territory, Pike and his small command encountered Spanish troops, and he was summoned before the governor of Santa Fe, but, after considerable delay, was permitted to return into the United States.

The journals of these expeditions were published by Pike in 1810; in the following year an English edition from his manuscripts was issued in London; and in the years 1812 and 1813 French and Dutch editions were published. In 1889 the English edition was reprinted at Denver; and in 1895 an annotated reprint from the original of 1810, with a memoir of Pike, was published by Dr. Elliott Coues, who was aided in geographic notes for Minnesota by the late Alfred J. Hill, of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Besides reproducing Pike's maps, Dr. Coues added a very elaborate "Historico-Geographical Chart of the Upper Mississippi River," which gives lists of the names applied by successive maps and authors to each of the many streams and lakes above the Falls of St. Anthony.

During the second war with Great Britain, Pike received rapid promotion, and on March 12, 1813, was commissioned as brigadier general. In the attack on York (now Toronto), Canada, he was killed April 27, 1813, with many others, both of the United States and British troops, by the explosion of a British magazine.

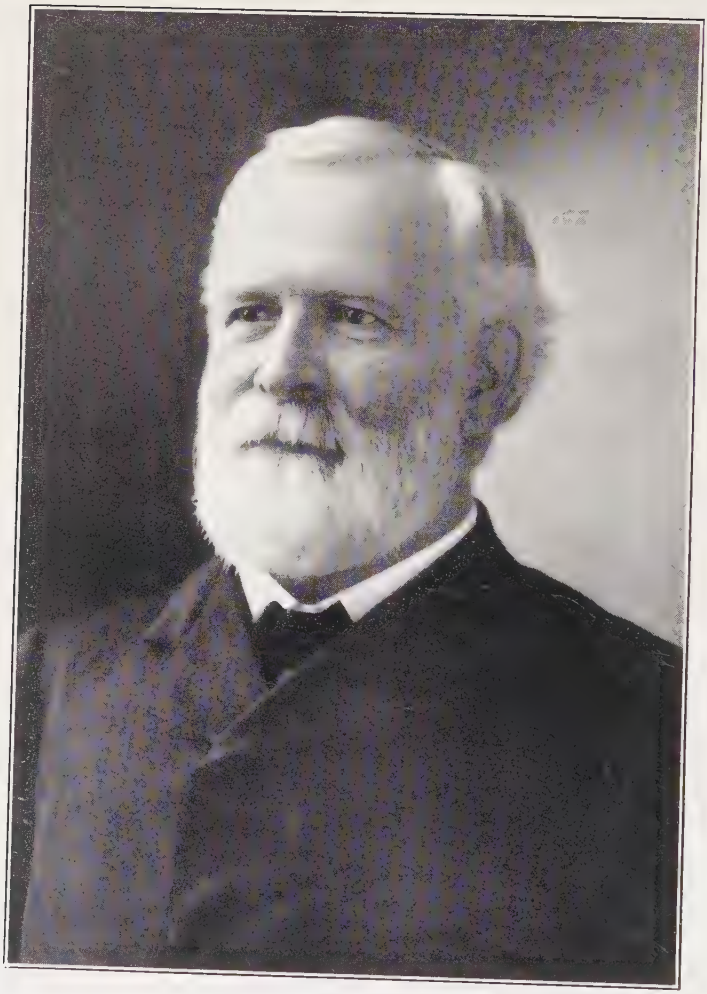
No other explorer of Minnesota more deserves recognition and honor. It may well be hoped that his name shall be given to some county yet to be formed adjoining or including Leech lake or Cass lake.

Pike died, like General Wolfe before Quebec, just when his troops had won a very important battle. As Coues wrote: "Each led to the assault; each conquered; each fell in the arms of victory; each is said to have pillowed his head on the stricken colors of the defenders."

The circumstances of General Pike's death enshrined him as a hero and martyr in the hearts of all his countrymen. Coues thus described his last hours:

"The dying general was carried to a boat at the lake side and conveyed to the Pert, whence he was taken aboard the flagship Madison. Some recorded words of his last moments need not be scanned with critical eye. When those who bore their fallen leader reached the boat, the huzza of the troops fell upon his ears. 'What does it mean?' he feebly asked. 'Victory!' was the reply; 'the Union Jack is coming down, General,—the Stars and Stripes are going up.' The dying hero's face lighted up with a smile of ecstasy. His spirit lingered a few hours. Before the end came, the British flag was brought to him. He made a sign to place it under his head; and thus he expired."

His life was crowned with a happy and glorious death, the patriot's supreme test and reward. Sweet and beautiful it is to die for the fatherland.



Edw'd C. Mitchell.

Minnesota Historical Society.
Vol. XII. Plate XIII.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS RECENTLY DONATED TO THIS SOCIETY.*

BY REV. EDWARD CRAIG MITCHELL.

Mr. President and Members of the Minnesota Historical Society: I am asked to lead you in a rapid excursion through the archæological collections which recently I had the pleasure of presenting to this Society, and more especially to give you first some idea of such relics as were found in the State of Minnesota.

As we are assembled in the Old Capitol, because here we have the most convenient audience room for these meetings, while the collections are in this Society's Museum in the New Capitol, it may strike you as in the nature of an "Irish bull" for me to offer to lead you into and through a locality in which we shall not be present, but we may make an imaginary excursion.

THE MITCHELL AND BROWER COLLECTIONS.

The collections donated by me, which this Historical Society has kindly named "The Mitchell Collection," comprise about 21,500 pieces, or relics, made of stone, bone, shell, horn, copper, pottery, and a very few of brass, lead, iron, glass, and wood. As I am still adding to the collection every few days, the number of pieces will increase, probably as long as I have charge of it as curator. The collection now rests in the fine museum room, 41 feet by 17 feet, in the southeast corner of the New Capitol, and on the "ground floor," occupying fourteen new and large plate-glass cases, provided for this purpose by the Society. Thirteen of these cases contain relics found in the United States, and one case contains relics from all over the world outside of the United States.

*Read at monthly meetings of the Executive Council, February 12 and April 9, 1906.

This room also has four other cases, yet remaining empty, in which selected portions of the very extensive archæological collections of the late Hon. J. V. Brower, gathered for this Society partly from Minnesota and partly from all the area reaching west to the Rocky mountains and south to Kansas, are later to be displayed.

To show the general character of the Mitchell Collection, I will say that Case 1 contains relics from America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica; Cases 2 and 3 are devoted to Wisconsin; Cases 4 and 5, to Minnesota; Case 6, to Illinois and Pennsylvania; Case 7, to Ohio; Case 8, to Oregon and California; Case 9, to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alaska; Case 10, to Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina; Case 11, to Indiana, Colorado, North Dakota, and South Dakota; Case 12, to Arizona, New Mexico, New Jersey, Michigan, Iowa, and Washington; Case 13, to Arkansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Georgia, New York, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, and unplaced relics; Case 14, to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Kansas.

These relics I have collected, either by finding, or purchase, or exchange, or gift, from the year 1847 (when, as a little boy, I found a stone axe near my home in Philadelphia) up to the present time.

RELICS FROM MINNESOTA.

Case No. 4 stands in the southwest corner of the Museum. In it are relics from Minnesota, which I have found, or bought, one or more at a time, and from many parties, during many years. This case is arranged by counties in their alphabetic order, beginning at the top, at the left hand. The relics are of stone, unless otherwise mentioned.

Aitkin county shows axes, hatchets, celts, chisels, hoes, spearheads, and arrowheads; Anoka county, a stone spade; Benton county, hoes, knives, spears, and arrows; Brown county, a copper spearhead; Crow Wing county, a slate celt, and five ceremonial stones; Cass county, a slate gorget or ornament; Dakota county, hoes, knives, arrows, spears, scrapers, and gorgets; Douglas county, celts, chisels, knives, arrows, and spears; Freeborn county a pivot

stone, hoes, knives, arrows, chisels, and scrapers; Fillmore county, spears, arrows, and knives. The foregoing are on the top shelf.

On the next lower shelf in this Case 4 are relics from Goodhue county, an axe, chisels, knives, arrows, spears, awls, scrapers, and a stone pipe; from Houston county, celts, axes, and a slate gorget; Kandiyohi county, knives, hoes, spears, arrows, awls, and scrapers; Le Sueur county, a stone spade, axes, hoes, celts, spears, arrows, a pestle, hammers, scrapers, and awls; and from Lac qui Parle county, hammers, and an iron arrowhead, of white man's make, brought by the traders.

On the third shelf are relics from Morrison county, celts, spears, arrows, knives, awls, hoes, a plummet, perforated ceremonial stones, a pestle, axes, a grooved hammer, and a lot of large and small pieces of white quartz, found in the vicinity of Little Falls, near the site of an ancient Indian village, being chips from an Indian workshop. These collections from Morrison county make a fine display.

From Murray county, on the same shelf, are arrowheads and a scraper; from Nicollet county, chisels, hoes, spears, arrows, scrapers, and awls; and from Otter Tail county, a fine copper spearhead, fine stone spears, arrows, awls, hoes, knives, hatchets, celts, hammers, a discoidal stone, and a sinker.

The fourth shelf has, from Olmsted county, spears, arrows, knives, scrapers, and an iron war-club (white man's work); from Ramsey county, a combined war-club and hammer, arrows, a paint cup, a cupstone, mineral paint, a mortar pestle, a bone arrowhead; and from Rice county, spades, axes, celts, hoes, knives, arrows, awls, scrapers, and chisels.

The fifth shelf or bottom of this case comprises collections from seven counties, as follows: St. Louis county, celts, and an axe; Stearns county, spears, arrows, celts, and a scraper; Todd county, an axe, a spade, a pestle and celt, a stone pipe, a gorget, and grooved stones; Wabasha county, spears, knives, awls, and arrows; Wadena county, ceremonial stones; Washington county, a knife, an awl, and arrows; Winona county, fine ceremonial stones, a plummet, chisels, stone spades, celts, hoes, hammers, hatchets, knives, awls, scrapers, a copper awl, and fragments of ancient pottery,—a fine lot from this last named county.

Case No. 5, at the middle of the west side of the Museum, contains the collection brought together by T. H. Lewis, of St. Paul, during the last twenty years or more, which was sold by him to me not long ago. The items in the case are all marked with numbers, corresponding to a list in a book, showing the location where every item was found. These relics, like those of Case 4, already described, were all found in Minnesota, though some of them (those made of shell especially) probably came originally from the Gulf States. The collection represents forty-two counties of Minnesota, namely, Aitkin, Anoka, Beltrami, Big Stone, Blue Earth, Brown, Carver, Cass, Chisago, Crow Wing, Dakota, Fillmore, Freeborn, Goodhue, Grant, Hennepin, Houston, Isanti, Itasca, Kandiyohi, Kanabec, Lac qui Parle, Lincoln, Lyon, Marshall, Murray, Martin, Mille Lacs, Morrison, Nicollet, Otter Tail, Pine, Pipestone, Ramsey, Rock, Scott, Stevens, Traverse, Wabasha, Washington, Winona, and Wright.

Four hundred and sixty of these relics were found in Ramsey county, mostly in St. Paul and vicinity; and, as there are eight relics from Ramsey county in Case No. 4, this collection contains 468 relics from this county. These, together with those in the Society's old collection, displayed in the adjoining corridor of the New Capitol, are about all of the relics that have been found in this county.

On the top shelf of this Case 5, you will find fifteen skulls, from aboriginal mounds in several counties, including Ramsey county. Some of the lady visitors have, at first, felt a slight repugnance to these suggestive relics of the past. But I have assured them that these relics are especially stylish, as undoubtedly they belong to the "first families of Minnesota."

Shelf 2 has red mineral paint, fifteen articles of pottery, such as bowls, pots, bottles, etc., a large bone weapon, stone awls, pipes, slate ornaments, rubbing-stones, stone chisels, gorgets, awls, arrowheads, a very fine large spearhead, and knives; also copper hoes, spears, arrows, awls, chisels, knives, fish-hooks, and a bark skinner.

Shelf 3 exhibits stone arrowheads, many of which are fine, chisels, grooved stones, sinkers, plummets (some of which are red hematite), ceremonial stones (very fine), discoidal stones, spears, and a very large stone pestle; several strings of shell wampum,

large and small, and of several kinds, with very many pieces on each string; shell ornaments, and a breast-plate engraved.

On the fourth shelf are stone hammers, celts, hatchets, hoes, spades, arrows, knives, discoidal stones, rubbing-stones, and many very fine spears.

On the fifth or bottom shelf are many stone axes, some very fine, some very large, and some peculiar; grooved hammers, one having a face engraved upon it; some very large hammers, celts, and the head of a war-club.

You have now a general idea of what relics are in the Minnesota part of this collection. But, on careful inspection, you would find a great variety in form, color, size, material, etc., even among relics classed under one name. For instance, among arrowheads there must be more than a hundred different shapes, and many sizes, colors, and kinds of stone.

In this entire collection nearly all the articles are prehistoric, no effort having been made to collect modern Indian goods. In Case No. 1, containing foreign relics, there are some pieces of very great historic age, from ancient Egypt, Rome, Greece, Herculaneum, etc.; and some are genuine palæoliths.

RELICS FROM OTHER STATES.

It will be an aid to visitors in the Museum that the articles there exhibited from each of the other states and from foreign countries be also somewhat fully enumerated. Eleven cases of the Mitchell Collection contain articles from other states of our Union, the one most largely represented being Wisconsin, which, like Minnesota, fills two cases. The articles from foreign countries fill one case, which, though placed first in the numerical order, will here be described last.

The relics from Wisconsin are in Cases 2 and 3, at the south end of the Museum.

Case 2, Wisconsin. On the bottom of this case are some fine large stone spades, hoes, pestles, mortars, knives, axes, hatchets, chisels, grooved stones, etc.; also a fine show of copper, as found in mines, or in the glacial drift on the surface, and other specimens as partly worked up for preservation.

On the lowest and second shelves of this case are hundreds of fine prehistoric copper weapons, tools, implements, ornaments, etc., including spearheads, arrowheads, knives, chisels, celts, awls, needles, beads (spherical and tubular beads), fish-hooks, bracelets, "spuds" (bark-skinners), crescents, pendants, spades, axes, hatchets, and ornaments in great variety.

The lowest shelf has also stone axes, hatchets, spades, celts, chisels, hammers, ceremonial pendants, an adze, etc., including some axes of fine red hematite (iron ore); also a lot of seven iron articles (made by white men, and traded with the Indians), including two spearheads, a club blade, and four axes.

The third shelf above the bottom has a lot of odd pieces, a bone hammer, sandstone pipes, a butterfly stone, ceremonial stones, stone scrapers, hatchets, etc.; two silver ear rings (white man's make); fragments of prehistoric pottery; stone knives, spearheads, arrowheads, awls, drills, scrapers, chisels, and hoes.

Case 3, Wisconsin (continued). On the bottom of the case are large rude stone hammers, from ancient copper mines; a fine large granite grooved hammer; sinkers, an adze, a lapstone; and an iron mortar, of white man's make, but used by Indians, and found in an Indian's grave.

The first shelf has very large flint implements, discs of various sizes, and discoidal stones; fine stone knives, spears, arrowheads, scrapers, hoes, celts, and pendants; from Columbia county, grooved sinkers, flint chips from ancient village sites, and fragments of pottery.

The second shelf from the bottom has a stone pipe, from Rock county; bone needles and awls, from Two Rivers, Manitowoc county; a stone pipe from Adams county; and ceremonial stones, spearheads, hoes, chisels, knives, scrapers, plummets, hammers, and awls, from Sauk county.

The third shelf has fine stone spears, arrowheads, knives, awls, and scrapers; from Marquette county, a grooved stone sinker, red hematite plummets, stone awls, hammers, chisels, spearheads, and arrowheads.

Cases 4 and 5 contain articles from Minnesota, as before described.

Case 6. Illinois and Pennsylvania. On the bottom of this case are relics from Illinois, including stone axes, spades, hoes, knives, spearheads, arrowheads, pestles, mortars, and hammers.

The first shelf also has articles from Illinois, including a fine display of stone spearheads and knives; a fine cache of fourteen large flint knives; stone pipes, grooved plummets, cones, pendants, and ceremonial stones; two pottery vases, a pottery pipe, and fragments of pottery.

On the south half of the second shelf are other Illinois articles, a fine display of large stone spears, knives, arrows, awls, etc.; copper celts, a spear, and beads; pieces of bronze ornaments; an iron spearhead, of white man's make; shell beads, chips of flint, fragments of pottery.

The north half of this second shelf has relics from Pennsylvania, comprising a fine lot of paleoliths, very ancient, from Lancaster county; stone axes, hatchets, hoes, knives, spears, arrows, celts, hammers, spades, ceremonial stones, awls, etc.

Pennsylvania relics arranged on the third shelf comprise large stone pestles, stone axes, knives, arrows, grooved hammers, ceremonial stones, pendants, and a tomahawk; shell beads, and a bone bead; glass beads, made by white men, traded to Indians and found in Indian graves; and an iron cannon ball, from a battle ground.

On the fourth shelf are, from York county, Pa., stone axes, spears, arrows, awls, hammers, scrapers, etc.; and a cache of 42 large stone knives.

Case 7, Ohio. At the bottom are stone pestles, hoes, knives, axes, hatchets, spears, arrows, scrapers, hammers, celts, spades; a buckhorn tool; and an iron axe.

On the first shelf is a remarkably fine cache of 192 thin, finely chipped, mottled flint spears and knives, found together in Fulton county, buried near a tree.

The second shelf has a fine lot of ceremonial stones, mostly of banded slate; tubes, bird-stones, pendants, gorgets, and butterfly amulets; stone pipes of many kinds, some bearing images of human faces, or of beasts, etc.; stone spears, arrows, knives, scrapers, celts, chisels, etc.; shell breastplates and beads; copper axes, celts, and spears; a large chunk of copper, etc.

The third shelf has stone spears, knives, arrows, scrapers, awls, hoes, drills, and crooks.

The fourth shelf has a lot of partly worked flints, from an Indian site; stone hammers, spears, arrows, and scrapers.

Case 8, Oregon and California. The bottom of the case has relics from Oregon, including a very large and fine granite mortar and pestle; other mortars and pestles; a skinner, hammers, knives, sinkers, celts, and a moccasin last; a copper pendant, bracelets, a celt, and long tubular beads; shell beads; stone beads, some of chalcedony; and a pottery image.

On the first shelf are relics from California, including a fine and deep granite mortar; sixteen heavy stones, perforated for weights, to put on digging sticks; a petrified bone tube; stone spears and beads; fine obsidian arrows; a lot of shell sinkers; a lot of bone knives, whistles, flutes, awls, needles, etc.; and a lot of shell digging tools.

The second shelf, comprising articles from Oregon, has a collection of more than two thousand "Oregon gem points," that is, very little arrow points for shooting small birds, and made of agate, chalcedony, jade, carnelian, obsidian, flint, etc. This is a rare collection. On the same shelf are also from Oregon a very fine lot of obsidian spears, knives, and arrows; stone arrows and awls; a lot of odd arrows, knives, and awls.

The third shelf has articles from California, including a rare lot of obsidian artifacts, black, gray, red, and banded; a very large obsidian spade; a very large obsidian knife, with other obsidian knives, spears, arrows, etc.; sandstone images of animals; two remarkable red jasper knives, in their original wooden handles, found in a sandhill, and protected from dampness, so that the handles did not decay; stone pendants and tubes; a skinning tool, with its original soapstone handle; a crystal duck's head pendant; a jade mask; a petrified bone tube; stone needles and beads; shell beads (wampum), and shell rattles; a fine wooden spoon; fine stone arrows; and glass beads, of white man's work.

Case 9. Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alaska. On the bottom of this case are relics from Tennessee, comprising a lot of fine pottery bowls and vases, a discoidal stone, stone spears, arrows, hoes, scrapers, axes, hatchets, spades, hammers, celts, fragments of pottery, ornaments, etc.

The articles on the first shelf, also from Tennessee, are stone spears, knives, arrows, scrapers, awls, hoes, chisels, etc.

Tennessee relics continue on the second shelf, which has a fine lot of stone spears, knives, arrows, scrapers, pestles, a discoidal stone, a pitted ball, ceremonial stones, a stone pipe, etc., and a dagger; an elkhorn spade; copper pendants, spears, arrows, knives, celts, and beads; very fine butterfly amulets; "crooks"; an image of a man; shell breastplates; long strings of shell beads (wampum), some small and some large; shell hairpins; a mask, ornaments, etc.; bone needles; and bear teeth ornaments.

The third shelf on its south half has relics from Kentucky, namely, stone spears, knives, arrows, pestles, scrapers; a hematite axe, with a spiral wooden handle; chisels, hammers, hoes, etc.

On the north half of this third shelf are relics from Alaska, a horn spoon, an ivory pipe, bone harpoons, spears, arrows, knives, ornaments, toys, images, etc.; stone celts, spears, arrows and a skinning tool with the original bone handle; bone witch-charms; a wooden totem-pole; a halibut hook of wood and iron; a copper knife and spear.

On the fourth shelf are eighteen pieces of fine pottery, bowls, vases, bottles, etc., from Tennessee.

Case 10. Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina. At the bottom are relics from Missouri, stone axes, hammers, a ball, spades, hoes, chisels, spears, and knives; a pottery vase; and an elkhorn tool.

The first shelf has also Missouri articles, very ancient hatchets, discoidal stones, a large lot of fine stone spears, knives, arrows, hoes, a cone, etc.

Articles from North Carolina occupy the second shelf, including a stone image of an owl, ceremonial stones, pendants, spears, arrows, scrapers, axes, hammers, hoes, a celt, warclub heads, etc.

From South Carolina, on the third shelf, are ceremonial stones, stone spades, celts, spears, knives, arrows, scrapers, awls, etc.; and, on the fourth shelf, stone hammers, spears, arrows, scrapers, and awls.

Case 11. Indiana, Colorado, North Dakota, and South Dakota. On the bottom are, from Colorado, a basket of the cliff-dwellers, a stone mortar, hammer, axe, spade, and celt; from North Dakota, a fine stone hammer, a celt, a knife, spears, arrows, and an iron club-blade (white man's make); from South Dakota, stone hoes,

knives, spears, arrows, scrapers; and from Indiana, stone spears, axes, knives, hammers, awls, celts, etc.

The shelves of this case display articles from Indiana, those on the first shelf being stone spades, hoes, spears, knives, arrows, etc.; on the second shelf, stone spades, pestles, spears, arrows, axes, hoes, scrapers, etc.; on the third shelf, stone spades, pestles, spears, arrows, axes, hoes, pipes, scrapers, etc., and copper knives, spears, arrows, and awls; and on the fourth shelf are three caches of large flints.

Case 12. Arizona, New Mexico, New Jersey, Michigan, Iowa, and Washington. The bottom of this case has, from Arizona, a large stone mětate, or grinding stone or mill, with its mano stone, to rub the grain. Here also are many articles from New Mexico, large stone idols, a rude stone head, and pivot stones; a small Indian blanket, in a loom; a large Navajo basket; a clay pipe, a carved horn spoon, and a fragment of pottery; long strings of shell wampum; a copper rattle; shell beads; stone beads; and two fine strings of turquoise beads (wampum), as used for ear-rings.

The first shelf has Michigan relics, a fine lot of stone axes, hatchets, mortars, spears, arrows, awls, scrapers, knives, pestles, ceremonial stones, bird-amulets, celts, hoes, a "turtle-back," etc.

The north part of the second shelf has also relics from Michigan, including a fine lot of copper spears, one of which, seventeen inches long, is thought to be the very best prehistoric copper spear-head extant; copper knives, and a very large copper spade; copper arrows; copper spuds, or bark-skinners, celts, axes, crescents, awls, beads, etc.; and stone gouges and celts.

This second shelf, on its middle part, has articles from New Jersey, stone axes, hatchets, pestles, arrows, spears, knives, etc. On its south part are, from the State of Washington, a fine lot of stone spears, arrows, knives, chisels, a cone, celts, awls, etc.; a fine lot of dark stone, very old, "Siwash" arrowheads; and bone awls, whistles, etc.

The larger part of the third shelf is occupied by relics from Arizona, a lot of fine pottery, bowls, vases, and bottles; a clay lamp; a stone mortar and pestle; some peculiar stone articles; a sharpening stone, and a digger stone; a fine pottery dipper, ornaments, etc.; fine stone axes; ceremonial stones; a large stone ring, in image of a snake; stone pipes; a fine chalcedony spear; Indian paint;

four bone bracelets; a fine string of shell wampum of mixed colors; a fine string of red coral wampum, with a few black beads between, and a few white shell beads; stone beads.

On the north part of this third shelf are, from Iowa, a small pottery vessel; stone axes, hoes, chisels, spears, arrows, awls, and scrapers; and two copper spears.

On the fourth shelf are two large pottery bowls, from Arizona mounds.

Case 13. Arkansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Georgia, New York, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, "the West," and unplaced relics. At the bottom of this case are a copper knife, found many years ago "on the Western Plains"; a large iron knife of hammered iron ore, found "on the Rocky Mountain trail" (a very remarkable relic); a double-headed quartz warclub, in handle; a stone spear, from the Indian Territory; a stone scraper, from Oklahoma; and, from unknown localities, a lot of stone axes, hammers, pestles, celts, hoes, knives, spears, etc.

The first shelf has, from Georgia, stone spears, discoidal stones, pestles, axes, spears, knives, ceremonial stones, etc., and a lot of pottery heads from vases, etc.; from Idaho, a stone spear, arrows, etc.; from Nebraska, also, a stone spear, arrows, etc.; from Montana, a stone pipe, spears, arrows, and awls.

From New York, this shelf has a pottery bowl, heads, etc.; a stone plate, pipes, discoidal stones, pestles, hoes, celts, axes, chisels, gouges, spears, arrows, scrapers, gambling flints, knives, and sinkers; a bone needle; a string of beads (wampum), and other wampum beads; a copper needle, bangles, etc.

The second shelf has many additional relics from Georgia, comprising a fine lot of stone spears, arrows, knives, pipes, axes, celts, hatchets, ceremonial stones, hoes, pendants, gorgets, a pestle, digging weights, bolas, cones, tubes, spatulas, stone cups, beads, a spindle whorl, etc.; pottery vases, bowls, pipes, and beads; copper celts, arrows, and ornaments; bone awls and needles; shell wampum, hoes, ornaments, breastplates, ear-drops, pearls, etc.

The third shelf has, from Arkansas, fine pottery vessels, of different forms, some with images of human beings or of beasts; an Indian drum; a basket of cliff-dwellers; stone axes, hoes, spears, arrows, scrapers, knives, and a spade; shell beads, and a shell mask; bone beads, awls, etc.; bear-teeth ornaments; a pottery rattle; bone awls, etc.

On the fourth shelf also are articles from Arkansas, a lot of fine pottery vases, bottles, bowls, ollas, etc.; and a rush basket.

Case 14. The New England States, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Kansas. The bottom of this case has, from Massachusetts, a very long stone pestle, chisels, spears, knives, arrows, scrapers, hoes, and axes; from Maine, very long stone pestles, axes, gouges, chisels, awls, celts, spears, sinkers, ornaments, and a pottery pipe.

The first shelf has, from New Hampshire, stone gouges, celts, axes, spears, arrows, scrapers, etc.; from Vermont, stone spears, scrapers, celts, and awls; from Rhode Island, a stone adze, a gouge, arrows, an awl, a scraper, a rubbing-stone, etc.; from Connecticut, a stone spear, arrows, scrapers, an awl, a chisel, and a stone mortar; and from Texas, a stone chisel, a spearhead, arrowheads, and a scraper.

On the second shelf are relics from Virginia, ceremonial stones, a stone pipe, arrows, spears, scrapers, awls, "crooks," a plummet, pendants, gorgets, axes, a celt, hatchets, cones, hammers, and knives; a copper pendant; and tubular beads. From West Virginia this shelf has stone axes, a spindle whorl, spears, arrows, awls, and scrapers.

The third shelf has, from Florida, fine shell cups, hoes, sinkers, breast-plates, etc.; stone spears, arrows, and scrapers; and a pottery bowl and a vase. This shelf also displays, from Louisiana, a stone spear and arrows; from Alabama, stone spears, arrows, and a scraper; from Mississippi, stone spears, arrows, scrapers, and knives, mostly made of yellow jasper; from Maryland, stone spears and arrows; and from Kansas, stone knives and arrowheads, an iron arrowhead, and a bead necklace (of white man's make).

FOREIGN RELICS.

In the southeast corner of this Museum, a single case, designated as Case 1, contains articles from other countries.

The top shelf displays relics from Mexico, comprising pottery idols, and other images of human beings and of beasts; pottery bowls, pitchers, jugs, vases, etc.; a pottery rattle, in the form of a grotesque human image; faces (masks) of stone, including jade, obsidian, etc.; and a wooden image of San Francisco (St. Francis) from an ancient temple.

Mexican relics continue on the second shelf, being stone spears and arrowheads, mostly of obsidian; stone celts; pipes, obsidian knives; a pottery tablet, containing the signs of the zodiac, the sun and the stream of life; a silver image of the hawk god, a man with a hawk's head, found in an ancient Mexican temple, similar to images found in ancient ruins in Egypt. It is an interesting question to account for an apparent Egyptian idol in an old Mexican temple.

The following articles are also on this second shelf: from Peru, a stone clubhead, and pottery images; from Yucatan, pottery; from Chiriqui (Colombia), pottery; Chili, arrow heads; the Hawaiian Islands, stone celts, and a shell bracelet; the Philippine Islands, native cotton; the Fiji Islands, combs of wood, and wooden spear-points; Siam, a part of the Bible, in Siamese language, scratched upon sections of palm leaves, and tied together, very old; Japan, an opium pipe and box, of lead and copper, stone celts, and many tiny arrow heads, said to have been made and used by the Koro-pohlke race, now extinct, and hence thousands of years old; the South Sea Islands, a large knife of palm wood, a fiber bag, a necklace and belt of fruit seeds, a collar of fine shells, wampum of black and white pieces of shell, an engraved shell, and shell ornaments; Tasmania, shell bracelets, stone knives, and some oriental dice, or dominoes; Papua or New Guinea, a very large polished stone celt, jade axes, stone celts and spearheads; and from New Zealand, stone celts, a king's mace (patu-patu), as badge of office, a very rare and valuable relic, and a stone pestle.

On the third shelf in the descending order are, from Bulgaria, an ancient copper pickaxe, perforated for a handle; from Germany, stone celts, chisels, etc., copper celts, ancient pottery spindle-whorls, a bronze mirror, in pieces, a pottery hand from a large image (supposed to be Roman), and bones; and from Sweden, very fine flint daggers, spearheads, celts, chisels, gouges, etc.

From Denmark, on this third shelf, are a very fine display of the choicest prehistoric stone weapons, some very large celts, some chipped, and some chipped and polished; flint knives, a dagger, etc.; stone axes, some perforated for handles; a pottery spindle-whorl; a copper hatchet, and a copper sickle.

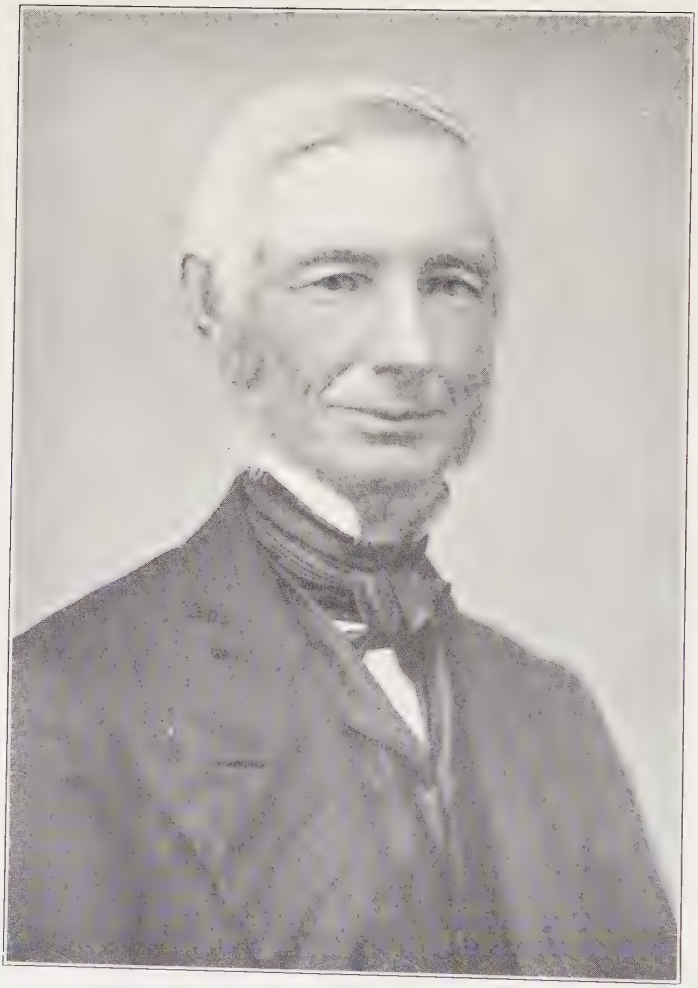
On the fourth shelf in the same downward order are, from Canada, a slate spade, pendants, gorgets, ceremonial stones, etc.; stone knives, spears, sinkers, arrowheads, pipes, etc.; a bone gouge; and

copper celts, spearheads, arrowheads, knives, and beads. From British America, are bone fish-hooks, and a slate knife, in its original wooden handle, bound with strips of skin; and from British Columbia, a stone pipe.

From the Old World, on this shelf, are the following: Ancient Tyre, four copper bracelets of twisted wire; Rome, a clay lamp, and a bracelet of clear amber beads (twenty-three), with a bronze pendant attached; Herculaneum, an engraved ivory tusk; Etruria, an ancient Etruscan bronze double-headed ram; Venice, a pair of copper bracelets; Africa, a bone spoon, ornamented; Egypt, three images of Osiris, one of porcelain, and two of bronze, very ancient; also copper ornaments, pottery tiles, a fine jasper chisel, scarabs (beetles), some of stone, and some of porcelain, and a paint box; Judea, an ancient Jewish tear-bottle of glass; Persia, an ancient bronze signet, or seal; France, some fine paleoliths, including a large stone axe and several fine flint knives, of great age, and a copper axe.

On the bottom of this case are, from England, a stone axe, a celt, and a spearhead; from Switzerland, stone celts, one in the original deer-horn handle, and taken from the bottom of a lake, once inhabited by ancient "lake dwellers," also stone spindle-whorls, a hammer, etc., a long necklace of large amber beads, from the Tyrol, used in the fifteenth century, and a bone chisel; and from Ireland, fine stone celts, spearheads, arrowheads, knives, etc.

Here also are exhibited about four hundred ancient coins (copper, silver, and bronze), Roman, Greek, Greco-Roman, Byzantine, etc., from 1,000 to 2,000 years old, mostly identified and named.



Saml. Wm Pond.

Minnesota Historical Society.
Vol. XII. Plate XIV.

THE DAKOTAS OR SIOUX IN MINNESOTA AS THEY WERE IN 1834.*

BY REV. SAMUEL WILLIAM POND.

Preface.

Perhaps the following work needs no preface, for it is what the title indicates and nothing more. It is written because in a short time none can tell what the Dakotas of Minnesota were when the first white mission for them began. This fragment of the History of Minnesota may be of more value at some future time than it is now.

It may be thought strange that the writer, who was so many years a missionary among the Dakotas, has said nothing about the way in which they received or rejected Christianity; but he thought it better not to mention that subject at all than to treat it superficially, and justice could not be done here without too greatly extending this work. My main object has been to show what manner of people the Dakotas were as savages, while they still retained the customs of their ancestors.

*This paper was partly read by Samuel W. Pond, Jr., of Minneapolis, at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 12, 1906. It is printed from a manuscript book written mostly during the years 1865 to 1875 by Rev. Samuel W. Pond, giving his "Recollections of the Dakotas as they were in 1834." In that year he and his brother, Rev. Gideon H. Pond, began their missionary work for these people at Lake Calhoun, building a log house there, the first dwelling of white men on the site of Minneapolis. The lives and work of these brothers were narrated by Rev. Edward D. Neill, D. D., in one of his Macalester College Contributions (Second Series, 1892, No. 8, pp. 159-198), "A Memorial of the Brothers Pond, the First Resident Missionaries among the Dakotas"; and a more extended narration by Samuel W. Pond, Jr., entitled "Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas, or the Story of the Labors of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond," was published in 1893 as a volume of 278 pages, with portraits and other illustrations from photographs. The author of this paper was born in New Preston, Conn., April 10, 1808; and died in Shakopee, Minn., December 12, 1891. His brother Gideon was born also in New Preston, Conn., June 30, 1810; and died in Bloomington, Minn., January 20, 1878.

Subdivisions of the Dakotas in Minnesota.

those who lived at lakes Big Stone and Traverse.

There was a small village at Lake Calhoun, one on Cannon river, and one at Two Woods, south of Lac qui Parle. With these exceptions, all the Dakota villages were near the rivers and the lakes before mentioned. This statement applies to the summer villages of the Dakotas, as during the winter months camps were made wherever deer or furs were to be found.

These Indians belonged to different divisions of the great tribe of Dakotas, and were known by different names. There were five of these divisions, namely, the Medawakantonwan, Wahpetonwan, Sissetonwan, Ihanktonwan or Yankton, and Wahpekuta.

The villages of the Medawakantonwan were on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, extending from Winona to Shakopee. Most of the Indians living on the Minnesota above Shakopee were Wahpetonwan. At Big Stone lake there were both Wahpetonwan and Sissetonwan; and at Lake Traverse, Ihanktonwan, Sissetonwan, and Wahpetonwan. Part of the Wahpekuta lived on Cannon river, and part at Traverse des Sioux. There were frequent intermarriages between these subdivisions of the Dakotas, and they were more or less intermingled at all their villages.

Although the language, manners, and dress of the different divisions were not precisely alike, they were essentially one people. Nor were these people of Minnesota separate from the rest of the Dakota nation, but were closely connected with those living farther west. They considered themselves as forming part of a great people, which owned a vast region of country, extending from the upper Mississippi to the Rocky mountains.

They thought, and not without reason, that there was no other Indian nation so numerous or so powerful as the Dakota nation. Before their chiefs visited Washington, many of them believed that if the Dakotas should unite their forces and act in concert, they would prove more than a match for the whites. The trip to Washington greatly modified the opinions of the chiefs on many other points, besides that of the relative strength of the white and the native races.

The reader will bear in mind that the Dakotas or Sioux of Minnesota formed but a small fraction of the nation to which they belonged, and were not distinct from the rest of their people, but are described separately because they occupied that portion of the territory of the Dakotas which is comprised within the boundaries of Minnesota and were better known to the writer than their kindred living farther west.

The Medawakantonwan were divided into eight bands. The lower band was called Kiuksa and was located below Lake Pepin where Winona now stands. The Kaposia band was at the village of Kaposia, a few miles south of the site of St. Paul. A village on the Minnesota river, two or three miles above its mouth, was called Black Dog's village; and a village named Pinisha was located on the Minnesota near the mouth of Nine Mile creek. Reyata Otonwa was at Lake Calhoun; Tewapa, at Eagle creek; and Tintatonwan at Shakopee, this last being the largest village of the Medawakantonwan.

The Wahpetonwan had villages at Carver, St. Lawrence, Belle Plaine, Traverse des Sioux, Swan Lake, and Lac qui Parle. They were also with the Sissetonwan at Big Stone lake, and with the Sissetonwan and Ihanktonwan at Lake Traverse. Most of the Sissetonwan had their villages in the vicinity of lakes Big Stone and Traverse. The home of the Ihanktonwan was at Lake Traverse, where some of them lived on islands, as the Wahpetonwan did at Big Stone lake. There was a small, restless band of Sissetonwan who lived south of Lac qui Parle.

The number of the Medawakantonwan was a little less than two thousand. The Wahpetonwan were so mixed with the Sissetonwan and Ihanktonwan that it was impossible to ascertain their exact numbers. These two divisions of the Wahpetonwan and Sissetonwan, according to a government census taken about the year 1862, numbered about four thousand; but in taking the census of the Medawakantonwan the number was greatly exaggerated, and it may have been the same with these two upper divisions.

If we estimate the Wahpetonwan and the Sissetonwan at four thousand in the year 1834, at the time to which the present work relates, we have about seven thousand as the number of the Dakotas then living within the area of Minnesota and in the part of South

Dakota closely adjoining lakes Big Stone and Traverse; for there were two thousand of the Medawakantonwan and Wahpekuta, and perhaps a thousand of the Ihanktonwan. Seven thousand may seem like a small number to occupy so large a territory, but probably not many more could have obtained a living from it by hunting.

The Chiefs.

Wapasha was the chief of the Kiuksa; Wakuta, of Red Wing; and Wakinyantanka of Kaposia. The chief of the Black Dog band was Wamditanka; of the Lake Calhoun band, Marpiya-wichashta; Good Road, of Pinisha; and Shapaydan (Shakpay), of Shakopee.

Mazomani was the chief of the Wahpetonwan at Carver and St. Lawrence. This little band at Carver requires a passing notice, because it led in the cowardly attack on the Ojibways at Fort Snelling in 1827. In later years they murdered a woman in cold blood near Louisville, Scott county, in 1858; and, after committing many other outrages, they inaugurated the massacre of 1862, two of them, Hdinapi and Wamdupidan, being the first to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. These two men, however, had married into the Shakopee band and were numbered with the Medawakantonwan.

Ishtahkba (Sleepy Eyes) was the only acknowledged chief of the Wahpetonwan between St. Lawrence and Lac qui Parle; but Wakanhdioranki was the head man at Belle Plaine, and Tankamani at Traverse des Sioux.

At Lac qui Parle, Inyangmani and Nompakinyan were chiefs. At Big Stone lake, Inkpa was chief of the Wahpetonwan, and Wakinyanduta of the Sissetonwan. Matotopa was chief at Lake Traverse. The Tizaptani had Itewakinyanna (Thunder Face) for chief. He was called by the whites Diable Boiteux, a descriptive French name, suggested by his limping gait and fiendish disposition.

When not kept together by the fear of an enemy, there was a tendency in the larger bands to separate and form smaller ones; and some of the smaller bands were composed of fugitives from the larger ones. Thus Ruyapa, having murdered a woman at Shakopee, and fearing to remain there, removed to Eagle Creek, where, gathering his relatives and others about him, he finally became a chief. The township of Eagle Creek, in Scott county, de-

rived its name from him, the meaning of his name being Eagle-head.

The names of the chiefs who were living in 1834 have been given. Some of them died about that time, but some of them continued to hold office during many years after that date.

In a work of this kind the character of these chiefs should not be passed over in silence. As the writer was personally acquainted with most of them, he will tell briefly what sort of men they were. If the reader does not find that all of them, or any of them, are described as being very great men, let him bear in mind that we do not expect to find among any people many great men to every six or seven thousand of the population. As the office of chief was not elective but hereditary, and as the chiefs had no better education than the common people, it was not to be expected that they would be usually men of superior abilities, either natural or acquired. There were, in almost every band, others who were better qualified to act as chiefs than those who held the office, and they often had more authority and influence with the people than the chiefs themselves.

The Dakotas probably furnished their proportion of men of great natural abilities. Some individuals occasionally exhibited admirable traits of character, but in order to exhibit a savage in such a light that he will command the unqualified admiration of civilized people, it is necessary that some things in his character should be shaded or concealed and others embellished or exaggerated. Perhaps a true description of the character of the most celebrated Indians would appear more incredible to the great mass of readers than the fanciful accounts of them which have been so often published. The dealer in romance can write what he thinks his readers will believe, and can omit whatever is not likely to obtain general credence; but the relator of facts must write what he knows to be true, and, if writing about Indians, he must make statements which he knows are not in accordance with the general belief of the public. The Dakota chiefs were, some of them, noteworthy men; and, though generally inferior to some who were not chiefs, they deserve a passing notice.

Wapasha (Wabasha), chief of the band below Lake Pepin, was held in high esteem by both the whites and Indians for his good sense and upright conduct. He and many of his people died of

smallpox in the summer of 1836. As the writer had no personal acquaintance with him, he can say but little about him.

Wakuta, of Red Wing, was a man not likely to be soon forgotten by those who were acquainted with him. His personal appearance was remarkably prepossessing, and his mental abilities would have commanded respect among any people. He was generally mild in his manners, but very decided in his opinions, and opposition only stirred him up to act with more firmness and determination. He was, on the whole, such a man as one would much rather have for a friend than an enemy.

Wakinyantanka (Big Thunder), of Kaposia, the father of Little Crow, was in his personal appearance the reverse of Wakuta. His features were repulsive, his manners ungainly and awkward, and his disposition unamiable. His countenance, which could never have been beautiful, had been rendered more disagreeable by a wound received in the mouth. His behavior in his youth had been so unsatisfactory that when his father died in the winter of 1833-34, Major Taliaferro, the Indian agent, did not acknowledge him as chief of the Kaposia band without great reluctance. He had a superabundance of energy and resolution, and quite enough shrewdness and cunning; but he had always an ungovernable temper, and though in some respects superior to his son Little Crow, he could never play the hypocrite so well as he.

In the spring of 1834, Major Bliss, then in command at Fort Snelling, informed me that Big Thunder had applied to him to get some plowing done at his village, but he could only furnish them a team and plow. As the Indians were incompetent to manage them, I volunteered to go down and assist in the plowing. I was to manage the oxen, and the chief was to furnish men to hold the plow. Some of the band came up and carried down the plow in a canoe, and others drove the oxen down; but when we reached the field, none were willing to take hold of the plow. They were all anxious to have plowing done, but were probably unwilling to expose their awkwardness. I had been among the Dakotas only a few days, and understood almost nothing of their language, but I could easily perceive that the chief was in trouble. I could have plowed as well, perhaps better, without their aid, but I had promised to help them only on condition that they would help themselves.

Big Thunder did not hesitate long, for as soon as he ascertained that no one else would touch the plow, he took hold of it himself and doubtless plowed the first furrow that was ever plowed by a Dakota chief. He was soon followed by Big Iron, his chief soldier, and they two held the plow alternately through the week, plowing for those who would not plow for themselves. If their strength had been skillfully applied, the work would not have been very hard for them, since they were both strong men; but they labored like men wrestling, so that it was probably the hardest week's work that they ever did.

As the work was rather hard for the oxen, it was necessary to stop them occasionally and let them stand a few minutes. During one of these intervals of rest, Big Thunder and Big Iron seemed to be in earnest consultation about something, and finally one of them took off his belt, tied it to the ring of the yoke, and attempted to lead the oxen by it, while the other held the plow. The experiment was of course a decided failure. They desisted very quickly from their undertaking when they saw how much I was amused by it. Perhaps they themselves perceived the absurdity of trying to lead cattle by the yoke while the plow was attached to it, for they both had common sense.

Big Thunder had several wives and many children. In the spring of 1841, the writer attempted to dissuade him from accompanying a war party which was then nearly ready to start from Kaposia. He was told that the course he was pursuing might bring evil on himself and his people. Many of his children happened to be present, and, pointing to them, he said, "The Great Spirit is very friendly to me; see how many children he has given me; I am not afraid of his displeasure." The next day two of his sons were killed by the Ojibways, and few of his children died natural deaths. Two committed suicide; some were killed in battle; and two were murdered at the instigation of their brother Little Crow, they having first wounded him in an attempt to take his life. Big Thunder accidentally shot himself several years before his band left Kaposia.

Little Crow inherited the restless, unquiet disposition of his father. If he had lived a generation earlier, he would probably have been an active and successful hunter, and would have passed

through life without doing much harm. He was never esteemed a great man by the Dakotas, and had less influence over them than many of the other chiefs.

Wamditanka (Big Eagle), chief of the Black Dog band, was a man of not more than ordinary abilities. Nothing noteworthy in his character or career is known to the writer. He was an old man in 1834, and he may have appeared to better advantage when younger.

Marpiya-wichashta (Cloud Man), of Lake Calhoun, was not a hereditary chief. A few families settled there for the purpose of trying an experiment at farming, and as he was the fittest man among them for that office, he was appointed chief by the agent.

Cloud Man told the writer that his determination to try to obtain at least a part of his support by agriculture was first formed during a winter blizzard, when he lay buried in the snow on the prairie. He, with a party of hunters, was overtaken by a snow storm on the plains near the Missouri, and the storm was so violent that they had no alternative but to lie down and wait for it to pass over. They had a little dried buffalo meat with them, and lay separately in the snow, each wrapped in his blanket. The chief related how, as the snow drifted around and over him, he pressed it back to gain a little more room, and often made an opening through the drift over his head, hoping to find the tempest abated, but could see only the drifting snow. In the meantime he could hold no communication with his buried companions, and knew not whether they were dead or alive. During this solitary confinement he had leisure to reflect on the vicissitudes of a hunter's life, and, remembering that Major Taliaferro had the year before tried to persuade him to plant at Lake Calhoun, he determined to follow his advice if he lived to reach home again.

He was the first of the party to discover that the storm was over, and, extricating himself from his prison, he called for his comrades. He said he hardly expected to find them all alive, but they all answered to their names, though some of them were unable to crawl out of the drifts or to walk after they were taken out by their companions. They had been lying, without being aware of it, not far from a large camp of Indians, who came to their assistance.

Having reached the conclusion that it would be better for the Dakotas to turn their attention to agriculture and adopt the customs of civilized people, Marpiya-wichashta tried to persuade others to adopt his views, but with no success. It would have been well for the Dakotas if they had had more chiefs like him, but he was far in advance of his contemporaries and was the only chief who was decidedly in favor of abandoning the chase and cultivating the arts of civilized life. He was a man of superior discernment, and of great prudence and foresight. He did not hesitate to tell the Dakotas that the time had come when nothing but a change in their mode of life could save them from ruin, yet they were very slow to adopt his new notions. He was opposed by many of the other chiefs, and none of them entered heartily into his views. He was the last survivor of the chiefs of 1834 and died during the Sioux massacre and war of 1862, lamenting the infatuation of his people.

Good Road, chief of the Pinisha village, located near the mouth of Nine Mile creek, about nine miles above Fort Snelling, was an intelligent man and often appeared well in conversation; but as a chief he had not much influence, either with his own band or in a general council. He belonged to that class of persons who find it easier or more natural to complain of the manner in which things are done by others, than to propose a better way of doing them themselves. He was not so careful to avoid the use of offensive language as most of his fellow chiefs, and the undue license which he gave his tongue sometimes brought him into trouble.

In the summer of 1844 some young men of the Pinisha band or village insulted a half-breed woman, the wife of a government blacksmith, and Captain Backus, who was then in command of the garrison, ordered Good Road to bring in the offenders to Fort Snelling; but Good Road said something to the messengers which offended the captain, and he at once dispatched a company of infantry to arrest the chief.

The officer in charge of the expedition had orders to march the men to Pinisha and back in the shortest time possible. No one supposed it was necessary to send a military force to arrest Good Road. An invitation from the commander would doubtless have brought him at once to Fort Snelling, but Captain Backus said he wished to let the Dakotas know that the United States

infantry could march as well as they. They were, however, more amused than alarmed by that forced march, and it is to be feared that the lesson which he was so anxious to teach the Dakotas has not been learned to this day. The march was rapid enough and the eighteen miles were passed over quickly, but several of the strongest soldiers fell out by the way and were left lying on the ground. The writer passed over the prairie with the troops on their return to the fort, and saw Good Road, who was then probably between fifty and sixty years of age, walking in advance of his captors, a little faster than his ordinary pace, but apparently with no great exertion, while his guard, both officers and men, were all panting like over-driven oxen. The offense for which he was arrested was not a very aggravated one, and he was discharged from custody soon after reaching the fort.

Shapaydan or Shakpay (Little Six), of the Tintatonwan band, whose summer village was near Shakopee, was perhaps the most widely known of the Medawakantonwan chiefs. At the same time he was the most difficult to describe so as to enable one not acquainted with him to form a correct idea of his character. Indeed, those who knew him best were often puzzled to know what to think of him. He certainly came near being a great man, and yet was a very mean one. In some respects he stood at the head of the Dakota chiefs, and in other respects he was the most despicable of them all.

He was at the same time admired and despised by all that knew him. As a speaker in council he had no equal among his contemporary chiefs. But while the advice he gave was generally good, the example set by him was often pernicious. He was of a nervous, excitable temperament, and had none of that excessive caution and dignified reserve so common among Indians, and especially among Indian chiefs.

He had moreover as little regard for appearances as any Dakota man I ever knew. He was not remarkably malicious or revengeful and was easily reconciled to those who had offended him. At times he appeared magnanimous, and some of his speeches contained sage counsel and noble sentiments; but falsehood and truth were both alike to him, and he was often detected in the commission of petty thefts, such as few Dakota men would have been guilty of,

and most of the women would have been ashamed of. It is nothing new for a man to speak well and behave ill, to reason wisely and act foolishly, but the eccentricities and contradictions in Shakpay's character were certainly remarkable. By all who knew him well, he was regarded with feelings both of admiration and contempt.

The style of his oratory will be noticed in another place. He was not held in very high esteem as a warrior, and it was said that he showed more audacity in council than in battle.

His son, who was executed at Fort Snelling in 1866, had hardly sense enough to be responsible for his deeds and inherited none but the meanest traits of his father's character. Shakpay died before the massacre of the whites; if he had been living at that time, he might perhaps have prevented it, for his influence with his people was great and he always advocated the cultivation of peace and friendship with the white people. He sometimes alarmed the timid by the use of threatening language, but never seemed disposed to do serious injury to any one. With all his faults, he was neither quarrelsome nor vindictive.

While his son who succeeded him was a cipher, without character or influence, Shakpay had a brother, a rival named Hochokaduta, a bold bad man, who gathered a strong party around him during Shakpay's lifetime and had the chief control of the band after he was dead. The first murders in August, 1862, were committed by two or three men belonging to Hochokaduta's party. When they reported to him what they had done, he decided to carry on the work which they had begun and called on Little Crow for help.

Little Crow being well known, and Hochokaduta not being recognized as a chief, it was natural for the whites to look upon the former as the leader of the murderers, and indeed he was the only chief among them who had any influence. Still Hochokaduta was an abler man than he, and brought much the stronger force into the field.

The Shakpay band, not that of Kaposia, was mainly responsible both for the inception and the execution of that bloody work. After the massacre Hochokaduta fled north, but in the course of the following winter he and all his family were slain by Ojibways. Members of the Shakpay family had held the chieftainship through many generations, and their band was the strongest among the Medawakantonwans.

Concerning Mazomani of Carver the writer knows nothing worth recording.

Ishtahkba (Sleepy Eye), as has been already stated, was the only man recognized as chief between St. Lawrence and Lac qui Parle. There were several small villages along the river without chiefs, fragments separated from larger bands. Sleepy Eye lived in summer near Swan lake, but was often at Traverse des Sioux. He appeared to be a thoughtful, prudent man, of placid temper and good understanding. He was called a good chief and was respected by his white acquaintance, but the people who were accounted his were so scattered that he could exercise little authority over them, and the inhabitants of each little village were left to manage their own affairs in their own way.

Itewakinyanna (Thunder Face), chief of the Five Lodges or Two Woods band, was a noted character in his day, a bad leader of a bad band. If his character was not better than his reputation, it was bad enough; but though his people could not well have chosen a worse chief, probably they would not have tolerated a better one. They were as restless and roving, and supposed to be as lawless, as prairie wolves. They were good buffalo hunters, but bad horse thieves, and a terror alike to friends and foes. Though Thunder Face was at their head, it may be that they would have gone farther and done worse without him; for Indian chiefs sometimes seemed to be leading their people when they were only guiding them, as a man when he can no longer hold a runaway horse, still tries to steer him the safest way.

Inyangmani of Lac qui Parle was a better man than chief. He was intelligent and could appear well in conversation, but could not or would not speak in public to the people when they were excited and turbulent, so that his influence was felt least when it was needed most. He was chief in name but not in fact, for while he was silent, others ruled the multitude.

The writer had so little acquaintance with the chiefs at lakes Big Stone and Traverse that he will not attempt to describe them.

There were other men among the Dakotas who were perhaps more worthy of notice than the chiefs who have been mentioned, but my aim is to give a general description of the Dakotas as a people, rather than to write biographic sketches of individuals.

White Men and Half-Breeds.

A description of the Indians would seem incomplete if it made no mention of the white men and half-bloods residing among them.

Henry H. Sibley took charge of the trading post at Mendota in 1834, and had the general superintendence of the affairs of the American Fur Company among the Dakotas of Minnesota. Besides trading with the Indians near Mendota, he furnished traders at remoter stations with merchandise and received from them their furs.

At Mendota the furs were counted, sorted, repacked, and shipped below. The establishment there was the point of rendezvous for all the employees of the Company, and the Indians were in the habit of resorting to it from all parts of the country. Mr. Sibley kept an open house, extending a cordial welcome to all comers, and there were few, either white men or Indians, for a long distance around, who did not at least occasionally pay him a visit.

His hospitalities were extended to others besides residents in this country, for every one from below, drawn hither by business or curiosity, found for a time a home at Mendota; and if he wished to go farther into the interior, he was furnished with such supplies, escort, and commendations, as secured his comfort and safety on his journeys. This generous hospitality was continued until the change in the condition of the country rendered it impracticable and unnecessary.

The exercise of hospitality was not confined to the headquarters of the Fur Company. At each trading post, the traveler was made welcome and received all needed aid to speed him on his way. These old traders were as attentive to the wants of their guests as is the worthy landlord who is animated with the hope of gain.

The frontier post of the Company was at Lake Traverse, where Hazen Mooers was then stationed. He had spent many years at a station still more remote on the Sheyenne river, but that post had been abandoned as too remote. Those who were well acquainted with Mr. Mooers could hardly help regretting that it should have been his lot to spend so much of his life among savages. When, after the war of 1812, the Northwest Fur Company was forbidden to employ foreigners within the territory of the United States, except as common laborers, Americans were advertised for, and Mr.

Mooers, who was a native of the state of New York and was at that time acting deputy collector of customs on the Canadian frontier, went to Montreal and engaged himself to that company for three years. On his return home he found that the collector, by whom he was employed as deputy, was about to resign and intended to recommend him as his successor. He now regretted his engagement and applied to have it canceled, but, failing in that, he came west determined to stay but three years. He was sent far west to the Sheyenne, and when his time expired he was persuaded to stay a while longer; and finally, like most who engaged in the fur trade, he never went back but died among the Dakotas in 1858, aged about seventy years.

He attempted to leave the Indians soon after they ceded their land on the east side of the Mississippi, and opened a farm on Grey Cloud Island, which derived its name from Mrs. Mooers, who was a half-breed. He was industrious but not parsimonious, and had too many Indian visitors, who shared with him the products of his farm, so that he did not succeed as a farmer, and he returned to the Dakotas as an employee of the Government.

No ordinary man could have discharged all the duties which were imposed upon Mr. Mooers by the Company while he was young. When first engaged in trade, he transported his goods in boats from Prairie du Chien to the upper Minnesota, and thence overland to the Sheyenne river. The returns, including many heavy packs of buffalo robes, were of course brought back over the same route. In a high stage of water, and when the current was strong, there were many places where the boats could be forced up the river only by catching the bushes on the shore, by means of iron hooks attached to long poles. Nor was the descent of the stream always without difficulty. He once had his boat sunk and all his furs thrown into the river at Patterson's rapids.

This long journey back and forth had to be made every summer, and a great portion of the winter was spent in traveling from one Indian encampment to another, gathering furs. In the meantime the Canadian voyageurs were to be held in subordination without law or judge, and such an ascendancy must be maintained over the wildest savages of the western plains as would render it safe and profitable to trade with them.

The writer, when on a foot journey in the winter of 1835-6, received some sage advice from Mr. Mooers which perhaps saved his life. Two items of the counsel then given him are here recorded for the benefit of others: first, if attacked by what is commonly called snow blindness, lie down on the back immediately and put snow on the eyes until the pain ceases; second, when overtaken by a violent snow storm on the open prairie, encamp at once, and do not attempt to travel until the air is so clear that you can keep the right course.

Mr. Mooers was a man of good judgment and retentive memory, and was a close observer of men and things. He could have furnished valuable materials which would have served to fill up many a blank space in the history of Minnesota, but such materials are not much valued until, like ancient coins, they become very rare. He was succeeded at Lake Traverse by Joseph R. Brown, a man too well known to the public to need mention here.

The next trading post this side of Lake Traverse was at Lac qui Parle, where Joseph Renville was stationed, who had, during many years more influence with the Indians of the upper Minnesota river than any other man. His mother was a Dakota woman. It has been said that in his boyhood he was taken to Canada and committed to the care of a Catholic priest for instruction; but if this was true, his tutor sadly neglected his duty, for he did not even teach his pupil to read. Excepting his ability to speak French, he had no education which could give him the influence that he acquired.

Renville's ascendancy over the Dakotas was chiefly due to aspiring ambition, joined with native qualities of character which enabled him to carry out his plans successfully. Employed in his youth by Lieutenant Pike and others as interpreter and guide, he had given good satisfaction and had received high commendations. The marked attention which he received from both American and British officers, he would naturally and perhaps justly regard as proof of his superior abilities.

When the writer first saw Mr. Renville, he was about fifty-five or sixty years of age, and had lost the vigor and vivacity of youth. He was short in stature, and in features and complexion he strongly resembled the full-blood Dakotas. Though there were many better looking men among the Dakotas, he was very dignified in his bear-

ing, knew when to be reserved and when to be sociable, and seemed never to forget that he was a great man. To the very few whom he regarded as his superiors he was very deferential; and toward those whom he looked upon as inferiors he was generally patronizing, though sometimes imperious.

Perhaps no man ever spoke the Dakota better than he, and in rendering the French into that language he had no equal. He had a select body of young men, formed into a sort of society, which he often feasted and harangued in a very large tent prepared for that purpose. Their adherence to him and devotion to his interests added greatly for a time to his importance; but their mercenary services, though they gratified his vanity, cost him more than they were worth.

I once had an opportunity to witness some of the services performed for him by these men, while I was riding in a wagon with him and his family from Lac qui Parle to Traverse des Sioux. I drove the horses, and when they mired in a swamp, Mr. Renville told me to sit still and let them alone. It seemed a strange time to sit still while the horses were floundering in the deep mire and water, but I obeyed. Soon the Indians who were traveling with us came, released the horses, and drew us out to the dry ground. This was repeated as often as was necessary on the journey. Mr. Renville affected to regard these extraordinary services with indifference and as a matter of course, but he was evidently very much gratified by them.

But while we were riding so comfortably through the swamps, I was surprised to see that one of Mr. Renville's daughters, an unmarried girl, who drove one horse and a cart, was permitted to do her own wading. She was, however, a hardy, independent damsel, and had probably chosen the mode of traveling which pleased her best.

In the spring of 1839, Joseph R. Brown had a serious difficulty with the Indians at Lake Traverse, and they wounded him, killed his teams, and placed him so that he could not bring away his furs. He applied for help to Mr. Renville, who sent his son with his Indians and teams to bring away Mr. Brown and his furs. As there were apprehensions of resistance on the part of the Lake Traverse Indians, the writer asked Mr. Renville if it would not be better for

him to go himself. He replied, "I have sent my name by my son and that is enough," and it was enough.

He was for a time in possession of a large amount of property, and his establishment at Lac qui Parle was quite extensive. He owned a hundred head of cattle, twenty or thirty horses, and a flock of sheep. The sheep and cattle were being driven through from Missouri to the British settlement on the Red river when their owners were driven away by the Indians, and he gathered up the stock, but he informed me that he afterward paid for them.

The family of Mr. Renville was large, and his dependents were numerous. Travelers received at his house a cordial reception and friendly entertainment, and he gave much to the poor, many of whom he had always with him. He lived to see his property all dissipated and himself neglected by many who had profited by his generosity and flattered his vanity during the days of his prosperity. Renville was certainly a man of superior natural abilities, and he had many admirers; but the most prominent traits of his character were such as belonged rather to a Dakota than to a white man.

The next permanent trading post below Lac qui Parle was at Traverse des Sioux, and was occupied for thirty or forty years by Louis Provencalle. He was commonly called Le Blanc by the whites and Skadan by the Indians, both names signifying the white man. Though a native of Canada, he was a genuine Gaul, and had all the external politeness and internal fire of a native Frenchman, as much as though he had been born on the banks of the Seine. He was vivacious, jovial and bland, but it was said that he was not remarkable for the placidity or equanimity of his temper. It was said that once when greatly enraged at the loss of his chickens, he had skinned an unlucky wolf alive. This last statement must appear incredible to those who saw the old gentleman only in his best moods. He received the casual visitor, though a stranger, with a courteous welcome, and on his departure, accompanying him to the door, or farther, dismissed him with a friendly Adieu.

Provencalle spoke the Dakota language with fluency and force, but with bold violations of grammatical rules. He was aware that his manner of speaking was not faultless, and he once told the writer that, to please his sons, who thought they could speak much better than he, he had tried them a little as interpreters, but found

that though their speech might sound better to the Indians than his, it made less impression on them. He had come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding his grammatical blunders and bad pronounciation, no one could speak as well for him as he could speak for himself, and said that he should do his own talking while he was able.

In the winter of 1835-6, while I was detained at his house for a day or two by a cold wind and drifting snow, he brought forward his account book and requested me to write in it the names of his debtors. Some of the names were already written, probably by his son, who was then absent. The book was certainly a curious specimen of ingenuity. Le Blanc (Provencalle) told me that he met with no serious difficulty in keeping his accounts, except in writing the names of his customers so that in case of his death others should know who were meant. So far as the charges were concerned, one could, with the key to the book, soon learn to read it, for each kind of goods had a specific mark or figure. When practicable he drew a rude figure of the article, and when the thing could not be thus designated, some arbitrary mark was substituted, and a particular meaning assigned to it. This mode of keeping accounts had one advantage over others, in that the Indians could easily learn to read this picture writing and see for themselves how their accounts stood; but the old gentleman told me he had met with an insurmountable difficulty in attempting to write the names of persons so that others could read them. His pictures answered very well for recording most names derived from visible objects; for instance, for Chanrpiuha, he could make the picture of a man holding a war-club, which expressed the meaning of the name. But he could not write such names as Whistling Wind, Thunder Face, etc., so that any but himself could read them. He told me that he considered his attempts to write such names a failure, and so did I, but I did not think the failure due to any lack of genius. I wrote the names, but the hieroglyphics were retained for his use, as he could not read my writing better than others could his.

Le Blanc was very industrious and economical, and had accumulated some property; but he found it easier to acquire property while his children were young than to keep it after they were grown up, and this was the case with many of the fur traders.

The children of the traders were the aristocracy of the land, and naturally considered it beneath them to engage in the pursuits of the Indians, or in the employment of common laborers, while there was nothing else for them to do by which they could earn a livelihood. At the same time their position seemed to render it fit that they should live in better style than the Indians and voyageurs; and, spending much while earning little, they soon ran through the property acquired by their fathers, and were left without either means of support or ability to take care of themselves. Some of them, who had an opportunity to engage in business, instead of spending what others had earned, accumulated property for themselves; but as a class they were placed in circumstances very unfavorable to the cultivation of frugal and industrious habits.

In 1834 Philander Prescott commenced trading at Traverse des Sioux in competition with Le Blanc. He was a native of New York state, like Mr. Mooers, and came to this territory as clerk of the sutler's store at Fort Snelling when he was about eighteen years of age. He was an industrious man, but made frequent changes from one employment to another. He was at one time engaged in the service of the American Fur Company, was afterward an independent trader, and after the treaty of 1837 he opened a farm at the mouth of the St. Croix, on the Wisconsin side, where the town of Prescott now stands. He was not successful as a farmer, and brought less property away from Prescott than he carried there, but left his name as a perpetual memorial.

After Mr. Prescott's return from the St. Croix, he was employed as Government interpreter at the Agency several years and lived in the vicinity of Fort Snelling. He finally accompanied the Indians to the Reserve, and was there killed by them in the massacre of 1862. Though at the time very unwell, he fled from the Lower Agency on foot and alone toward Fort Ridgely, and had nearly reached the fort, when he was met by some Indians of his acquaintance. They appeared friendly, and after conversing with him a minute, passed on as if they did not intend to molest him, but turned and shot him in the back. Prescott lacked some of the personal qualities which a white man living among the Indians at that time needed to enable him to restrain them when turbulent and unreasonable, but he was a man of mild and pleasant disposition and

had many friends. Even his murderers seem to have been ashamed to have him know that they intended to kill him, for they did not attack him in front, although he was unarmed, feeble, and defenceless.

Jean Baptiste Faribault traded at Carver, and his son Alexander on Cannon river, but they both resided most of the time at Mendota. After the father died, the son resided in the town of Faribault, which was founded by him, and where he died in 1882. As he will never see this, I will record here that Alexander Faribault was a favorite with all who knew him.

At the lower end of Lake Pepin lived Louis Rock (or Roche), a French Canadian, who traded with the Kiuksa band. In the spring of 1837 the writer was his guest for a week, and though he never saw him afterward he always retained a pleasant remembrance of his frank, courteous manners and generous hospitality. A short time before, Jack Frazer and others had killed a Sac Indian, and, as was common in such cases, the Dakotas were in constant alarm, expecting the Sacs to return the visit. One evening there was a report that the enemy was near, which caused great excitement among the few Dakotas who were there at that time. Mr. Rock did not seem to be much terrified but was quite animated, as he called out to his sons, "Chargez les fusils, arrangez les haches," etc. The alarm was a false one, and the guns and hatchets were not needed.

I have been thus particular in speaking of the old traders, because they were important characters here thirty or forty years ago. They, with their dependents, were almost the only representatives of the civilized world in this far-off country. The old trading posts were not regarded with indifference by the traveler, for, from one end of the land to the other, he found no other shelter from the inclemency of the weather, except the little, crowded tepees of the Indians, and they had no fixed abiding place more than the wild buffalo.

If a traveler sought food and shelter in an Indian camp, he might find only the tepee poles, or, if on the prairie, not even these, where the Dakota tents had stood the day before. But the trading establishments, which have been mentioned, were always there and always open to all who needed food and shelter.

Mention has been made only of those posts which were permanently occupied on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers by the American Fur Company, but there were posts of other traders, not connected with that company, called independent traders.

Mr. D. B. Baker established himself near the noted spring by the Mississippi about a mile above Fort Snelling, and did a large business furnishing goods to many independent traders. He supplied traders both among the Dakotas and the Ojibways. He built the first stone house erected in Minnesota, except those belonging to the Government.

After Baker's death, which occurred in 1839, he was succeeded in business by Hon. Norman W. Kittson, since mayor of St. Paul, who for many years did an extensive business in the fur trade.

At the time of which I am writing, in 1834, Major Lawrence Taliaferro was Government Agent to the Dakotas. He was appointed to that office in 1819, and resigned in 1840. He was a man of generous, friendly disposition, and was more popular with both whites and Indians than agents usually are. He was very gentle in his treatment of the Indians, being averse to the use of harsh means in dealing with them. Perhaps the prompt severity of the commanders of the garrison sometimes needed to be tempered a little by the mildness of the agent. Some thought that he was too lenient, but the persons and property of the whites were certainly as safe during his term of office as ever after. He once stated, in a paper which was published, that during the twenty-one years of his residence here no white person was killed by these Dakotas.

Taliaferro did not always give satisfaction to all, but he was probably more popular with all classes of persons than any who have since held the office of Indian Agent in Minnesota. He was so affable in manners and social in disposition, and continued here so long, that there were few persons living in what is now Minnesota, who were not acquainted with him. The poorer class of whites received many little favors from him and were sorry to part with him, while the Indians long deplored the departure of Mazabaksa, as they called him. He died in Pennsylvania, his native state, in 1871.

While we remember Taliaferro, we cannot forget his interpreter, Scott Campbell, a half-breed, who was a boy when Lewis and Clark passed through the country of the Dakotas on their exploring ex-

pedition. Lewis, taking a fancy to the lad, took him with him on his return to the states. After the murder or suicide of his patron, Campbell returned to his own people; and when the writer first knew him, he was Government Interpreter at the Agency near Fort Snelling. He is gone, but his old acquaintances will not soon forget him; and he had many acquaintances, for he was not only interpreter for government officials, but was also the general medium of communication between the Indians and all officers and privates at the fort who wished to converse with them. Young officers, having abundance of leisure, often had dealings of one kind and another with the Indians, using Scott Campbell as their interpreter, and he was ready to say almost anything in Dakota, French, or English, whenever it would accommodate others or add a little to his own scanty salary.

In the winter of 1834-5, Lieutenant (afterward Major) Ogden, and other young officers, by the aid of Campbell, obtained quite an extensive list of Dakota words with their meanings in English. They went through the English dictionary, taking all the words which Campbell thought he could render into Dakota. The writers labored under the disadvantage of having no suitable alphabet, and many of the definitions were inaccurate; but the work was very valuable to us who were then learning the Dakota language, and we thought the young lieutenants had spent their leisure hours to good advantage.

Ogden gave his carefully written manuscript to my brother, Gideon H. Pond, and myself, and we could not have found any other book or manuscript in any language that would have been so acceptable as that was. With considerable labor, we learned from the Indians the correct pronunciation and signification of the words; and when they were written in our new alphabet, which we had just completed, these words and definitions, with what we had gathered from other sources, made quite an encouraging beginning of the Dakota and English Lexicon which was long afterward edited by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs and published by the Smithsonian Institution.

Mr. Campbell was, in his general deportment, very mild, quiet and gentlemanly, always ready to smoke or chat with white men or Indians, carefully avoiding all harsh language and disagreeable

topics; but he had a fiery temper which sometimes broke through the smooth external covering in such ebullitions of passion as we might expect from one in whom were mingled the Scotch and Dakota blood.

He was skillful as an interpreter, and perhaps more skillful as a mis-interpreter. When translating for Major Taliaferro, he gave a true rendering of what was said, for the major knew the Dakota language too well himself to be deceived by an interpreter; but for those who were ignorant of the language he sometimes used his own discretion in the choice of what to say. The words of the speaker, whether Dakota or English, lost all their asperity, and often much of their meaning, in passing through his interpretation. He told what he thought the speaker should have said rather than what he did say, and frequently a good understanding seemed to have been restored, simply because there had been no understanding at all. The grievous words which stir up strife might go into his ears but did not come out of his mouth, especially when it was for his interest to restore peace between the contending parties. This readiness to substitute his own language for that which he professed to translate might not be the best qualification for an interpreter, and sometimes it proved mischievous; but he doubtless intercepted many harsh and passionate words, which, if they had reached their destination, would have done more harm than good.

Scott Campbell no longer sits smoking his long pipe, and conversing in low tones with the listless loungers around the old Agency House; but who that resided in this country thirty or forty years ago can pass by the old stone houses near Fort Snelling and not think of Major Taliaferro and of his interpreter?

The white men and half-breeds have been thus briefly noticed, since they, with many others who must be passed over in silence, formed a few years ago a very important part of the population of Minnesota. Many of them were men of no ordinary ability. The American Fur Company did not entrust thousands of dollars' worth of goods to irresolute, rash, or weak-minded men, to be carried hundreds of miles away from all protection of law and authority, where all might be lost by the action or inaction of a stupid, rash, or timid man.

Those who had been long employed at the outposts of the Company were familiar with wild adventures and desperate emergencies, so that they came at last to regard them as ordinary events, hardly worth relating; and one might be with some of them for weeks without learning that they had ever met with any but the most ordinary occurrences. If they were more irregular in their habits and erratic in their conduct than were those whom they had left behind them under the restraints of civilized society, this irregularity should be attributed to their peculiar situation.

Their occupation is gone, and as a class they have passed away; but it is not long since they, with their jolly, reckless voyageurs, were the only white men who passed up and down these rivers, and back and forth across the prairies of Minnesota. The steamboat has driven away the boatman's barge, and the railroad train has superceded the fur traders' carts.

Doubtless these changes are all for the better, but there are a few of us yet left, who cannot banish recollections of the past, if we would; and we sometimes almost wish that, instead of the shrill scream of the steam whistle, we could hear again the merry song of the boatman, and see, just once more, our old friends the traders, each one at his post.

Food, Agriculture, Game and Fish.

Before the sale of their lands east of the Mississippi in 1837, the Dakotas of Minnesota lived almost exclusively on the products of the chase and fishing, with such vegetable food as grew spontaneously. At most of the villages a very little corn was raised by some of the families, but only enough to supply them with food for a few days. Before 1834, no land had been plowed by or for them, except a little at Lake Calhoun. Mr. Renville's relatives raised a little corn at Lac qui Parle, but only a little. More corn was raised at that time at Lake Traverse than anywhere else among the Dakotas. Mr. Mooers, who had been there many years, had persuaded the Indians to plant corn. Major Long found him at Lake Traverse, and mentions the corn fields which he saw.

In 1835 the Indians at Lake Traverse seem to have raised a surplus of corn, for Joseph R. Brown bought large quantities of it, some of which he carried seventy miles to Lac qui Parle and sold

for a dollar a bushel. But in 1834, except at Lake Traverse, there was very little corn or anything else raised here by the Dakotas.

All the ground planted by them was dug up by the women with hoes. They usually selected a place where there was a thrifty growth of wild artichokes, as they were likely to find the soil in such places rich and mellow. They began by digging up a little conical mound for one hill, and then another by it, and so on, without any regular rows, till the little patch was dug over.

They never planted until they found ripe strawberries, and then soaked their seed corn till it sprouted, planting it with their hands quite deep. As soon as it showed three or four leaves, they loosened the earth around it with their fingers, and when it was large enough hilled it up thoroughly with hoes. They usually planted a small kind of corn that ripened early, but they had larger kinds and often raised good crops.

To the ripening corn the birds were more troublesome then than now, but scaffolds were erected in each field for watch-towers, and, as the fields were small and close together, the women with the help of their children, kept off the blackbirds, of which two species were abundant, one wholly black, the other red-winged. A peculiar cry, heard only on such occasions, announced the arrival of a flock of birds, and, being joined in by all the watchers, was continued until the birds withdrew.

So little corn was then raised by the Dakotas that some of the bands ate all they had while it was green, and many did not plant at all. Some of their corn was preserved by boiling it before it was hard, scraping it from the cob with mussel-shells, and drying it. What was not devoured before it was ripe, they husked, leaving two or three leaves of the husk attached to the ear, and, braiding it in strings four or five feet long, hung it in the sunshine to dry. When it was thoroughly dry, they spread their tents on the ground, and putting the corn on them, shelled it by pounding with clubs.

The corn that was not to be used immediately was put in barrels made of bark, and buried in the ground to be dug up when needed. It was usually left buried until the owners returned from the deer-hunt in January, and was so concealed that, when the snow was on the ground, none but the owners could easily find it.

The Dakotas planted little else but corn, and probably did not raise enough annually on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers to feed the whole population more than a week or two. But they obtained considerable quantities of vegetable food which they found growing wild. Of course they gathered berries, plums, nuts, etc., wherever they found them; and they also made use of many plants as food which are neglected by the whites.

Of these native food plants the most important were the psincha, the psinchincha, the mdo, the wild turnip or pomme de terre, the water-lily, and wild rice. The psinchincha is a root, in shape resembling a hen's egg, and about half as large. The psincha is spherical and about an inch in diameter. They both grow at the bottom of shallow lakes, and the former sometimes grows in marshy ground, where there is not much water. These roots and those of the water-lily were dug, some by the men but more by the women. They often gathered them where the water was waist-deep, feeling for them with their feet at the bottom of the lakes.

When a psinchincha is detached from the mud, it immediately rises to the surface of the water; but the psincha does not float, and must be raised by the foot until it can be reached by the hand, a difficult operation, requiring much dexterity where the water is up to the arms as it often is where they grow. Formerly scores of women might be seen together in shallow lakes, gathering these treasures of the deep. As they could not dig these subaqueous roots with their skirts on, they wore instead an indispensible article of male attire. The work was disagreeable, but their families must be fed.

There is a root growing on dry land, which they called mdo, the name which they gave potatoes. It is the root of a slender vine which coils around weeds growing near it, and resembles the sweet potato more than the common potato. It frequently grows as large as a good sized potato, and, when of the right age, is very good; but it is nowhere very plentiful, and can seldom be obtained in any quantity without great labor and perseverance.

About the headwaters of the Minnesota river, the wild turnip grows singly, scattered over the prairies, and was an important article of food. These roots were dug, one by one, from the hard ground with a sharp stick, costing much labor. Indeed it was slow

and hard work to collect any of the roots that have been mentioned, and frequently a peck of them cost a hard day's work.

In some parts of the country the Dakotas harvested considerable quantities of wild rice, which is both palatable and nutritious. It was collected by two persons in a canoe, one propelling the canoe while the other bent over the heads of rice and beat the seeds into the canoe with a stick. The rice was separated from the chaff by scorching it in a kettle and then beating it in a mortar made by digging a circular hole in the ground and lining it with deer-skin. If the work was done by men, they trampled on the rice with their feet; if by women, they beat it with the end of a stick.

When food was scarce, the Dakotas ate acorns and the vine of the bitter-sweet. They also obtained an article of food by boiling hickory chips, and thus extracting the sap. There were other vegetable productions eaten by them, which have not been mentioned; but by far the greater portion of their subsistence was obtained by hunting and fishing.

Mr. Oliver Faribault told the writer that he purchased in one year fifteen hundred deer-skins from the bands of Shakopee and Carver. As the Indians used many of their deer-skins for domestic purposes, these two bands must have killed during that year more than two thousand deer. This seems a large number, but the meat would not last them long, for there would be but two or three deer in the whole year for each individual, and a man will soon devour a deer when he has nothing else to eat with it. Some of the best hunters killed sixty or more deer in a year, but such success in hunting was rare.

Next in importance to deer as food were ducks and geese, and in some parts of the country they were perhaps of even greater importance.

Occasionally a few elk were killed. Two of these animals were killed while crossing the Minnesota river at Bloomington, about the year 1840. They were, however, seldom seen near that river.

Bears were occasionally found in considerable numbers, but the hunt for them was uncertain, since they wandered about the country in search of food, having no particular place of resort, so that the Indians never knew where to look for them. In the winter, several bears were sometimes found in dens not far from each other,

lying partially torpid, with their heads near the mouths of their dens, and were easily killed; but successful bear-hunts were not of very frequent occurrence.

The Dakotas in the western part of Minnesota hunted buffalo, and many of them frequently came eastward to the Big Woods in winter in quest of deer.

Besides the animals mentioned above, they of course ate many smaller ones, but there were some which they did not eat except in case of necessity. They ordinarily ate few birds or quadrupeds which are considered unfit for food by white men.

It is well known that dog-flesh was considered a delicacy by them, but it was seldom eaten except on great occasions. The writer had determined never to taste canine flesh, but his Indian friends contrived to have him eat it unwittingly, and he was compelled to admit that it was very good. The exploring party of Lewis and Clark, when they were at the mouth of the Columbia, learned to prefer the flesh of Indian dogs to that of any other animal, but they did not find their own dogs so good to eat.

Horses were eaten by the Dakotas when threatened with starvation, and some of them ate such as were killed accidentally or by mischievous persons.

Muskrats were esteemed good food in winter and early spring, but not in warm weather.

Fish and turtles were consumed by them in great quantities, but they did not like to be confined to a diet of fish. In fishing they used hooks and spears in summer and winter. In the spring many fish were killed in the lakes and rivers, and in the small streams where they went in immense numbers to deposit their spawn. The suckers which they took at such times they preserved by drying them over fires.

In the winter they cut holes through the ice, and, crouching down with their blankets spread over them to exclude the light, waited patiently for the fish to approach the aperture where they could spear them. Sometimes they used bows and arrows instead of spears, a string being attached to the arrow so that it might be drawn back again. Winter fishing was most practiced by the upper Indians, they sometimes depending a long time on fish alone for subsistence. It was tedious, dreary work on the large lakes in cold

weather. When the writer once said to a man, who had been fishing on Lac qui Parle one very cold day, "You were a brave man to go on the lake on such a day," he replied, "I don't know whether I was brave or foolhardy."

Frequently when the snow closed up the cracks in the ice, the fish, to avoid suffocation, crowded together at springs, and were easily taken in great quantities. When the fish could find no opening in the ice, they either made one by crowding in immense numbers to one point, or many of them smothered and in the spring were thrown upon the shore by the waves, when they were gathered up and eaten by the Indians if found before they were spoiled.

The Dakotas had a large tract of country from which to draw their supplies, and, before they received annuities, were more energetic and industrious than is generally supposed, but they often suffered for want of food. Unsuccessful hunting parties, from Lac qui Parle and other places in that region, sometimes lost numbers by starvation. In the winter of 1834-5 the Indians at Carver were in a state of great destitution, and provisions were sent to them from Fort Snelling. Such cases of destitution were not rare, and the traders relieved the most pressing wants of the natives when it was in their power; but, at the frontier posts, the traders themselves often suffered from want of provisions. The occasional scarcity of food was not always to be ascribed to the indolence or wasteful habits of the Indians, but is incident to the life of a hunter, whenever game is scarce and the cold severe. They sometimes suffered the most when they were making the greatest efforts to support themselves; and their longest journeys in pursuit of food, if unsuccessful, were the most disastrous.

Dress and Ornaments.

So many have seen the Indian dress that a description of it may seem superfluous, but it will soon be seen no more, and the native dress as now worn is not exactly in the fashion of 1834.

The entire dress of the Dakota female consisted of a coat, skirt, leggings, moccasins, and blanket. The coat of a woman was made of about two yards of printed cotton cloth. The sleeves were tight, and it was fitted closely to the body, but was sewed up only an inch or two on the breast, the neck being bare and the coat open at the lower end. The skirt was made of a single piece of blue

broadcloth, the ends being lapped and sewed together, but not across the whole breadth. It was supported at the waist by a girdle, the cloth being doubled under the sash, the outer fold not hanging so low as the inner one. By changing the length of the outer fold, this skirt might be shortened or lengthened to suit the taste or necessity of the wearer. The skirt was worn smooth in front and behind, but was gathered at the sides. The lower end reached about half way from the knee to the ankle, but was often lower than that; and when the wearer was walking in deep snow, or through grass and bushes, it was worn shorter.

The reader will perceive that what is said about Indian women having no weight of garments to carry on their hips is without foundation in fact, for in this respect they had no advantage over white women.

Their leggings were made of red or blue broadcloth, reaching from the knee to the ankle, fastened at the upper end with garters, and tucked into the moccasins at the lower.

There was no covering for the heads of females except the blanket. Some had their coats for winter made of woolen cloth, and others wore more than one cotton one; but both women and girls might be seen chopping wood in the coldest weather without mittens, and with nothing on their arms and shoulders but one thickness of cotton cloth. The blanket, however, was either fastened to their waists or lying near by, ready to be wrapped around them as soon as they had chopped what wood they could carry.

The dress of the Ihanktonwan women differed somewhat from that which has been described. Their skirts reached to their arms and were supported by shoulder straps, leaving their arms bare. Among the upper Indians many females wore leather garments instead of cloth.

Dakota women of this part of the country wore the most convenient dress that could be devised; and, except that the coat needed a few more stitches in front, it was decent and becoming. The common dress has been described, but let not the reader imagine that because they were all Indian women, their wardrobes were all alike. Some were much more costly than others. An Indian woman of my acquaintance was offered fifty dollars for her blanket, which offer she refused; and her husband told me that it cost more

than that. Many other Dakota women had blankets nearly or quite as costly. They also often had other costly garments. The blanket referred to was made of fine blue cloth, heavily and tastefully adorned with silk ribbons of various colors. Some had a band of embroidered work, a foot or more wide, running around the bottom of their skirts, consisting of silk ribbons of diverse colors, folded together and laid on in such a manner as to present a variety of figures, with a blending of different colors, among which the more glaring colors, such as red or yellow, by no means predominated. The colors and figures as they were selected, combined, and arranged by them, were not such as we should have expected from persons of coarse, uncultivated tastes.

Besides the embroidery work of ribbons and beads with which they profusely decorated many of their garments, they wore other ornaments, some of which were of silver or imitation of silver, among which were thin, circular plates, two or three inches in diameter, worn on the bosom, often many at once, so that the breast was nearly covered with them. The necks of many of the young women were loaded with beads, and their ears with earrings. My brother once ascertained, by weighing, that one girl wore seven pounds of beads on her neck at once, which, however, was extravagant even for an Indian girl.

Many of the Dakota women and girls wore ornaments sparingly, and exhibited good taste in selecting them. When many beads were worn, they were so arranged, by making the strings of different lengths, that they covered the throat and breast.

Their hair was combed smoothly back and braided in two braids, one behind each ear, the ends of the braids hanging down on the breast in front.

The females used little paint. The young women put a little vermilion on the top of the head where the hair was parted, and, with the end of the finger, painted a small red spot on each cheek. The women, when young, were few of them very beautiful or very ugly, and many of them made a fine appearance when in full dress.

The Indian women, however, all had plenty of work to do, and could only occasionally find time to exhibit themselves or display their decorations. Their ornaments and costly raiment were not worn every day, but were carefully treasured up to be worn in some

great assembly, as at a medicine dance or some other great meeting, where they would not shine in vain; for there are some slight points of resemblance between the red squaws whom we despise and the white ladies whom we admire.

It is not to be understood, from what has been said, that the Dakota women were ordinarily arrayed in goodly apparel, for it is the gala dress of the aristocracy that has been described. Always many of them were destitute, not only of ornaments, but of comfortable clothing. All wore plain garments when about their ordinary business, and middle-aged women made little use of ornaments; but the girls would have them if they could get them, for "Can a maid forget her ornaments?" even though she be an Indian maid.

The clothing of the men was doubtless well suited to their mode of life, but we can hardly regret that the time is near when such clothing will be no longer needed. They wore heavy blankets of coarse wool, and of dimensions suited to the size of the wearer; for these blankets were made expressly for them, and of all needed sizes. They were generally white, but some were red, green, or blue. They preferred the white for hunting, believing that the game was less afraid of them.

In cold weather the Dakota men frequently wore buffalo skins when traveling; and, for some of the old and feeble, blankets were made of deer-skin dressed with the hair on, because they were warmer than cloth and lighter than buffalo robes.

In summer the men wore shirts made of cotton, and in winter they wore, over these shirts, coats made of blankets, reaching to the knees. The coats were without buttons, and, being lapped in front, were fastened by one or more coils of steel wire, such as they used in drawing charges from their guns. These garments were warm and serviceable, but must have been very plain, for a woman could make one in three or four hours.

Their leggings were nearly as long as their legs, and were supported by straps fastened to their girdles. The lower end was made to fit the top of the foot, and, being drawn down tight over the moccasin, was fastened by straps which passed under the hollow of the foot. They were made of buckskin in winter, but in wet weather cloth was preferred; and in cold weather both cloth and leather ones might be worn at the same time.

The breech-cloth was made of blue woolen cloth, about a foot wide and three or four feet long. It passed between the legs and under the belt in front and rear, the ends hanging down a foot or more, like an apron, before and behind.

In winter they wore hoods made of white blankets, though some of the young men preferred blue broadcloth.

Their mittens were very large, of the skin of some animal tanned with the hair on, and were fastened together with a cord passing over the shoulders. When they wished to use their hands, as in shooting, loading their guns, cutting up game, etc., they drew them out of their mittens, which were used only to keep the hands warm while walking. The women used cloth mittens when cutting dead grass out of the snow for their tents, but most of their work they did bare-handed.

The socks, both of men and women, were simply oblong pieces of blanket wrapped skillfully around the foot. When expecting to walk far, they put fine, dry grass in the moccasin under the foot, which by its elasticity protected the foot and was a help in walking.

They girded up their loins by wrapping their blankets around their waists and binding them fast with girdles. The lower end of the blanket, double in front, reached about to the knees, and the upper part was wrapped about the head and shoulders, protecting all the upper part of the body and also the hands and face. There could be no better defense against the cold, for the body, hands, and face, than an Indian blanket or buffalo robe, worn in the Indian fashion; nor a better protection in extreme cold weather, for the feet and legs, than the Indian leggings and moccasins.

Hunters wore very different moccasins from those found in the markets. The dress moccasins of the men were garnished with porcupine quills, beads, and ribbons; and many other articles of male attire were elaborately decorated by the women. The bonnets for men, the apron part of the breech-cloth, their leggings, knife sheaths, and shot-bags, were ornamented with quills, ribbons, or beads; but these showy decorations were prized only by the young, and were discarded by the middle-aged and old.

Men cut off their hair across the forehead a little above the eyes, but wore the rest long. Not a few had curly hair, but neither males nor females patronized curls. The young men braided their hair

in two braids behind, and also had several small braids hanging down on each side of the face, to which were fastened many small metal ornaments.

They spent much time in painting their faces with various kinds of paints, and carried little mirrors hanging to their girdles, of which they made great use. The females were told that if they looked in mirrors their eyes would be spoiled, but there were other reflectors besides looking-glasses, and probably most of them knew how they looked. None but the young men spent much time at the toilet, and not all of them were fops. The older men did not braid their hair often, but confined it with a band tied around the head. They were most of the time bareheaded, and their hair, when not braided, was a great defence against the cold.

Young men often wore skunk skins, unseemly ornaments, tied to their ankles.

When hunting or traveling, each man carried with him a bag made of the skin of a mink, skunk, or some other small animal, tanned with the hair on. These skins were taken off entire, with the head, feet and tail attached to them, the carcass being taken out through a hole cut in the skin of the throat, and the aperture thus made served for the mouth of the bag. It was suspended from the waist by thrusting the head under the girdle, and was of great importance to the owner, for it was the only pocket an Indian had. In it were carried the pipe and tobacco, the touchwood, flint, and fire-steel. All these were important articles, for without them there could be no smoking, and what was worse, especially in winter, no fire. This was called the "fire-steel bag," and they carefully guarded against losing it or having the contents wet. They were as careful of it, when away from home in cold weather, as an elephant is of his trunk.

The clothing of the men was well enough, comfortable, and convenient; but the hunter often returned wet from the melting snow or from wading streams, or from hunting around lakes or marshes, so that his garments, at least his leggings, must be pulled off and hung up to dry. This stripping off their clothes from necessity soon became a habit. An Indian, especially an old one, when the weather was warm and he was at home, never liked to wear anything that he could do without, and he could do without everything

except the breech-cloth, which alone was indispensable. Much of the time he wore nothing else, but let us give him credit for keeping on his one garment. If he had been as shameless as savages are in some parts of the earth, he would have stripped that off too, which he never did. When most naked he was better clothed than even the females of some savage tribes.

Dwellings and Furniture.

The Dakota houses for summer residence were made of bark, supported by a frame of poles. In building them, they first set small posts in the ground, inclosing as large a space as the house was to occupy. These posts were set a foot or two apart, and were about three inches in diameter. On the sides of the house, they were five or six feet long reaching to the eaves, and on the gable ends they were longer toward the center, reaching to the roof. Strong forked posts were set at each end of the house, and, if necessary, one in the center, to support the ridgepole. The upper ends of the rafters rested on the ridgepole, and the lower ends on horizontal poles, which were fastened to the tops of the posts at the sides of the house. Small poles were placed transversely across the upright posts and the rafters, and were tied to the latter with basswood bark, so that the whole frame was a kind of wickerwork made of poles crossing each other at right angles. The covering of the house was taken from standing elm trees, a single bark being taken from each tree. The pieces of bark were five or six feet long and of different widths, according to the size of the trees from which they were taken. The bark was thick and some of the pieces were very heavy when green, being five or six feet square. They were fastened to the transverse poles with basswood bark, and the whole house was covered with them. Those on the roof were lapped like shingles. The poles were all peeled, and the houses, when new, looked very neat. The doors were in the ends of the house, the larger houses having a door in each end, and the small ones having but one.

On each side of the interior of the house, running the whole length of it, and on three sides if there was but one door, a bench was constructed, about two feet high, covered with bark, and in some places spread over with buffalo robes and mats. These bench-

es or bedsteads were five or six feet wide, and on them the inmates of the house sat, ate, and slept.

Much of the labor of building was performed by women, but they were aided by the men who always put on the roof, that not being considered proper work for women. The roofs were waterproof, and the houses were quite comfortable in summer, the only season in which they were occupied. They were made of different sizes, according to the number and ability of the builders. Some of them were occupied by two or more families, some by a single one. The fire was built on the ground in the center of the house, and the smoke escaped through an aperture left in the roof.

A Dakota tent or tepee of ordinary size was made of eight dressed buffalo skins, sewed together with sinews, and when set up was of a conical shape, about twelve feet in height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter at the bottom. When a tent was to be set up, three poles a little longer than the tent were tied together near the top, and were set up standing some distance apart at the bottom. Nine other poles were next set around in a circle, leaning at the top against the three first set up. The tent, or tepee covering, was then laid on the ground at full length, so folded that when it was raised by means of a pole attached to the top, it could be quickly spread around the standing poles and fastened together with pins running through loops. In the center of the tent, a space for the fire three or four feet square was fenced with sticks of wood, outside of which the ground was covered with hay, and that was spread over with buffalo robes except on the side toward the door.

The side of the tent opposite the door was considered the place of honor. The owner of the tent and his wife usually occupied one side. The woman sat nearest the door, for the purpose of being near the cooking utensils, and for convenience in reaching the wood which lay just outside the door. Lady visitors did not pass by the men, but sat down between them and the door, though no space in the tent was interdicted to women; and when men were not in the way, they sat where they pleased. I have many times seen those who were engaged in needlework occupying the place opposite the door, while men were in the house. The tent belonged not to the man but to the woman, and she occupied that part of it that was the most convenient for the work she had to do. None

were permitted to stand upright in the tent when it could be avoided. The tents were nearly white when new, and were translucent, but old ones were dingy and dark.

When whole, well set, and warmed by a good fire, the tent or tepee was tolerably comfortable even in the coldest weather; but new ones were costly, and the poorer families often lived in old tepees that were cold and uncomfortable. On the whole, no better dwelling for summer or winter could be devised for hunters, than those used by the Dakotas. They used no candles, but selected the dryest wood for their fires and split it very fine, so that it might give light. For a momentary light they used bark torches or a wisp of hay lighted.

On their hunting excursions, the Dakotas could carry but little furniture and it was useless for them to own much more than they could carry, for, if left behind, it was in danger of being stolen. Kettles, dishes, and spoons were indispensable; so were buffalo robes and pillows, and these were about all the articles of household furniture that they always kept with them. If they had buffalo robes and pillows to sleep on, one kettle for boiling food and another for bringing water, and a dish and spoon for each member of the family, they could get along very well, though some families always carried with them some other little articles of furniture. They used no beds except mats, skins, and blankets, but each one had a pillow of feathers. When a party of men went out to hunt a few days without their families, they carried little or no furniture with them.

They used wooden dishes and wooden or horn spoons, both of their own manufacture, and their kettles were of sheet iron. The spoons were used as dippers to drink from. They did not use forks, but each one carried a knife in a sheath under the belt.

Tools and Weapons; Manufactures.

They used no agricultural implements except hoes, which were narrow but heavy and strong and furnished with short strong handles for digging in the hard ground. The hoes were used more for other purposes than for planting, and were carried on their journeys, to be used in leveling the ground for their tents, digging roots, and so forth.

Their axes were light, being narrow at the head and widening toward the cutting edge. They were made to receive a large, round handle, for such a handle as we use would have been too weak to answer their purpose. In splitting a log, they struck the ax under a thin piece of wood and pried it off.

Both hoes and axes were made of various sizes, some for strong women and some for little girls. Armed with these axes or hatchets, women would cut down trees averaging two feet in diameter or even more, to get a few dry branches. They were very particular about their wood, and, before venturing to take any of which they stood in doubt, were in the habit of cutting out little chips and putting them in their mouths, to ascertain whether they were sufficiently dry.

They had awls for sewing leather and needles for cloth. For sewing cloth they used thread, and sinews taken from the backs of deer were used for sewing leather.

Men made little use of any tools except such as were needed in hunting and war. For edge tools they had little beside hatchets and knives, and with these they made whatever they manufactured of wood. The knife, which was ground only on one side, served for draw-knife and plane, and in whittling they drew it toward them, cutting, when they wished to, very straight. The hatchet which they carried with them when hunting was very small, was tucked under the girdle, and was used in cutting animals out of hollow trees, killing wounded deer, etc. Tomahawk and scalping-knife were nothing more than the common hatchet and knife.

Young men occasionally carried bows and arrows, but more for show than use, except as they sometimes did mischief with them, such as shooting horses. Arrows, however, were much used by some who hunted buffalo. The boys all had their bows and arrows.

The men used smooth bore guns much more than rifles, and it was a considerable time after the percussion lock was introduced, before they learned to prefer it to flint. They manufactured shot from bar lead by melting and pouring it through a sieve of perforated bark held over water, the sieve being jarred while the lead was running, so that it fell into the water in drops.

They made great use of steel-traps, but some animals they caught in wooden ones extemporized for the occasion. In fishing they used spears and hooks, but no nets.

No weapons were used only in war except spears and war-clubs. The spear had a traditionary importance, and was probably one of the weapons most used by their ancestors. In modern times, however, Dakotas did most of their fighting with guns, knives, and hatchets.

The war-club was a flat piece of wood, two and a half feet long and nearly or quite an inch thick. It was made of hard, heavy wood, often hickory. At one end it was small enough to make a convenient handle, and at the other end about four inches wide, the broad end bending back much like the breech end of a gun stock. On the outside of the bend, six or eight inches from the end, an iron like a spearhead was inserted. The broad, heavy end was designed to give force to the blow. These clubs were highly ornamented, and were carried a good deal about home, as canes are carried by gentlemen who do not need them, but the war-club was not depended on much in battle.

The head of their spears was of iron, eight or ten inches long and an inch and a half wide in the broadest part, fitted to a slender wooden handle about five feet long.

A few generations earlier, we should have found among the Dakotas a great variety of articles of their own manufacture; but after the introduction of iron among them few things were manufactured by them, except such as were made of wood or leather.

Among the articles which they still continued to manufacture, may be enumerated canoes, dishes, spoons, saddles, cradles, snowshoes, pipes, and many other small articles. Everything they made themselves was well made. There can be no better canoes than those made by the Dakotas, from the trunks of trees, with no tools but an ax and a little clumsy adze. Their wooden dishes were well formed and valuable. They were made of hard knots cut from the sides of trees, hewn into shape with a hatchet, and finished with a knife bent at the end. Their spoons and ladles were made in the same way, but provided with a handle. Their snowshoes were admirable specimens of skill and ingenuity, and their saddles were strong and durable, having well-shaped frames, covered with leather.

Their cradles or boards for infants were simple things, and a carpenter with suitable tools and materials could soon have made one. The Dakota had to get his board out of a tree with a hatchet

and finish it with a knife, yet it was as well made as though from a cabinet-maker's shop. Without any suitable tools they made arrowheads from iron hoops; yet these arrowheads, hammered out with stones, could not be improved in appearance and value.

Barrels were made by bending broad pieces of bark around like hoops and lapping the ends together, sewing them with bark. The bottom was made of a circular piece of bark sewed on, and when the barrel was filled the top was covered in the same manner. These bark barrels held from two to five bushels, and in them they deposited their corn when they buried it. They were neatly made, light and strong, and when kept dry were durable.

Indeed, there was no awkwardness or bungling about anything they were in the habit of making, but all was neatly and skillfully done. The tools used by them seemed altogether inadequate to the work. It is true that they were not all alike skillful, but those who could not do mechanical work well would not do it at all and employed others to do it for them.

Pottery lately found in the territory of the Dakotas has been pronounced the work of some other people, because it was so well done, but that is the very reason why it should be ascribed to them. I have seen specimens of it, and certainly it is no better than was to have been expected at their hands. They who have seen the ornamental work of Dakota women will admit that much of it is tastefully designed and skillfully executed. They would admire it if they knew the disadvantages which the artists had to labor under, working in their dark tents, with hands that were most of the time employed in the rudest labor, which laid down the ax and hoe to take up the needle.

The most remarkable specimen of ingenuity found among the Dakotas is the cloth which was woven by the women from yarn of their own manufacture. They not only wove the sashes and broad garters worn by the men, but also cloth more than half a yard wide, made of yarn of various colors, so woven that it presented a variety of regularly shaped figures. Such cloth their ancestors, they say, made of yarn spun from the bark of nettles, or from basswood bark which had been softened by boiling; but after they obtained woolen cloth, they made yarn from that when the cloth was worn out. This invention was the more remarkable be-

cause there seems to have been no pressing necessity for it. They did not wear this cloth, but made of it bags resembling carpetbags, which were highly prized and in which they kept their best raiment and their ornaments. A few years ago almost every woman had one or more of them, of which they were very careful. They are not yet entirely superseded, as they probably will be soon by trunks and bandboxes. The proverb says, "It is the first step that costs," and certainly the Dakotas had taken the first step and a very long one, toward the manufacture of cloth.

Domestic Animals.

Their domestic animals consisted of a few horses and many dogs. Some families owned three or four horses, but more had none, and those who owned them often lost them. They did not feed their horses, except that they cut down trees for them when the snow was deep, and many starved to death when out in the winter on hunting expeditions. Some were killed by hard usage, others by the envious or spiteful, and so many died or were killed that always many families were destitute of them.

Dogs were abundant, and many of them were a great help to their masters in hunting. They were used somewhat as beasts of burden by the Indians on the upper Minnesota river, but were not so used by the Medawakantonwan.

The Deer-Hunt.

It is a prevalent opinion that Indians in a savage state spend most of their time in idleness, and those who have known the Dakotas only since they have received annuities for their land may suppose that they never made much exertion to obtain a livelihood; but if they had accompanied them through one year, in 1834, they would have learned that they did not contrive to live without hard labor, also that they did not shrink from hard work, but acted like men who were determined to take care of themselves and their families. If they had been as indolent and inefficient as many think they were, we should never have heard of them, for they would all have perished long ago.

In tropical countries, where houses and clothing are not needed and food in abundance grows spontaneously, man may live without much labor, but not in Minnesota. Neither the farmer nor the

hunter can get a living in this climate without working for it. The Indians have lived here for generations, supported by their own exertions, and they have also lived in colder latitudes than this. Around the frozen shores of Hudson bay and far up toward the Arctic ocean, without cloth or iron, they lived and multiplied, as also over all the plains of Minnesota, Dakota, and the Nebraska country, and far away to the Rocky mountains. Even now some branches of the Dakota people, with hardly any arms but those of their own manufacture, are a terror to the whites. Whatever may be alleged against them, they are not to be charged with imbecility.

To show how they were in the habit of spending their time, I will give a brief description of their occupations, beginning with the deer-hunt. This hunt commenced in October, for though they killed a few deer at other seasons of the year, their principal deer-hunt was in the fall and winter.

Having procured, as far as they were able, the needed supplies of clothing, guns, ammunition, etc., the various bands started in different directions, the larger subdividing into smaller parties, that they might spread over a larger extent of country, for they needed all the game to be found within their territories. They held the land in common, but each band resorted to the part of the country that was most accessible from their summer village. They did not always resort to the same places, but the whole country was thoroughly hunted over as often as once in two or three years. They started with little or no provisions, leaving behind them none but such as were unable to walk and could not be carried, and such of their relatives as stayed with the invalids to take care of them. Few were willing to be left behind, for the deer-hunt with all its hardships had strong attractions for young and old, and all were wanted. The old man or woman, who could do nothing else, could beguile the time of the long winter evenings by recounting the exploits of their youth or the deeds of the hunters or warriors of other times.

Generally hunting parties did not travel far in a day, for many were heavily laden and it required considerable time to pitch the tents and prepare for the night. The few who had horses laid their heaviest burdens on them. Some of them used pack saddles. More commonly two poles, twelve or fifteen feet long, were attached

to the horse, like the shafts of a wagon, one end of the poles dragging on the ground, and the other being supported by a strap passing over the saddle and drawn by another strap around the breast of the horse like an ordinary breast-collar. Behind the horse was a frame connecting the poles, on which the load was laid. Dogs were harnessed in the same manner. This rude vehicle answered their purpose well, both in summer and winter, and indeed they often traveled where they could use no other. In passing the streams, the rear end of the shafts was held up by two men.

Though they carried with them no superfluous baggage, many were heavily laden, and, if the hunt was successful, the weight of their burdens increased as they progressed. A family which owned horses or to which many strong women belonged, got along with comparative ease, for they had not only less to carry, but outstripped others on the road. Arriving first on the camping ground, they could select the best place for their tent and secure the nearest wood, tent-poles, etc., so that the hardest labor often fell on those who were least able to perform it, a sad thing but common among all nations. The feeble, and those who had small children and none to help them, often fared very hardly. The tent alone was a heavy burden, and there were many other things to carry, besides such children as could not walk.

Sometimes a relative or neighbor would lend a helping hand, and burdens were laid on all who were able to carry anything, if nothing more than a puppy too young to walk. Elderly men frequently assisted in transporting the baggage, and I have seen young men carrying heavy burdens to aid their wives; but young hunters seldom carried anything save their traps and weapons, and indeed when on the hunting grounds did not accompany the moving party, having other work to do.

The movements of a hunting party were regulated by orders issued by the chiefs, or, if no chief were present, by one of the principal men of the party. These orders were given out after the wishes of a majority of the party had been ascertained by consultation, and were commonly proclaimed by a herald in the morning or evening, the only times when the hunters were likely to be all at home. In this manner the time was appointed for moving the camp and the place of the next encampment, the direction which the hunt

was to take the following day, and many other things of like nature.

If the weather was cold, young men were appointed by name to build a fire at which the hunters met about daybreak, and from which they went together to the place of hunting. That all might have an equal chance at the game, the place for hunting was appointed for each day, and boundaries were prescribed over which none might pass, unless there should occur a particular necessity for it, such for instance as pursuing a wounded deer. If any one passed the prescribed limits, he ran the risk of having his gun broken. Sibley once had his cap confiscated for such an offense.

After the country had been thoroughly hunted over for a radius of several miles around the camp, orders were given to move to another place, and these removals were not always agreeable operations. If there were fordable streams not frozen over, all must wade through them, except little children. I once accompanied a large party which crossed a swamp twenty or thirty rods wide, and in some places two or three feet in depth, the ice being almost but not quite strong enough to bear. There must have been much suffering, but there was no whining.

When the camp was to be removed, the hunters started out early in the morning and brought the game taken to the prearranged place of encampment. Some lucky ones might be there with venison before the moving party arrived. There was a strife among the young and ambitious women as to which should be first on the road. In a large party, as all followed the same track, those in front were far in advance of those in the rear. While the last had the best path, the first had other advantages which have been mentioned.

On arrival at the camping ground, there was much to be done and little time in which to do it. If the snow were deep and the cold intense, many of the party must suffer severely. Fires were built on the ground, and children were wrapped in skins and blankets, but could not be made comfortable till the tepees were pitched, so that many of them were often crying with cold and hunger. In the meantime the women had their hands full. The snow was to be removed and the ground to be leveled, if it was rough. This work must be done with a hoe, a difficult and tedious operation, when the ground is hard frozen and the mercury below zero, as the writer can

well remember, though he helped to do it but once, nearly forty years ago.

Fourteen tepee poles were to be found and dragged often a considerable distance through the snow, making two or three heavy loads for a strong woman. The tent was then erected, and dry grass cut up from some swamp was brought and put all around the tent or tepee on the outside, for the Indian women would not bank their tents with snow lest it should melt and injure the tent. Hay was also strewn inside to spread the beds on, for the frozen ground was hard and cold. Then wood was brought for the fire, very dry for they burn no other. Last of all water was brought and hung over the fire to warm or cook the supper, which by this time was well earned if ever suppers are. There were always some who had all this work to do alone, but commonly there were two or more women or girls in the tent.

These journeys were exceedingly hard on the feeble, the sickly, and the mothers of young infants. Though the babe were but a day or two old, the mother must take it up and go along with the rest, for the party could not wait for them. The labors of women with very young infants were made as light as possible by their relatives; and sometimes the whole party waited a while for the sick and feeble, if there was hope of a speedy recovery. If they could not walk, they were carried.

Some will ask, "Why did not the men accompany the women and aid them in the severe labor of moving?" Some of them did, especially those who were too old to hunt well, and frequently a young man would assist his wife in carrying the baggage, if she could not get along without him; but in most cases the women preferred to have their husbands and sons off with the hunters, as that was considered the proper place for all who were fit for the chase. Often, if the men had accompanied the women on their journey, they must all have gone without their suppers.

As a general rule, it was necessary that the women should take charge of the baggage and leave the men unimpeded to search for game; but habit that is adopted from necessity may sometimes be continued when it is unnecessary. The white man sits idly by and sees his wife or mother laboring, perhaps beyond her strength, in cooking or washing for him, not because she does not need his aid,

nor because he is unable to help her, but because it is work to which he is unaccustomed. He does not put his hands in the wash-tub, because it is not his business; and the Indian hunter does not help his wife or mother carry her load, because it is not his business. Very likely the white woman needs help as much as the Indian woman, but her husband lets her do her own work; and because the Indian lets his wife do her own work, the white man calls him a brute.

Indian men certainly did not have proper regard for the comfort of their women, but while they were out on hunting expeditions, they did their full share of the labor. The customs that were adapted to the requirements of a hunter's life were the best for them, while they were hunters. The division of labor between the men and women was equitable and such as their occupation required. Sometimes it was the harder on one sex, sometimes on the other. They often remained encamped many days in the same place; and while the men were out almost every day, frequently from daylight till long after dark, the women had a comparatively easy time.

Deer hunting may seem to the amateur sportsman a delightful recreation; but all who have tried it will admit that it is a laborious occupation. The Indian often went out after deer with as much reluctance as the worn-out farm laborer feels when going to the harvest field, and only went because he must hunt or he and his family would starve. If he could have been always sure of success, hunting would have had more attractions for him, as Indians liked to kill game; but the hunter often went out knowing that it was probable he would walk all day and kill nothing. The writer once lived a month with an active and industrious young man, who, though he hunted from morning to night almost every day, killed but one deer during the month. His father-in-law, an elderly man, though he always accompanied the hunters, brought in only what was killed by others. Hunters generally had better luck than that, but there were some in every large party who did not and could not kill game enough to supply the wants of their own families. They often returned after a hard and fruitless day's work disheartened and mortified.

It is a mistake to suppose that Dakota men were too lazy to carry burdens. They did not commonly carry the baggage, but many of them did a great deal more carrying in the course of a year than the women did. They carried their traps and packages of furs long distances, and almost all the game was brought in by them, frequently many miles. Occasionally when men were overloaded, they left a part of their venison where it was killed, or on the way home, and it was brought in by the women; but commonly the women had nothing to do with the game till it was laid down at the door, and it was no great hardship to cook it in their fashion. It was no uncommon thing for wounded deer to lead the hunters far away from the camp, and, if they were finally killed, they had to carry them many miles in the night, through rough regions, without roads, often slipping and stumbling under their burdens. Sometimes the hunters received injuries in this way which resulted in death. The men also carried the sick and brought in the dead who died far from home.

The white visitors to an Indian village, seeing the women carrying wood a few rods, wrote down for the information of the public that the lazy men compelled their wives to carry all the burdens; but while the woman was carrying the wood, her husband perhaps, after a weary day spent in pursuing game, was bringing it home on his back a distance of five or ten miles. When the Dakota women were told that the men made them do all the work, they laughed for they knew better. They did much that is not considered appropriate work for civilized women, but there was little that would be considered appropriate work for white women to do.

The Dakotas did not admit that any one had a right to appropriate the whole deer to himself because he killed it. Their rules required that any one who was hunting with others should, on killing a deer, give notice to any who were within hearing, by a certain shout, the meaning of which was well known, as it was only used on such occasions. Having given the signal, the hunter waited a while, and if no one came he cut up the deer and carried it home; but if one came the flesh was equally divided between the two, the one who killed the deer taking the skin. If two or three came, each had a right to a certain portion of the flesh, but only the three who were first to arrive had any claim to it. The one who killed the deer always kept the skin and wrapped up his part of the flesh in it.

These rules about the division of game were a great encouragement to the less skillful and less able hunters, for, if they killed nothing themselves, they might hope not to return empty; and the rules worked no injury to the more successful, for the families must all be fed, and this plan saved them the labor of carrying the meat home for others. There were few, however, who were always so successful that they did not sometimes gladly avail themselves of the privilege which the custom gave them; and the man who, when young, scorned to carry home what another had killed, might be glad to do it when he was old.

The entrails were commonly cooked and eaten on the spot where the animal was killed. After the tripe had lain a few minutes on the coals, the inside peeled off and it was as clean as though it had been soaked in water the traditional nine days. But the Dakotas were not very particular about cleaning the entrails more than they could do with their knives, for they held that, as deer ate nothing unclean, there could be no danger of defilement in eating them. The stomach of a hunter, who perhaps has eaten nothing since the day before, is not very fastidious, especially if the weather be cold. It is said that the buffalo hunters ate some parts of that animal raw; but the Medawakantonwan ate no raw flesh, not even when dried.

After the hunters went out in the morning, the children in the camp watched for their return with game. When a deer was brought in, they all shouted Oo-koo-hoo! Oo-koo-hoo! making the camp ring; and when they saw who had the skin, they yelled out his name so loud that all in the tepees could hear. The children continued to watch and proclaim the names of the successful hunters until it was too dark for them to be recognized, so that while daylight lasted any one sitting in his tepee could know what game had been killed and who had killed it. They had a variety of shouts, each indicating some particular kind of animal, such as deer, bear, elk, etc.

Frequently some of the hunters did not get in till very late at night, and sometimes not till the next day, having pursued game too far to return. They often started out in the morning without eating, and, if they killed nothing, fasted all day. When food was plenty the fast was broken in the evening, which was spent in feast-

ing and recounting the adventures of the day, or in listening to some old man while he told them of remarkable things which happened in the days of his youth, or in days long gone by. Young and old, filling the tepee, would listen with fixed and eager attention, while he related all the particulars of some disastrous or successful hunt or battle.

While hunting deer they came across many other kinds of game. Occasionally they found many bears, and always some raccoons, of which latter they were so fond that, instead of saving the skin for the traders, they often ate it with the rest of the animal, burning off the fur as the French Canadians do the hair from swine. Dogs were also singed and not skinned. The boys hunted rabbits and other small animals. Some of the men carried traps, and were on the lookout for otter and other fur animals. Fishers they baited with fresh meat, dragging it long distances on the snow, and caught them in wooden traps of their own manufacture.

When they saw a fresh track of a deer leading into a cluster of bushes, they did not at once follow it in, but first ran around the bushes, and, if no track led out, they then advanced toward the deer, which, having seen the hunters pass around it, lay still until they approached very near. This kind of hunting suited the old men who could not run much; but some of their hunting required a great deal of hard running, too hard for any but the young.

Many were sometimes hunting together, and if deer were plentiful the hunters seemed to be in great danger of being killed by each other, since they were often concealed by the oak shrubs among which the deer sought shelter in the winter. Rarely a hunter was thus killed, but fatal accidents seldom occurred, for they were so experienced, skillful, and cautious in the use of fire-arms, that when sober they were seldom injured by the careless or accidental discharge of their guns. They were not only quick to see whatever was within range of their guns, but also any object which might turn the ball from its intended direction. Being in such constant use of fire-arms, of course some of them were accidentally shot, and others might be injured by the accidental bursting of a gun: but in the hands of a sober Indian a gun seldom did more mischief than he intended.

If the hunters obtained a surplus of food on the way out, they left it protected by wooden pens to be taken up on their return. They usually returned from the winter hunt some time in January, many of the deer having by that time become quite lean. All the venison that was not needed for the present use had been cut in thin slices and dried over the fire, and all the tallow had been saved to eat with corn, rice, etc., if they had any; for, after all that has been said about the improvidence of the Indians, each family was anxious to save all the food possible for future use. Sometimes when there was food enough in the house, the whole family went without a meal, the lady of the house, in anticipation of fresh supplies, having dried and stored away all the meat on hand, and being unwilling to draw on her reserve stores. Of this fact the writer is a competent witness, having himself participated in the inconvenience occasioned by it.

Indeed, the experience of a few months residence with the Dakotas, in their own tepees, opened my eyes to many things that I should not otherwise have seen. Among other things that were new to me, I learned that they kept about as good a lookout for the future as their mode of life would admit. Nothing was wasted. All surplus food, whether animal or vegetable, was carefully preserved and kept in store for future contingencies. Roots and berries, fish and venison, were carefully dried and laid up against a time of need. Every old rag of clothing was converted to some useful purpose. Moccasins and all other articles of clothing were carefully repaired and made to last as long as possible; and while we were declaiming against the improvident habits of the Indians, they were astonished at our wastefulness.

When they returned from the deer-hunt, if they had been successful, they had heavy loads to bring back. If their luck had been very good, they had more than they could carry at once, and, carrying part of it forward a short distance, they left it and went back for the remainder. They were never sorry to be overloaded with the spoils of the chase, and the men, now having no more hunting to do, helped the women bring in the products of the hunt.

If the hunt proved a failure, as it sometimes did, they had little to carry home. On the upper Minnesota river, hunting parties in winter were sometimes so destitute of provisions that they

ate their horses, if they had any, and numbers of the Indians perished on their way home.

Arriving at their village site, they pitched their tents in the shelter of some wood, and, as little could be done at that season of the year except fishing, they spent the time mostly in resting and visiting until the first of March. During this time they handed over their furs and such deer skins as they could spare to the traders, and, if they had corn or rice, dug it up to eat with their tallow. The women had considerable labor to perform, such as getting wood, dressing deer skins, making moccasins, etc., but the men had little to do. It was with them all, perhaps, the easiest time of the year, though if the hunt had proved unproductive it was on the other hand the hardest.

The interval of rest was improved in visiting relatives in other bands, and also their acquaintances in other villages. There was often a good deal of gambling, but they were tolerably quiet; for at that time they obtained little or no whiskey, and their camps presented no such scenes of wild disorder as were frequent among them in later years.

Sugar Making and Fur Hunting.

The season of rest and recreation mentioned in the preceding chapter soon passed by, for it only lasted till March, when it was necessary to prepare for the muskrat-hunt and sugar-making. These two operations could not be carried on by the same persons at the same time, because the maple trees and muskrats were too far apart. Therefore they divided their forces, and some of the Indians made sugar while others hunted furs. A few of the women accompanied the men to the hunting ground, and a few of the men staid with the women at the sugar-bush; but the men were the fur-hunters, and the women were the sugar-makers.

Little need be said about the process of sugar making, as it was substantially the same as with us. In tapping the trees they cut holes in them with axes, and they caught the sap in little troughs made of square pieces of birch bark bent to the right shape and held by a few stitches at each end. When the season was over, the pieces of bark were straightened and buried in the earth, to be used again. Their sugar was kept in covered baskets, made of birch bark. The sugar making and the preparation for it re-

quired most of the time in March and April. They who have made maple sugar know that although it is pleasant to the taste, it is not very pleasant work to make it; and it was especially disagreeable to those whose feet had no protection from the melting snow except buckskin moccasins.

In the mean time the hunters were off to the haunts of the muskrats, for they had promised a certain number of their skins to the trader, and if they failed to make their promise good he might not trust them again. The spring hunt was the most important, for the furs were then the most valuable. There were a few muskrats in all parts of the country, but they were not everywhere plentiful, and the Indians residing in the vicinity of Fort Snelling often went more than a hundred miles in quest of them, hunting south and west of Fort Ridgely. They were under the necessity of starting from home early in March, as it took some time to make the journey and the hunt commenced before the ice was out of the lakes. They usually carried a small supply of provisions, if they had any, also their guns, spears, and traps. Some had horses, but most carried their loads on their backs. They took some large traps for otter, and the muskrat traps were much heavier than those in use at the present day. These, with other necessary articles, made heavy burdens for men to carry a hundred miles.

It is well known that muskrats make houses in shallow lakes and marshes, constructing them of water plants cemented with mud. These houses resemble in size and shape a common cock of hay. The room in which the rats live is just above water, and sometimes is only large enough for one, but generally is made to accommodate several inmates. The covering of the houses is thick, and when frozen it is a defense against man and beast; but, on account of their dark color, the houses thaw out before the ice melts on the lakes in the spring, and as soon as they are thawed the hunt begins.

The muskrat spear is made of iron, three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and about three feet long, sharpened and barbed at the point, and is furnished with a wooden handle about three feet long. Armed with this, the hunter cautiously approached a rat house and thrust in the spear. If he had transfixed one or more, he cut open the house with his hatchet and took out the game.

When the ice disappeared, the muskrats were hunted with traps and guns. As they are in the habit of climbing on the tops of their houses, traps were often set on them and in doing this canoes were used. The muskrats move about more by night than by day, and industrious hunters spent a great part of the night in visiting their traps. Some of the canoes used for this purpose were so very small and light that it required great skill and experience to keep them right side up.

An Indian of my acquaintance related to me the particulars of an accident which happened to him while he was trapping in the night. He visited a trap which he had set on a rat house in a lake, when it was too dark for him to see it distinctly, and had the fingers of one hand caught in it. It was a strong trap with a spring at each end, but he could have opened it in an instant if he had been on land where he could use his feet. His situation as he sat on the water in his little canoe was rather embarrassing and soon became alarming, for, in attempting to free his hand, he only succeeded in getting the toes of one foot caught in the other end of the trap. He was now worse off than before, for he could not get on the top of the rat house and dared not move his little canoe lest he should fall into the water. He could not open the trap, as it had two springs and he but one hand. After considering a while, he took off his girdle and tied one end to the foot that was free, wound the girdle around one spring of the trap, and took the other end in his teeth. He then pressed down that spring with his hand and held it by drawing the belt tight with his foot and teeth, while he loosened the other spring.

Many of the muskrats were shot as they were swimming in the lakes and streams, especially by twilight. The Indians left most of their tents at home, so that not many of the fur-hunters were well housed. Provisions, too, were often scarce. In the winter and early spring the flesh of the muskrats was esteemed good eating; but when the warm weather drew on, muskrats were neither palatable nor wholesome, and those who ate them complained that they caused sore lips and other disorders.

As the Dakotas had no way of ascertaining the exact time of the year, they often thought the spring was nearer than it was, and consequently, in their haste to be on the hunting-grounds in sea-

son, arrived there too soon. Even if they had known the exact date in the year, they could not know just when the muskrat houses would thaw out, and they sometimes found themselves there with little or no provisions before either rats or ducks were to be had. When the ducks and geese arrived, they might have, but did not always have, plenty of wholesome food.

In 1836, I visited the fur hunters south of the site of Fort Ridgely, and found them living chiefly on muskrats. They themselves pronounced them unfit to be eaten. The weather was warm, the carcasses of the slaughtered animals lying everywhere in heaps, and the musky perfume, though good in its kind, was quite too much of a good thing. For want of anything better to eat, I gave the muskrats a fair trial, and perfectly agreed with the Indians in regard to their edible qualities; but when I asked them why, since ducks and geese were so plenty, they did not shoot some of them, they replied: "We came here to hunt furs, and have neither time nor ammunition to spend on other game." The fur season would soon be over, and, after going so far for furs, each wanted to secure his full quota of skins.

They generally returned in May, and, though they carried heavy loads out, they brought heavier ones back. If near the river, they made canoes and carried their burdens home by water. When they returned from the fur-hunt and sugar-camps, they resorted to their villages, and folding up their tents, entered their bark houses.

By this time they were destitute of provisions, what they had saved in winter being all consumed, and though they might not pray each day for their daily bread, they had to work for it daily. It is true that there were ducks on the water and fish in the water, but ducks are shy and have wings, and fish are not always as hungry as the fisherman and they bite only when they please. Whoever has tried hunting knows that wild birds and wild beasts are wary, and when much hunted they learn to take pretty good care of themselves. It was no light task to secure enough of them to furnish six or seven thousand of the Dakotas of Minnesota with their daily rations.

All the ground within many miles of the villages was soon hunted over, and the hunter who would find game must take a long walk for it. There was a well beaten path leading to each lake

within reach far and near, and the fishermen did not suffer the grass to grow in them. They prowled around the margin of every lake and marsh, and no tortoise could venture on the land, or turtle put his head above the water, without running the risk of being captured.

Go where you would, you could hardly get out of sight of Indians, for they were to be seen always and everywhere in quest of something to eat. Their daily supplies of food must be obtained, and had been obtained no one knows how long, and the very fact that the Indians lived proved that they were a hard working race. They, if ever a people did, earned their living by hard labor. They had no property that brought gain to the owner while he rested, no income but that brought in daily by their own hands.

To them it was a perpetual, unceasing struggle for existence, and had been so throughout their past history. There never could have been a time when their very existence did not depend upon their active and unremitted exertions. In the meantime much else was to be done besides searching for the daily supplies of food. Fields, if they had any, were to be planted and cultivated, and houses to be built or repaired. The bark with which their houses were covered was in large pieces, thick, and very heavy when green. This bark they often carried several miles on their backs. Their fields were only little patches of ground, but they laid out a great deal of labor upon them. As soon as the corn was hoed, many of them left their bark houses and went off in quest of food, for by this time there was little game left in the vicinity of their villages.

Frequently in summer parties of men went off a day's journey or more to hunt, staying several days and drying their venison if they killed deer. They went also long distances after geese in moulting time. The Lake Calhoun band, while waiting for their corn to ripen, frequently lived a while chiefly on bullpouts which they caught by night in Mud Lake, a short distance above the "Little Waterfall," as the Dakotas called it, now Minnehaha, a name neither known nor understood by them.

Summer Occupations.

In the summer the bands divided into small parties, each party going where it was hoped food would be found most abundant, or in pursuit of some article used for food or otherwise, which

could be best procured at that season of the year. Some went after birch bark, to make sap troughs and sugar boxes for the next season; others went up the Mississippi, to pick blueberries; and some to the woods, to gather the stalks of the wild spikenard and other edible plants. Occasionally, some of the men went to the red pipestone quarry and brought home pieces of the stone for pipes. Indeed, they made excursions in all directions, and for various purposes.

Their eyes were on all kinds of fruit, watching the ripening process. Berries of all kinds were industriously gathered. In a word, they diligently sought out everything edible, whether it grew on bushes or trees, on the ground, or in the mud at the bottom of the lakes. While some were digging all day on the prairies for a peck of wild turnips, others were in the water up to their arms, exploring the bottom of the lakes in search of psinchincha. Nothing was so hidden that they did not find it, nor so hard to come at that they did not get it.

At all times of the year there were, besides clothing, many articles to be manufactured. Almost everything that they used in the way of implements, except those made of iron and steel, they made themselves; and, as they had few tools to work with, the process of manufacturing was slow and laborious. They had to smooth their timber without planes, cut it off without saws, and bore holes in it without augers.

Their mode of gathering corn has been described. When that was harvested, it was time to make preparations for the fall hunt, because the cold weather was coming on, and they would soon need a fresh supply of clothing, ammunition, etc. It must be strong cloth indeed that could long endure the wear and tear to which it was exposed on a Dakota man or woman. The hunter took little thought of his raiment as he crouched in the swamps, lying in wait for ducks, or rushed through the bushes in pursuit of game; and the garments of the women were also necessarily subjected to very rough usage. The blanket not only served for a cloak by day and a bed by night, but it was a general receptacle into which everything was gathered, and in which everything that needed to be put into a bag was transported. No article of clothing could last long with them, but must be often replaced. New guns, new kettles,

etc., were also needed, as well as clothing and ammunition; and all these things must be paid for in furs, for there was no other currency.

How well so ever they were supplied in the spring, they might be destitute in the fall, for they bartered many of the goods received from traders with the Indians living farther west, for tents, robes, horses, etc.

They started on the fur hunt in September, and, as they left some in the spring to make sugar, so in the fall many went to the rice-lakes and cranberry-swamps. The seeds of the rice were easily shaken out by the wind, and therefore some went before it was ripe and tied the heads together in bunches. It is considerable labor to gather and clean wild rice, and though it is as abundant now as ever, probably none but Indians would think it worth harvesting. Some men who did not go for furs and many women picked cranberries, often carrying them long distances on their backs. Most of these they sold.

The fall fur-hunt frequently encroached on the deer-hunt. When the hunters returned from the haunts of the muskrats, it was high time to be off for the deer.

The foregoing is no exaggerated account of the yearly labors of the Dakotas, before they sold any portion of their lands. After they began to receive annuities, there was a rapid change in their habits, not for the better; but of that later time I am not writing. They are here described as they were when they supported themselves by hunting, and not as they were in that false position in which the policy of our government placed them, treating them more like paupers than like hunters or farmers. Hunting was the legitimate occupation of the uncivilized Dakota, and it was on the hunting-grounds that his good qualities were best exhibited. They who only saw him lounging listlessly about his tent, knew little about him. There was a great deal of hardihood, fortitude, foresight, and energy in a genuine Dakota; and it will be well for Minnesota if she never nourishes a race of men and women who have less native force of character and resolute determination than her aboriginal inhabitants.

Warlike Pursuits.

In describing the employment of the Dakotas for the year, I have spoken only of their peaceful pursuits. In the midst of their other engagements, some of them found time to pay considerable attention to their neighbors, the Sacs, Pottawattamies, and especially the Ojibways, who indeed required a good deal of attention.

The Dakotas were not averse to undertaking these excursions against their hereditary enemies, and if they had been so peacefully inclined as not to go in search of them, their restless and warlike neighbors would have made work for them at home. The Indians did not make war on each other because they were Indians, but because they were men and like other men. Their wars were as necessary as wars generally are. If they were to live at all, they must have a country to live in; and if they were to live by hunting, they must have a very large country, from which all others were excluded. Such a country they had, not because their enemies were willing they should occupy it, but because they were able and determined to defend it by force of arms. If they had not resisted the encroachments of their enemies, they would soon have been deprived of the means of subsistence and must have perished. If they would have game to kill, they must kill men too.

The Ojibways boasted of having deprived them of a part of their country, and these Sioux were determined to keep them off from the remainder. In regard to the responsibility for these wars, we are not to suppose that the Dakotas or Sioux were more or less to blame than their neighbors. The Indians were none of them Quakers in principle or practice, and if they had from conscientious scruples been less averse to war we should have stronger proof than now that they did not belong to our race. Their propensity for fighting, and their love of military glory, furnished at least one indication and proof of their relationship to us. Here we meet on common ground, and those who had most signalized themselves in war were treated with the highest consideration by their civilized neighbors.

We might suppose that, whatever necessity there was originally for the prosecution of these hostilities, there could be none after Fort Snelling was built and the country placed under the protection of our troops. After we had a military force stationed at the

fort, there was for a time a cessation of hostilities between the Dakotas and Ojibways who were near, but there was neither peace nor truce between the Dakotas and Ojibways of Leech Lake and Red Lake; and those who lived near the fort soon learned that each must take care of himself. The garrison at Fort Snelling protected just so much of the country as was enclosed within its walls. Twice the Ojibways killed Dakotas within sight of the fort, and they might have killed them with impunity right under the portholes.

It was not possible for our government to compel each tribe to respect the rights of others and hunt only on their own lands. Long after Fort Snelling was built, the Dakotas sometimes found, on going to their hunting grounds, that they had been anticipated by the Ojibways, and that their game was all gone. It was of no use to appeal in such cases to the commander of the garrison. It would have been absurd for him to attempt to call Hole-in-the-Day or the Pillagers of Leech Lake to account for game killed on the lands of the Dakotas, for they would have laughed him to scorn. The death of one intruder, shot down by the Dakotas, had more salutary warning in it than all the admonitions that could be given by the agent and military officers; and the Ojibways had more respect for a little war party of Dakotas, skulking in the grass, than for all the troops ever quartered at Fort Snelling.

Besides the necessity of defending their country, they had many relatives killed by the enemy, whose death they felt bound in honor to revenge.

It has been said that, in prosecuting their wars, they were actuated less by patriotic motives than by a desire to show their prowess and decorate their heads with eagle feathers. This may be all too true, but patriotic motives alone are not always a sufficient stimulus even for civilized soldiers. Certainly Indians are not the only people ambitious of renown and eager in the pursuit of martial fame. Civilized soldiers do not take scalps, nor adorn their heads with eagle feathers, and we may hope they are all more or less patriotic, but do not some of them keep at least one eye fixed on epaulettes and stars and crosses of honor? What are medals and badges of honor, and names of battle-fields inscribed on banners, but substitutes for the eagle plumes of the Dakotas?

"But they were cruel, and their wars were attended with horrible barbarities." This is also true, for they were savages, and their cruelty is not to be justified or excused; but were Indians more cruel than other savage nations? If we would judge the Dakota with fairness, we must compare him not with nations who have enjoyed the benefits conferred by civilization and Christianity during thirty or forty generations, but with other savages; not with the Anglo-Saxons of the present day, but with the ancient Britons, Gauls, and Germans, who lived two thousand years ago. It would be easy to show that the Dakotas were not more barbarous than our ancestors, but this subject will be noticed in another place.

The Dakotas were bad enough, and their faults need no exaggeration. They were far from being gentle, innocent, harmless creatures, pure until contaminated by the whites, and committing acts of violence only when provoked beyond endurance. Romantic and sentimental writers may amuse themselves, and may deceive the simple, by such fabulous descriptions of the Indian character; but the real Dakota never sat for the picture, and would not feel flattered by it. He would have repudiated the meek and amiable virtues ascribed to him, for he held them in no high esteem. He often compared himself to a wolf, an animal which he resembled much more than he did a hare or deer. The Dakotas had strong, turbulent passions, easily excited, and almost entirely without the restraint of religious motives. We can only claim for them that they were by nature no worse than other men.

From what has been said in excuse of Dakota warfare, no one should infer that the writer would justify or palliate the atrocious massacre of the whites of Minnesota in 1862. The perpetrators of the horrible crimes then committed had been led onward to them by many years of luxurious idleness and riotous living. Hochokaduta, Little Crow, and their associates, had for more than twenty years been fed and clothed by government annuities. They had been furnished with tobacco to smoke, and money to buy whiskey: and all their wants had been so far supplied that they were enabled to spend a great portion of their time in idleness or something worse. The pressure of want being removed, the industrious habits of their ancestors were abandoned. As that restless energy which had characterized them found no legitimate fields of exercise

it sought illegitimate ones, and they were fast losing every redeeming trait of savage character. In this state of demoralization they were gathered up and thrown together on their little Reserve, where all the worst characters could act in concert, and where they found bloody work for their idle hands to do.

Yet no one who knew them well can believe that in a deliberative assembly one out of ten of the Dakotas then on the Reserve, perhaps not ten among them all, would have been in favor of an attack on the whites. It was the work of a mob, begun by the few and carried on by the many, who were drawn into it by a great variety of motives. Some were influenced by that clannish feeling which prompted them, as it did the ancient Benjamites, to stand by their own people whether they were right or wrong. Some were intimidated by the insane violence of those who were drunk with blood. Many joined in the fight because they thought that, if the Dakotas were overcome, little discrimination would be made by the victors between the innocent and the guilty, a fear that came quite near enough to being realized. After all, a great many Indians on the Reserve held themselves aloof from deeds of violence, and did what they could for the preservation of the captives.

Whoever might be innocent or guilty of the massacre in 1862, the generation of which I am writing, and those who had preceded, were not responsible for it. The chiefs who visited Washington in 1837 were all dead excepting one, who was then an old man and out of office. He sat down and wept over the ruin which he could not prevent. None of that generation had imbrued their hands in the blood of white men. Major Taliaferro said that no white man was killed by a Dakota while he was in office as the agent from 1819 to 1840, and so much could not be said with truth of any of the neighboring tribes. The feet of the Dakotas were swift to shed the blood of their foes, but at the period of which I am writing they were friendly to the whites.

Tried by that standard by which alone they should be tried by their fellowmen, they were a manly race, with very prominent traits of character, both good and evil. They lived savages and most of them died savages, but while their sepulchers are with us let us not do injustice to their memories. Let us not wrong them, least of all

while standing on their graves. They were not models for imitation, neither were they properly objects of contempt.

Whether their wars with their equally warlike neighbors were necessary or not, they were prosecuted with ceaseless vigilance and untiring energy. From the time when the snow disappeared in the spring till it fell again in the autumn, most of the time that could be spared from other avocations was improved or wasted by the young men in searching for their enemies. If they became remiss in this respect, they were likely to be reminded of their negligence by an unwelcome visit from their hostile neighbors. The inhabitants of a village would be suddenly startled by the simultaneous discharge of two or three or more guns; and, before they had time to rally, the triumphant foe was off with the scalp of one or more of their number beyond the reach of pursuit.

There were always insults to be resented, and injuries to be revenged; and if they would find the authors of these insults and injuries, they must seek them in the swamps and forests of their enemies' country. Long and toilsome journeys were made every summer far beyond their own frontiers, and as they dared not kill game or kindle fires in the vicinity of the enemy, they lurked around, carefully concealing themselves in grass or bushes, wet with dew and drenched by every shower, till some unlucky victim came within their reach, or, what was more often the case, till their provisions were exhausted and they were compelled to return home without scalps.

They said the Ojibways had greatly the advantage over them, because they could float down the current of the Mississippi, bringing plenty of provisions in their canoes, and being fresh and fit for action on their arrival. On the other hand, they were obliged, when invading the Ojibway country, to make long and toilsome marches on foot, carrying their weapons and provisions, and were exhausted when they most needed to be rested and refreshed.

A chief who had been a successful warrior in his youth, once told the writer that no man was brave when suffering for want of food and worn out by hard marching. It is not strange that they should have been sometimes a little faint-hearted, when they were fatigued and far from home and knew that if they struck a blow at the enemy they would be forced to a hasty retreat, fol-

lowed by foes familiar with the country, swift of foot and thirsting for blood. The war parties were generally small and composed chiefly of very young men, while most of the men were engaged in other pursuits.

Industry of the Hunter and Farmer Compared.

I have been thus particular in describing the employments of the Dakotas in order to show that they had something else to do besides lounging about in their wigwams, basking in the sunshine in summer, and sitting by the fire in winter.

It is true that they did not always hunt every day as steadily as the farmer goes about his daily labor, but some of the labors of the chase are too exhausting to be performed by any ordinary man without intermission. They frequently demand the most violent and long continued exertion, and hunters often returned so exhausted and lame that they needed several days to rest and recruit. Whoever saw them only during their intervals of rest might regard them as indolent fellows who never did anything. The Dakotas indeed were not all industrious, or else some of them were greatly slandered by their neighbors. There were too many loafers among them, but such persons were not in good repute and were not considered eligible husbands or sons-in-law.

Industry and enterprise were nowhere more highly prized than among the Dakotas, and a lazy man or woman was regarded as a public nuisance, for if one did not work others must work the harder. It is natural that white men who know little about the Dakotas, when they see many of them unwilling to engage in agricultural labors, should regard them as lazy, good-for-nothing fellows. But in regard to such labors they felt, as many a white man feels, disinclined to them and unfit for them. Many white men, having been educated for mercantile or professional business, and accustomed to no other, would be as unwilling to engage in hard labor on the farm or in the workshop, and would prove as inefficient there, as an Indian; and yet perhaps some of these very persons, who are both unable and unwilling to mow a swath or plow a furrow, and who, when thrown out of their ordinary employments, are a burden to their friends, declaim against Indian indolence and inefficiency.

The Dakota was a hunter, descended from a long line of hunters, trained to hunting by precept and example, with all the wisdom of a hunter that could be handed down by tradition or gained by experience, and with all the instincts of a hunter that could be transmitted by inheritance. Hence it is not strange that it is so difficult to make anything else of him.

To expect him to change at once all his habits, to become a steady, plodding farmer, is as absurd as it would be to expect that his dog, whose ancestors have been trained to hunt deer through a hundred generations, should be suddenly transformed into a docile shepherd dog, and should faithfully guard the flocks of his master.

Government.

The government of the Dakotas was purely democratic, the people holding all the powers of government in their own hands, and never delegating them to others except temporarily and for a special purpose. They claimed and exercised the right of deciding all questions which concerned the public interest. Their decisions were made in councils, frequently after long and animated debates, and sometimes not until after several successive meetings.

The decision was according to the will of the majority; but they seldom, if ever, attempted to carry out a measure by the use of violent means when the parties for and against it were nearly equal in numbers. If, when a measure was proposed in council, there was a general response of "Yes," the ayes had it and the measure was adopted; but if there was a general silence or a feeble response, it was lost.

Usually it was not necessary to appoint any officers to carry out the decision of the councils, for there was a general acquiescence and seldom any resistance. In ordinary cases all that was necessary was for the chief to make public proclamation of the doings of the council; but if any were refractory and refused to submit to the authority of the council, a number of active, resolute men were appointed to enforce the decrees. The men appointed to enforce laws commonly acted with promptness and decision.

My brother, Gideon H. Pond, once cut hay near the village at Oak Grove, and the tops of many of the stacks were deranged by the Indian children playing on them, so that the water pene-

trated them and the hay was spoiled. The next year he called together the most active and energetic of the boys, and, giving each a present of ammunition, he told them they were appointed soldiers to guard the hay. They accepted the office of special constable without hesitation, and watched the stacks with so much vigilance that none of them were injured. Some of these boys had been ringleaders in mischief the year before, but they knew what was expected from a soldier and discharged their duties faithfully.

When it became necessary to appoint officers to carry out a council decision, generally a sufficient number were appointed to overcome all anticipated resistance. On their way to punish a transgressor, they raised a certain shout, called the "officer's shout," which indicated that they were acting by public authority. They were authorized to break the guns, cut in pieces the clothing and tents of offenders, and, in extreme cases, to take their lives.

The Dakotas had no permanent officers except the chief and the chief soldier, and these officers had no authority except what was granted from time to time for special purposes. When the chief was about to transact public business with the officers of our government, he was advised what to do, and, if practicable, many of his people accompanied him to see that he observed his instructions.

If chiefs were induced to sign treaties without consulting their people, they were dissatisfied and were suspicious of unfair dealings; for they never permitted a chief or any other officer to act for them in public matters without their advice. An ignorance or a disregard of the democratic character of Indian government has been the source of much evil to them and to others; and they have often been accused of violating treaties which they felt under no obligation to observe.

As a general rule the office of chief was considered hereditary, but there were many disputes about the succession, and the office was sometimes seized by some other relative of the chief to the exclusion of his son. The rivalry between the competitors for the office was often so violent as to lead to bloodshed. This happened at Swan Lake, Carver, and Kaposia. Little Crow was wounded and two of his brothers were killed in a quarrel of this kind.

There was no difference in the rank of chiefs except that formerly some deference was paid to Wabashaw of Kiuksa, in consideration of signal services once rendered to the nation by one of his ancestors.

Besides the chief, there was in each band an officer called by the whites the "chief soldier." His office was considered inferior to that of the chief, but his personal qualities might give him greater authority with the band than the chief had. There was apt to be a jealousy between the chief and the chief soldier, a part of the band favoring one, and a part the other.

There had been a time in the history of the Dakotas when their chiefs were much fewer in number, and they were probably then of more importance in their official relation to their bands. They had very little influence in 1834. At that time many of them owed all their importance to the fact that the government transacted business with the Indians only through their chiefs. The necessity of having a chief at every little village, while it increased the number of the chiefs, diminished their influence.

Our government considered the chiefs competent to make contracts, binding on others; but no such power was delegated to them by their people. A chief might sign a treaty conveying away millions of acres of land, who would not have been employed by his people to make a contract for them to the amount of ten dollars.

At home the chiefs had no authority and little influence merely by virtue of their official position. They had no power to make laws themselves, nor were they entrusted with the execution of the laws made by others. They were seldom leaders of war parties, and were compelled to support themselves and their families just as others did. They were not ordinarily distinguished from the common people by any peculiar privileges, honors, or emoluments, except what they gained by their own merits.

Their power over their people depended chiefly upon their ability as speakers. If they could not make effective speeches, they were little heeded; but if they could speak well, they exercised great control over their respective bands.

They seldom or never attempted to carry out any important public measure in opposition to the wishes of a majority of their people. A chief might issue orders with a show of authority, but not before having first ascertained whether his orders were likely to be popular. The opinion of the people concerning any matter of public interest was commonly ascertained in a council, called for that purpose, where anyone could speak his sentiments; and in these popular assemblies there were often other men who had more influence than the chiefs.

Laws.

The Dakotas had no authoritative enactments such as would be called laws among civilized people. They had customs which it was infamous to disregard, like that which has been mentioned concerning the division of the carcass of the deer. There were a great many of these traditionary rules which were generally observed, but the breach of these rules was seldom punished except by an expression of disapprobation. This popular odium was not, however, a light thing for an Indian to bear, for he could not isolate himself but must live continuously with those who upbraided and despised him.

Their temporary laws have been mentioned. They were frequently enacted, sometimes rigidly enforced, and might continue in operation many months at a time.

Most things that are considered great crimes by us were emphatically condemned by the Dakotas, and this was doubtless a great restraint to the evil-minded, preventing the commission of many crimes; but the guilty, though condemned by public opinion, were not punished by public authority.

Even murderers escaped punishment unless the relatives or friends of the murdered person avenged his death. Yet the fear of private retaliation afforded a better security for human life than one would expect. Each one knew that if he killed a person who had relatives able to avenge his death, he would probably have to answer for it with his own blood. He could not hope to escape through any technicality of the law, or by the disagreement of the jury. There was no place where he could hide himself and thus elude the avenger of blood, so that those who had relatives or friends able to avenge them were probably as safe as they

would have been, among such a people, under the protection of law. They who had none to avenge them might be killed with impunity, but those who killed them were stigmatized as murderers, and their crimes were never forgotten.

The right to avenge the death of relatives was carried so far that some who had killed others accidentally were compelled to redeem their lives with costly presents; but in all cases of that kind which fell under the observation of the writer, there was some suspicion that the manslaughter was not accidental. When one was killed in a sudden quarrel and the murder was not premeditated, the difficulty might be compromised without the death of the manslayer. Life was safer than one would suppose that it could be among such a people; but there were some who, like Joab, had committed more than one murder with impunity.

Other offences against individuals were punished, if punished at all, by individual or private retaliation.

The husband might punish his wife for unfaithfulness by cutting off the end of her nose, thus spoiling her beauty and rendering her less attractive to her paramours. Cases must have been rare in which women were thus treated, for the writer can recollect only two or three who were mutilated in the manner named. When the Dakotas were first visited by the white people, women were found among them who had been thus punished for adultery. It is a curious coincidence that some American sailors, who were recently shipwrecked on the northeast coast of Asia and spent a year or two among the natives of that region, report that women of that country who are unfaithful to their husbands are punished in this same manner.

Some crimes, such as theft, killing horses, etc., can hardly be said to have been punished at all, though their commission sometimes caused quarrels and provoked retaliation. They made few efforts to detect thieves, and were not much in the habit of reclaiming stolen property unless it was of considerable value. When they found property that had been stolen from them in the possession of others, they often said nothing and let the thieves enjoy it in peace.

Personal Appearance.

In stature the Dakotas are rather taller than people of European ancestry, that is, their average height appears to be greater. As they are a homogeneous people, there is more uniformity of stature among them than among white Americans. Not many are very tall or very short. Some of the women are tall and slender, but most of them are much shorter and stouter than the men.

The complexion of the Dakotas is considerably darker than of Europeans, but is not very dark. Their cheek bones are not particularly prominent, their features are regular, and many of them are good looking. Taken together the race cannot be characterized as a homely race.

The men are supposed to have little or no beards, but they must have taken much pains to extirpate them. Among those who have abandoned the custom of their forefathers, some whose faces were formerly as smooth as a woman's now wear respectable beards, to the surprise of their old acquaintances.

But little need be said about the size, features, complexion, etc., of the Dakotas, for these will probably continue to be what they now are for generations to come. The object of this work is not to tell what they are and will be, but what they have been and will never be again.

Natural Disposition.

In regard to the natural temper and disposition of the Dakotas, there was the same diversity among them as among white people. Each individual had his own peculiarities, differing often very much from the peculiarities of others, so that a true description of one might be false when applied to another. Some were frank, communicative, and confiding; others were reserved, sly, and suspicious. Some were very good-natured, jovial and full of fun, while others were morose, and very seldom in a good humor; and between these two extremes, were all the different gradations of character. Yet they might, as a people, be characterized as agreeable and pleasant in temper and manners.

Many of them were entertaining in conversation, full of wit, good sense, and good humor, with a great relish for jokes and quick at repartee; while a few of them seemed to be almost always in a surly mood, and their conversation dull and disagree-

able. They could not be called a taciturn people, for they loved to converse; but they had a quiet manner of speaking, and though often animated in conversation, were seldom rude or boisterous. They could, however, when they pleased, express themselves in terms far from mild and gentle, and make use of severe denunciation, keen sarcasm, and bitter irony. To carry some point with a white man, they would sometimes pretend to feel very much abused and offended; but if the trick was detected and they were told that their assumed indignation was all a mere pretence, they would often change their manner at once, and perhaps burst out into hearty laughter.

In mental abilities there was the same variety as among our own people. In respect to acquired knowledge, they were of course more on a level than are the members of a civilized community, where some are learned and some unlearned, for all had nearly equal advantages of education; but there was a great difference in their mental capacities, apparent to others and recognized by themselves. Some were bright and intelligent, quick of apprehension, and with tenacious memories; while others were stupid, their powers of perception dull, and their ideas few and confused.

It may be said of the Dakotas that they have good common sense. They were quick to distinguish between sound argument and sophistry, and many of them could reason with clearness, precision, and force. They were very close observers of men and things. Nothing visible escaped their notice, and they were peculiarly quick to discern the true character of their casual acquaintances. They soon found out all the strong points and all the weak points of a white man with whom they had to deal, and commonly knew a great deal more about him than he did about them.

They were very sensitive to ridicule, and had a great dread of appearing in a ludicrous light. It did not always please them to have white visitors, especially strangers, enter their homes, ask impertinent questions, and scan too closely their clothing, furniture, etc. They were too courteous to resent what they considered the impertinence of their ill-bred visitors, but they did not speak very flatteringly of them after they were gone, and it was unpleasant for one who knew their feelings to accompany such visitors to their tents and interpret for them.

In their intercourse with each other, they were, as a general thing, affable and courteous. The men seldom spoke to each other in loud, angry tones, even when their passions were greatly excited. When deadly enemies met, they often conversed with each other as pleasantly as though they had been the warmest friends. Their threats, when they intended to put them in execution, were uttered in a low voice and in ambiguous terms, less being said than was meant. Loud threats were intended only to alarm, and were addressed only to white men and children.

The women sometimes fought with each other with their hands, pulling hair, tearing garments, etc.; but sober men, in their quarrels with each other, seldom used any but deadly weapons. Angry scuffles and fighting with the fist were hardly known among them. An Indian, when sober, seldom struck his antagonist unless he intended to kill him. They concealed their anger unless greatly enraged, but it was dangerous to provoke them too far. A salutary fear of the knife, which was always at hand, doubtless made them more respectful and courteous in their deportment toward each other than they would have been without it. They did not, however, always suppress their angry emotions, and were seldom at a loss for words to express the most violent emotions or passions. The tongue was the weapon with which the women generally fought, and some of them knew very well how to wield it.

The Dakotas were not remarkable for retentive memories, either in regard to injuries received or favors bestowed on them. Certainly they did not retain a lasting and grateful remembrance of the benefits conferred on them, neither were their memories remarkably retentive of injuries. If they did not avenge an injury soon after it was inflicted, it commonly went unavenged; and no one acquainted with them counted much on their gratitude.

They were not very confiding, but, when they became thoroughly convinced that a man was honest, they would trust him with almost anything.

Vices and Crimes.

When the Dakotas were sober, murders were not very common among them. Some were killed, as already stated, while contending for the office of chief, and some on other occasions; but murders committed by sober men were rare among the Medawa-

kantonwan, and not very frequent among the upper Indians. Most of the murders were committed by men, very few by women. Generally when a murder was committed, there was no attempt to conceal it, and no difficulty in discovering the murderers.

Suicide was very rare among the men, but common among women. Many years ago a man shot himself at Lac qui Parle, some said accidentally, others said intentionally; and that is the only case of the alleged suicide of a Dakota man that the writer now recalls. The women destroyed themselves for various reasons, but generally when in a furious passion. Some committed suicide because they were despondent and weary of life; some to avoid marrying men whom they disliked, as was the case with two of Little Crow's sisters. A woman at Lac qui Parle killed herself because her husband had cut gashes in her face to punish her for adultery.

Some killed themselves because they were angry and thought their death would cause grief to those who had offended them. Women and girls frequently threatened to kill themselves, and probably some of them were treated better than they would have been if there had been no fear that the threat would be executed. Suicides almost always hanged themselves with the strap used in carrying bundles; but tradition tells of one who leaped from a precipice on the east side of Lake Pepin, and of another who went over the Falls of St. Anthony. During my residence among the Dakotas, I found two women hanging by the neck, just in time to save their lives.

Drunkenness, as it prevailed among the Dakotas, was terrible in its effects, producing in many cases temporary insanity. They were not tipplers, but either abstained from drinking ardent spirits or drank to intoxication. They did not seem to have any desire to drink intoxicating drinks in moderate quantities, or in solitude, though in later times some of them told me they were trying to learn to drink without getting drunk, like white men. They liked to drink in company and to have enough whiskey to make all drunk. Their revels on these occasions probably bore a close resemblance to the carousals of the old Scandinavians and other nations of northern Europe.

Not long after drinking began, all were drunk together, though in different stages of inebriation. The whiskey produced very different effects on different individuals. All were noisy and talkative, but not all in the same frame of mind. Some were good-natured, silly, and harmless, while others were raging like wild beasts. Some were in high spirits and very merry, while others were wailing as if their hearts would break, and calling by name upon their friends who were dead. Though the liquor was dealt out in equal quantities to all, its effects on the bodies of the drinkers were as diverse as on their minds. While some were soon overcome by it and helpless, others seemed more active and strong when drunk than when sober.

These individual peculiarities were exhibited so uniformly, that their acquaintances soon learned who were to be feared and who not; and those known to be most dangerous were securely bound as soon as possible after they began to drink. If the men were all drunk, the work of binding the unruly fell on the women. It was a hard task, but they were strong and generally succeeded in performing it. Drunken men, however, were often permitted to run loose, causing great consternation among the women and children, and sometimes doing great harm.

I never saw a young Dakota woman drunk, while living among her own people; and many of the middle-aged and old women abstained entirely from drinking whiskey, but some were drunkards. As a general rule the women were sober, as were also some of the young men. It was difficult for the men to refuse an invitation to a feast or drinking bout, but some of them would contrive to be out of the way when whiskey was on hand.

There was not much drunkenness among the Dakotas for several years before they sold their lands on the east side of the Mississippi, in 1837, and a person might be with them a year without seeing one of them drunk. They had been furnished with whiskey in earlier times, but at that period they could obtain none from the traders, and the enterprising pioneer merchants of St. Paul had not commenced their lucrative and destructive work among them. Though the Dakotas were so much addicted to the use of whiskey, they could abstain from its use when they pleased. Notorious drunkards could take heavy kegs of it on their backs at St. Paul.

and, following circuitous routes to avoid the villages on their way, carry their burdens to Lac qui Parle, more than two hundred miles or even still farther, and finally barter them for horses, without tasting of the contents.

After whiskey became abundant here, General Sibley, the missionaries, and others, induced many of the Indians to pledge their word to abstain from drinking it. These pledges or promises were for limited periods, as for three months, six months, or a year, and were seldom broken, though the person who gave the pledge would perhaps be drunk the day after the time expired.

Adultery and kindred vices or crimes will be noticed elsewhere.

The thievish propensities of the Dakotas were pretty strong, and property was seldom safe when so exposed that they could take it with little danger of detection. Although they made a practice of stealing, theft was condemned and the habitual thief was despised; but it was deemed less disgraceful to pilfer from the whites than from their own people. As among the Spartans, the guilt of stealing was not so great in their estimation as the disgrace of being detected.

Not many of the Dakotas had a very strict regard for the truth; when under strong temptation to lie, few of them could be trusted. Ordinarily their statements could be relied upon, but were to be received with caution if they could gain anything by prevarication. In regard to integrity and truthfulness, there was a great difference among them. Some were esteemed as thieves and liars, and others were accounted honest and truthful.

Their standard of honesty was not altogether perfect, but they evidently did not believe that all were thieves. There were many against whom they did not think it necessary to be on the watch, also many who had a good reputation for veracity among their acquaintance. Theft and falsehood had no open advocates, and no one spoke well of notorious thieves and liars.

If one had been guilty of some misdemeanor, it was considered a mark of manliness for him to make a frank confession of his misdeeds. When mischief was done it was not often long before the author was discovered; for, though the Dakotas were artful dissemblers, they could not long keep a secret.

We certainly found them far from being a conscientious people, but in this we were not disappointed. Every one ought to know, without being told, that the honest, harmless, innocent heathen is an imaginary being, and does not belong to the human race.

Language and Picture Writing.

The language of the Dakotas is not so imperfect as one would naturally expect among a people so rude and uncultivated. It is well adapted to their use, and is adequate to the expression of their ideas with force, conciseness, and precision. In its present state, it could not be used as the language of a civilized people, for it would require many additions before it could represent all the ideas that are readily expressed in any of the languages of Europe; but it is probably as susceptible of improvement as those languages were when spoken by savages. One who is master of the Dakota can find no difficulty in saying whatever he wishes concerning such things as engaged the attention of the uncivilized Dakotas. The language is easy of acquisition to those who begin to learn it in childhood, for it has few irregularities and its system of vowel sounds is very simple indeed. It is very difficult, however, for adult persons to learn to speak it well, because it has many sounds not readily perceived by ears unaccustomed to them nor easily uttered by organs of speech not trained from childhood. Most of these sounds can not be described, for they are not found in European languages and can be taught only by the voice.

The Dakotas had a system of calls or shouts, which were of great service when they wished to communicate information to those who were too far off to understand articulate words. The shout which gave notice of the killing of a deer has been mentioned, also the "soldier's shout" raised by those who were about to execute the decree of a council. One was a signal of alarm, giving notice that the enemy was near. When this was heard it was passed instantly from one to another, warning all to avoid the danger or to prepare for defense. The different shouts or warnings could never be misunderstood, and their signification was instantly recognized.

Besides these, there were signals which conveyed information as far as they could be seen, being generally made by waving the blanket. They had also a very extensive system of gestures, well

understood by all, which enabled them to carry on considerable conversation in dumb show. This was of great use especially when they were lying in ambush and dared not speak. The gestures were often used when there was no necessity for them, so that by practice they became very expert.

They occasionally made use of picture-writing, drawing figures on bark or on a tree that had been peeled, and could in this way convey to others considerable information. Once, with an old man and his son, I passed through a village where we found no one at home, and the old man, who was a chief, wished to leave his card. His name was Eagle Head, and with charcoal he drew on a board the figure of a man with the head of an eagle. He then drew the picture of a man with a hat on and one without. The addition of two guns and a dog completed the description of our party. The direction of our faces showed which way we were going. All was done in a minute, for no pains were taken to draw correct likenesses.

Oratory.

Speeches well made and well timed had a great influence over the minds of the Dakotas, and a few words fitly spoken often changed the purposes of the inhabitants of a whole village. The influence and authority of a chief depended almost entirely on his abilities as a speaker, for no force was used to compel obedience to his commands. However highly esteemed a chief might be for upright conduct, if he was not a ready speaker he was little regarded; while a bad man, if he could make a good speech, exercised great control over his men.

Shapaydan (Shakopee), who was for more than thirty years chief of a large band at Shakopee, by his superior abilities as a speaker always maintained an ascendancy over his people, although on some accounts he was very much disliked by many of them. Some other chiefs, who were much more highly esteemed for their probity than he, could not restrain their bands or lead them as they wished, because they were not eloquent speakers. I have heard Dakotas say that if Shakopee had been alive in 1862, there would have been no rising of the Indians against the whites.

Eloquence being of so much importance, it was natural that those who aspired to be leaders of the people should cultivate the

art of speaking; but they spent no time in learning to assume striking attitudes, or to make graceful or impressive gestures. They were speakers, not actors, and addressed themselves to the ear, not to the eye.

It is true that the Indians frequently make use of gestures, both in private conversation and in public speaking; and a popular writer has said that their language is so imperfect that they cannot make themselves understood by words alone, but he was mistaken. When they spoke in a tepee in council, they sat in a circle on the ground, wrapped in their blankets, with their hands clasped around their knees, and each speaker sat still in his place. A Dakota once said to the writer, "Do white men hear with their eyes? I notice they keep them fixed on the speaker."

Often when a chief made a speech he was seen by few or none of his auditors, for they were in their tepees and he stood out of doors. Frequently no one knew that he intended to speak till they heard his voice. When he began to speak, conversation ceased and all listened till the speech was ended. Then, if it was approved, there was a general response of "Yes." Dissent was expressed by silence.

I have heard Shakopee make many speeches in the night, between two villages which were forty rods apart. In winter most of the speeches were made after dark at night or before daylight in the morning, night being the only time when the men were all at home. Whether by night or by day, they were addressed to unseen audiences, the hearers being in their tepees and the speaker outside.

Of course speeches were often made to the people while they were standing or sitting around the speaker in the open air. Doubtless many of the most effective speeches were made under such circumstances, but even then those who listened attentively were more likely to have their eyes fixed on the ground than on the speaker.

Dakota speeches were, as might be expected, more remarkable for spirit and force than for smoothness and elegance. Their orators were not all necessarily rude in speech, for none could be more plausible and insinuating in address than they; but they doubtless adopted that style because they found it productive of the greatest

effect on the multitude. With all their rudeness, some of their harangues, if they had been properly translated, would be worth preserving.

Some of their poorest speeches were made when they were transacting business with the officers of our government, for their people were dissatisfied if they let such an occasion pass without soliciting presents, and their begging spoiled their speeches. If any of them happened to make a good speech at the agency house or fort, it would hardly be regarded as such after being rendered into English by a careless or incompetent interpreter.

Their best speeches were made to their own people, and were called out by some sudden emergency that caused great excitement. Such a speech was made by Little Six (Shapaydan) after the slaughter of the Ojibways on Rum river, where he had some men killed and many wounded. The Ojibway men, who had been absent hunting when their families were killed, were just coming in sight, and the speech was addressed to the Lake Calhoun men, who, he thought, were going to hurry off the field and leave him and his men alone with their wounded. The speech was short, but those to whom it was addressed were so impressed by it that they remembered and repeated portions of it after their return.

The best addresses of Indian orators must have been made under such circumstances that few white men were likely to hear them or to hear of them. They were delivered at some critical moment, when good counsel was urgently needed, and when there was no time for premeditation or deliberation. The eloquent speaker who was not found wanting on such occasions was justly esteemed a public benefactor, and stood high in the estimation of the people.

When making set speeches on ordinary occasions, the speaker often commenced in a rambling manner, passing from topic to topic, with much circumlocution slowly approaching the main subject of discourse. At other times, the business in hand was introduced at once with great abruptness. It was necessary for them to speak very loud in order to be heard by the people in their tepees; and in addressing white men in set speeches they often spoke much louder than was necessary. It was so difficult to give a literal rendering of their speeches in English that the interpreters

seldom attempted to give anything more than the substance of them, and if the Dakotas had understood English they would hardly have recognized their own speeches.

In almost all translations of Indian speeches that have been published, the speakers are represented as repeating their own names instead of using pronouns when referring to themselves. That certainly is not the practice with the Dakotas, who would be much less likely to use proper names in that way than would a white man.

Poetry.

The Dakotas had little that could be called poetry. There was nothing in the language, composed by them, that could properly be called a poem or a song. They had popular tunes, some of which were probably very ancient, but no songs except a very few words which were occasionally repeated when the tunes were sung.

The following words were sung at a scalp dance: "He stood pointing his gun, but missed fire, and I was not afraid." This is a fair specimen of their songs, if they can be called such. Sometimes a mourner would extemporize a few words while wailing for the dead, but even that was rare. None seemed to have any idea of composing what could be termed poetry. I once received from the half-blood, Scott Campbell, some pieces of composition that purported to be Dakota songs, but the Indians did not recognize them.

If the Dakotas had any poetry it was not in songs but in fables, of which they had a great store. Some of their fables bear marks of high antiquity, as in them no allusion is made to fire-arms, nor to anything received from white men, while varieties of trees and plants are mentioned which are abundant farther north, but not common in this part of the country. Many of the stories are the product of an inventive genius and active imagination, and need only the right form of words to make them poems. They constitute the poetry of this people.

These fables are full of the supernatural and are made up of many strange events and wild adventures, but they will hardly bear a literal translation into English, and to civilize is to spoil them.

Years ago the Dakotas were in the habit of repeating these tales for the entertainment of company, and I have known a

crowd to fill a tepee and listen with fixed attention to the recital for hours during the long winter evenings.

Music and Musical Instruments.

Mention has been made of their popular tunes, and there were many of these, each appropriated to some special service. Probably some of them had been sung by them and their ancestors for many generations.

One of these tunes was used by mourners, and that and no other was used by them all in wailing for the dead. One was used to express feelings of terror and dismay. This is what we call the "death-song," but the Dakotas called it "the song or tune of terror," and it was sung when they were in great peril. It was reported of the delegation of chiefs which went to Washington in 1837, that some of them began to sing this tune when without any warning they were carried into a railroad tunnel; and this is the tune that was sung on the scaffold by those who were hung at Mankato.

Another of these tunes was sung when the recipient of a present made a public acknowledgment of the generosity of the donor, and yet another when they were gambling with the ball and moccasin. Each dance and religious feast had its appropriate tune. There are a great many of these tunes and they were sung very frequently, so that, although few have a less discriminating ear for music than the writer, he learned to distinguish them, and when singing was heard in the camp he knew at once what was going on by the tune that was sung. A few words were occasionally sung with these tunes, as a sort of chorus; but they were sung a great deal without any words at all.

It would be presumption in me to attempt to criticise Dakota music. I can only say of their singing that it seemed to me to accord well with the character of the singers. The loud, wild notes were doubtless animating to their spirits and pleasing to their ears, but not to mine.

Some of their singing, especially when heard in the night, had a weird, unearthly sound. The loud, rude voices of the singers, and the dismal sound of the drum, made music that accorded well with the war-whoop of the young braves, the wailing of mourners, and the howling of conjurers, all of which might be heard at the same time.

The musical instruments most used were the drum, rattle, and flute. The drum was made by straining parchment, made of deer-skin, over the end of a powder keg. Probably in earlier times a piece of hollow log was used. This drum was beaten in a very monotonous manner with a single stick. The sound was dull and not particularly inspiring, but could be heard quite a distance. Light portable drums were made by putting parchment heads on hoops, five or six inches broad, and fifteen or eighteen inches in diameter.

The rattle was made of a gourd shell, into which were put the round teeth of the white bass. This instrument was used principally by conjurers. They made other rattles of deer hoofs, or of pieces of metal attached to a handle, and these were used in some dances.

Flutes might be made of sumac, but by the Medawakantonwans they were commonly made of red cedar. A stick was first made of the requisite size and shape for the tube, then was split through the middle, and the two pieces were hollowed out and glued together again. The sounds produced by this little instrument were very agreeable; its soft melody, which was quite in contrast with their other music, proved that they had a relish for sounds less harsh than those produced by the drum and rattle. Often a young man might be seen sitting alone, playing on a flute of his own making, and seemingly delighted with its soft, sweet tones. That the women were pleased with the sounds of the flute may be inferred from the fact that it was much used in serenading young ladies.

Notation.

The Dakotas compute numbers like other people, by tens; because, like other people, they have ten fingers and thumbs on their hands. Their names for numbers are very much like our own. They count ten, two tens, three tens, etc., till they reach a hundred, then commence again, and when they have reached ten hundred, call it one thousand and begin again. In fact their mode of counting is substantially the same as our own. Their name for a million was coined for them by interpreters, when they sold their lands, and the most intelligent of them did not at first understand it, not having before had occasion to use it.

They count a great deal on their fingers, and often hold them up in answer to the question, How many? They practice this so much that many of them will straighten out what fingers they please, keeping the rest closed. The fingers may represent units, tens, hundreds, or thousands. If they wish to signify ten they hold open both hands; and if twenty, thirty, etc., they open and close the hands as many times as there are tens in the number.

Time was measured by days, or rather by nights, and by moons. None of the Dakotas knew the exact number of days in a year. One of them told the writer that he had tried to ascertain the number by cutting a notch in a stick for each day, but when the year came round he had no means of ascertaining the precise day on which he began to count.

Being very close and careful observers of natural phenomena, they could tell very nearly the time of the year in summer by the appearance of vegetation, and in winter by the fetuses of the animals which they killed, but of course the information obtained from such sources could not be exact. They seemed most at fault about the time of year in February and March, and looked anxiously for the return of the crows, who were the harbingers of spring and always brought welcome tidings to the Dakotas, for they knew that the ducks and geese were not far behind.

They had an absurd way of accounting for the wane of the moon, saying that it was eaten up. The moon-eater seemed quite unequal to the task assigned him, for he was nothing more than a little mouse of a peculiar form, a species found occasionally though rather rarely in this country. How much credence this queer fancy gained among the Dakotas is uncertain, for, when bantered about it, they laughed and did not seem to care whether it was true or not. They had no better way of accounting for the decrease of the moon, and perhaps their theory was as good as none. Lying outdoors so often by night, they learned to appreciate the value of the moon as a luminary and were unwilling that it should suffer harm.

While sleeping one night in one of their camps, I was suddenly aroused by the discharge of fire-arms. Running out to learn the cause, I found the moon eclipsed and the Indians trying to frighten away the monster which had assailed it. They suc-

ceeded in this praiseworthy attempt, as doubtless their ancestors had done for generations before them, and so would be encouraged to try it again when necessary.

They were close observers of the stars, and had given names to many single stars and constellations. In the absence of the moon, they looked at the stars as we do at a timepiece to learn the time at night.

Standards of Measure.

In measuring cloth the Dakotas used the distance from the ear to the end of the longest finger, turning the head so that the measure with a man of ordinary size was about a yard in length. Poles, canoes, etc., were measured by the fathom, the distance between the ends of the fingers when both arms are extended in opposite directions. For short measures they used the span and the hand's breadth.

In pacing distances they did not walk as we do, taking long steps, but put the feet as far apart as possible. This was a laborious way of measuring and was used only for short distances. Long distances were measured by day's journeys or a part of a day's journey. Some young men once measured the distance from Kaposia to Mendota, and from Mendota to Lake Calhoun, by bow shots, but probably this mode of measurement was not often resorted to.

They had no standard for weights and liquid measures, and none for dry measure except the hands.

Religion and Worship.

It is not easy to exhibit the religious views of the Dakotas in a very clear or satisfactory light. Their external forms of worship can be described, but I shall not attempt to tell just what they thought of things unseen, for many of their notions concerning supernatural things were confused, unsettled, and contradictory.

I went among them with a determination to know all that was to be learned about them, and especially about their views on religious subjects. For this purpose I carefully observed all that was to be seen of their acts of worship, even entering their wakan feasts and taking part in their ceremonies. All the information that was to be gained by conversing with the most intelligent and

communicative among them convinced me, after a careful research, extending through many years, during which I made a diligent use of my eyes and ears, that they had no fixed, uniform belief.

Probably a harmonious system of mythology was never found among any heathen people. Each pagan writer, when speaking of the gods, would aim to be consistent with himself, but these writers do not always harmonize with each other; and the superstitious notions of the common people were perhaps as confused and contradictory as those of the American Indians. The great poets of pagan Greece and Rome were great inventors, and they sometimes drew on their invention or imagination much more than Milton did in writing his "Paradise Lost."

My brother, Gideon H. Pond, in a little work published some years ago, has perhaps done as much to reduce this discordant and chaotic mass of materials to order as any one can; but I will tell some things about their superstitious notions and practices, because this work would be incomplete were no such statement included. His paper, entitled "Dakota Superstitions and Dakota Gods," forms pages 215-255 in the second volume of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections. Another paper, on "The Religion of the Dakotas," by James W. Lynd, is in pages 150-174 of the same volume.

The Dakotas had certain ideas about religious subjects which were not taught them by their prophets and had no connection with their superstitions, but which seem to have been the suggestion of reason and conscience. These ideas were deficient rather than erroneous, but mention of them will be made in another place. Here I am speaking of their superstitions, the inventions of their wakan-men. No well-informed person will expect to find in the mythology of the Dakotas a well defined system. As they had no books and no class of persons whose business it was to teach the common people the articles of religious belief, each one knew only what he happened to hear, and some heard one thing and some another.

If the members of the Wakan-lodge had any knowledge of these things more than others, they kept such knowledge to themselves; but it is probable that if all their secrets had been divulged, they would have amounted to nothing more than crafty devices for upholding the credit of their own order.

The religion of the Dakotas consisted principally, but not wholly, in the worship of visible things of this world, animate and inanimate. Their chief object of worship was Unkteri, the mammoth, though they held many erroneous opinions concerning that extinct species of elephant, and did not know that the race was extinct. They had seen bones of the mammoth, pieces of which they had in their possession, and they were too well acquainted with comparative anatomy not to know that it was a quadruped. They described the species as resembling the buffalo or ox, but of enormous size. As they worshipped many other animals, it was natural that the mammoth, which so much exceeded the others in size, should be adopted as their chief god. To his worship their most solemn religious festivals were dedicated. They supposed that the race was still in existence, and, as they were not seen on land and their bones were found in low and wet places, they concluded that their dwelling was in the water. Their bones were highly prized for magical powers, and were perhaps as valuable to them as relics of a saint are to a devout Catholic. A Dakota told me that he had discovered some of the fossil bones in the lake opposite Shakopee, but was unable to raise them without some boat larger than a canoe.

The Dakotas supposed that thunder was the voice of a bird, which used lightning as a means of destroying enemies. Many of them really thought they had seen this marvelous bird. With a prior belief in its existence, it is not strange that a terrified imagination should discover it among the dark flying clouds of a thunder storm. This bird they worshipped.

Another object of worship was Taku-Shkan-Shkan, or that which moves. Stones were the symbol of this deity, and, sometimes at least, his dwelling-place. The Indians believed that some stones possessed the power of locomotion, or were moved by some invisible, supernatural power; and intelligent men affirmed that they had seen stones which had moved some distance on level ground, leaving a track or furrow behind them. The moving of the stone and the track behind it were doubtless the work of some cunning rogue, but some men of good common sense evidently believed that some stones could move or were moved by the god of which they were the symbol.

Many prayers were addressed to ghosts, who were never very far away, and, if the Indians did not see them, they often heard them whistle, especially in the night. That affection of the muscles of the face, by which the features are distorted and the mouth drawn to one side, was supposed to be the work of ghosts. They had the same fear of the spirits of the dead that many white persons have, and kept out of their way as much as possible, but often worshipped them.

The sun and moon were worshipped to some extent by the Dakotas about the sources of the Minnesota river, but rarely by the Medawakantonwan.

Heyoka, also called Waziya, was an imaginary being of gigantic size, with sensations opposite to those felt by mortals; that is, in winter he was oppressed by heat, and in summer suffered with cold, or was sad when he should be merry, and was merry when he should be sad. He was doubtless the invention of some fertile genius, ambitious to astonish the people with something new and strange.

Unktomi was another of their fabulous beings, who, though seldom worshipped, was often spoken of and acted an important part in some of their fables. He was a notorious liar, and more noted for cunning than for honesty. To him was ascribed the manufacture of the stone arrowheads occasionally found in this country.

Both Heyoka and Unktomi were eccentric characters, and were not always spoken of with reverence. Their exploits were not unlike those of the fairies, brownies, and such ilk of other lands. Except perhaps Unktomi, all the individuals and objects which have been mentioned were worshipped by the Dakotas. There was hardly anything visible that some of them did not occasionally worship, but of such a being as the Creator and Preserver of all they had no knowledge.

In their intercourse with the whites, they had heard of a God and a devil. The former they called Wakantanka, and the latter Wakanshicha, commony translated Great Spirit and Evil Spirit; but the Great Spirit was the God of the foreigners, to whom they owed no allegiance. When talking with a white man they might say, "The Great Spirit hears me," in confirmation of the truth of their statements; but to one of their own people they were more likely to say, "The earth hears me."

They were as a people very superstitious, and were often engaged in some act of worship to some one of their vast variety of gods. They called frequently upon ghosts without much formality. The hunter or traveler, stopping to smoke, would fill his pipe and holding it up would say, "Here, ghosts, take a smoke and give us a good day."

Stones were much worshipped by them, both with prayers and offerings. They chose granite boulders and painted them red. There was a large sacred stone of this sort at Red Rock, from which the place takes its name, and another between Kaposia and Mendota. Both were covered with votive offerings, such as tobacco, pieces of cloth, hatchets, knives, arrows, and other articles of small value.

They did not always speak of their gods with the greatest respect, and it was uncertain how much or how little confidence some of them had in them. The writer happened to be standing with Shakopee near some painted stone gods, when he spoke of them with the utmost contempt, and of their worshippers as silly fools; but he acknowledged that he would not venture to speak so before the Dakotas, and he appeared to be a zealous worshipper of such things as long as he lived.

I once traveled several days on foot with a chief, and when we encamped at night he made the figure of a turtle in the earth, and prayed to it for good weather. He seemed somewhat offended when I told him that his prayers would avail nothing, and stoutly maintained that it was not a vain thing to pray to turtles for good weather. The next day was fair, and he told me with an air of triumph that I could now see the efficacy of his prayers. Of course I had to yield the point, for facts are stronger than arguments.

At our next encampment, the first thing he did was to renew his devotions to the turtle. We needed fair weather, for it was early in April and we had no shelter, but this time the turtle failed to respond. In the night we were drenched by a cold rain. I suggested to the old man that it would be well for him to get up and call upon his god; but he was in a bad humor, spoke very disrespectfully of turtles, and declared he would be revenged on the next one he met. The disappointment, however, did not cure him of his idolatry; and he maintained that if I could not obtain fair weather by praying for it, my God was no better than his.

The chief of the Lake Calhoun band, a thoughtful man of good judgment, told me that he regarded many of the wakan-men as impostors, but that he thought some of them honest men and their statements concerning supernatural things reliable. Such was probably the opinion of many intelligent and thoughtful persons among them. The facts before narrated show that many of the Dakotas were unsettled in their minds, not being firm in their belief of all that was taught by their prophets.

The efforts made by the wakan-men to keep up their credit proved that there was much skepticism among the people, of which they were afraid. Indeed, there were few things concerning which the religious teachers were themselves agreed; and it is probable that their superstitious notions and ceremonies had from time to time been subject to many innovations, for there was nothing to prevent such changes.

It was claimed and generally believed that there were some in every generation to whom the gods revealed themselves. It was a common thing for individuals to assert that they had received special revelations from the unseen world; and there was so much confidence in the truth of these assertions, or the people were so much afraid to question their truth, that the movements of whole villages were governed by them.

At one time when the whooping-cough prevailed at Lake Calhoun, it was revealed to Red Bird, a noted conjurer, that if the whole band would follow him to the bank of the lake and smoke a certain pipe while he held it, the disease would depart. This ceremony was performed, women carrying their little children that they might take a whiff from the mysterious pipe, which doubtless conferred as much benefit as white children receive when the hands of a wonder-working doctor are laid on their heads. The prophet knew enough not to perform the ceremony until he perceived indubitable signs of an abatement of the disease, and he also knew enough to apply to the writer for medicine for his own children.

On another occasion I was with a hunting party when game was scarce, and it was revealed to one of the wise men that the ghosts of certain cattle which had been killed by some of the party were accompanying us and driving away the game. It was also made known that if all the company would go through a certain

round of ceremonies, and then rush back in a body across a lake that we had passed, the ghosts would leave us. I was urged by the leader to join them in the phantom chase, because it was thought the shades of the cattle would have more regard for a white man than for Indians. After spending two or three days and nights in preliminary preparations, a part of which consisted in arraying themselves in fantastic and ludicrous apparel and making queer looking weapons, such as had been prescribed by the god who had been so kind as to tell us how to get rid of our invisible enemies, all the party, with great shouting, rushed back across the frozen lake, and we heard no more of the cattle. Whatever doubts any may have had concerning the efficacy of the remedy, they kept to themselves, but many appeared to regard it as a farce. The performance was well timed, as we were just entering a region where game was likely to be more plentiful.

The accounts here given are specimens of the special revelations made to the wakan-men, whenever they could turn them to their own advantage and gain credit with the people. The authority of these prophets was as great as that of any who had gone before, and why should they study the traditions of the past, when they themselves had direct access to the gods who were the fountains of light? Like our modern necromancers, they held direct communication with the invisible and spiritual world. There was a nearer way to gain knowledge of things supernatural than to attempt to gain it from the uncertain traditions of the past. At the same time these men could have very little reverence for the revelations made to others.

Truthfulness has required me to say hard things about wakan-men, and some of them were exceedingly mean; but many of them were good warriors and good hunters, kind to their families and staunch friends, with as much magnanimity and generosity as we could reasonably expect to find among savage pagans.

Like some of our own spiritualists, many wakan-men were not only very wicked but very shrewd, and as they knew that they themselves were impostors, they must at least have suspected that the prophets who went before them were false prophets like themselves. Religious forms and doctrines could have no certain and stable character in the hands of such men, but must necessarily

be subject to mutations and full of contradictions. They were not so much the expounders of the doctrines of others as disseminators of their own fancies, and there were so many of them acting without concert, each seeking his own aggrandizement by the invention of falsehoods, that it would have been unreasonable to expect to find agreement and consistency among them.

It is natural for those who write about Indian superstitions to wish to furnish the public with some regular system of mythology. If they do not question too many of the wakan-men, they may think they have found what they are seeking for; but if they extend their researches too far, their system will all crumble to pieces, and they will find themselves surrounded by chaotic fragments. If anyone wishes to construct a consistent system of Indian mythology, such as will be satisfactory to the public, the best way for him to do it is to form a theory of his own, adopt some Indian notions, reject others, invent some himself, and not ask the Indians too many questions.

We have conclusive proof that the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Dakotas did not continue unchangeably the same from generation to generation. The "medicine lodge," which occupied so conspicuous a place among the religious ceremonies of the Dakotas on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, is not found among the Ihanktonwan of the Missouri; but if it had been originally a Dakota institution, we should expect to find it among all the Dakota tribes. It is evident that at a time not very remote it was adopted by the eastern Dakotas, or was abandoned by their western relatives; and either its abandonment or adoption implies a great instability in their religious belief. If such an innovation was tolerated, then almost any change might take place in their religious views and practices.

Yet the Dakotas had a certain routine of religious ceremonies, some of which were doubtless very ancient and may have been little changed for generations. It is probable that in the main they worshipped the same objects which their ancestors had worshipped from time immemorial. With many of these acts of worship the wakan-men had no more to do than the common people, and they would have continued the same if there had been no wakan-men. Their religion consisted much in private acts of worship, which were too numerous and varied to be all described.

and which each performed or neglected according to his own inclination.

The Medicine Dance.

A brief account will here be given of some of the most common forms of public worship, beginning with the wakan-dance, commonly called the "medicine dance." It has been mentioned that the Wakan society or "medicine lodge" is not common to all the Dakotas. The eastern Dakotas may have received it from their neighbors, the Ojibways, Winnebagoes, Sacs, or Foxes, all of whom had it. It is a sacred society, the free masonry of the Indians; and, as the writer was never initiated into its mysteries, he will not pretend to reveal its secrets.

In justice to the members of the society, it is perhaps proper to say that they, like members of other secret societies, affirmed that all that was done among them in secret was very good. Those who were received into this society paid liberal fees for admission, and received bags made of the entire skins of small animals or birds, containing some little things which they were taught to consider of great value. Besides the wakan-bag and its contents, they received instruction and advice, which was said to be very good; but probably the most that they learned was the proper manner of performing the ceremonies and maintaining the credit of the society. New bags were not always provided for the candidates, but such as had belonged to deceased members of the lodge were given to their descendants or others. Some who applied for admission were rejected, but for what reason I cannot tell, as the lodge was composed of all sorts of persons, comprising in its membership some of the worst and some of the best.

The ceremonies attending the wakan-dance were in part the most imposing and in part the most absurd of any witnessed among the Dakotas. This dance was not held very often, but generally as often as two or three times each year at each village. There seems to have been no rule requiring it to be celebrated always when it was, for I have heard Dakotas complain at times that it was held too often.

Much food was first collected as a preliminary, without which nothing could be done. In the winter I have known them to contribute the breasts of deer to one who gave notice that he intended to hold a dance in the spring.

A smooth, dry place was selected and inclosed by setting stakes around it four or five feet in height, and tents were then hung on the poles or stakes. The inclosure was eight or ten rods long and twenty or thirty feet wide, and the fence so low that the spectators could look over it. At one end of the inclosed space a large shelter was constructed by putting several tents together, so arranged that the side toward the dancing-ground was always open during the dance. This tent was the headquarters of the principal men and women, for the lodge was composed of both sexes in about equal numbers. It was occupied a day or two before the dance commenced, for the purpose of receiving candidates and performing such other occult services as were necessary.

When the day for the dance arrived, a number of large kettles, filled with choice food, were hung over a fire at the end of the enclosure, opposite the tent, and persons were appointed to attend to them during the day.

Before the dance began, most of the dancers arranged themselves in two rows or lines, one on each side of the inclosed area, with their backs to the fence, and holding their wakan-bags in their hands. They were without their blankets but arrayed in their best apparel, except the newly initiated, who, if they were males, were painted black and wore only their breech-cloths. Not a smile was to be seen on their faces, nor was a light word spoken by them during the performance.

The time was measured by a drum and vocal music, and in the intervals of the dance short speeches or invocations were made by some of the leaders. The ball was opened by a few, who passed down from the tent in front of one of the lines, crossed over near the kettles, and returned in front of the other line. They trotted rather than danced, taking short, quick steps, and bending forward. They held the wakan-bag or medicine-sack before them, grasping the neck in front with the right hand, the other end being held in the left hand close to the side of the performer, so that the head of the skin was held pointing forward. At every step each one uttered a sort of grunt, and their whole appearance while dancing formed a mixture of the hideous and ludicrous which might have been amusing if it had not been disgusting.

After the persons who led off the dance had passed up and down the lines a few times, they suddenly turned, one after another, and each touched on the breast, with the head of the bag, one of those who stood in the lines. The one who was touched, uttering a groan or shriek, fell suddenly on his or her face headlong on the ground, and, after lying apparently lifeless a minute or so, began slowly to recover, raised himself or herself a little on the hands, and succeeded, after several convulsive efforts, in coughing up a little shell or bean.

This person then arose, and after trotting around the circle a while, touched one who fell and did as he had done. Whenever one had shot down another, he took his place in line and stood still till he was shot again. The process of touching with the sack they termed "shooting."

In this way the dance could be kept up a great while, for when one was weary he had only to call out another and take his place among those who were resting. It was left to the option of each one to touch whom he pleased, and, as no one knew when his turn would come, all had to be ready to fall at any time. Some dropped as though they had been shot, but others, especially the older ones, were more careful of themselves in falling. It seemed strange that persons who had so keen a sense of the ludicrous, and such a dread of appearing ridiculous, could have been persuaded to make such an exhibition. Theirs, however, were not the only worshipping assemblies in which the solemn and ridiculous have been mingled together.

But the ludicrous part of the wakan-dance was not the worst of it. It was a deception or an attempt to deceive, for they would have the bystander believe that, when the bag touched them, the shell, or whatever it was, passed through their breasts into their bodies and was afterwards coughed up. They claimed that they did not fall voluntarily, but were shot down. Doubtless many of the spectators found it difficult to believe such palpable absurdities, but there was nothing to be gained by publishing their skeptical thoughts, for it was not a light thing to incur the displeasure of some of the wakan-men. If their incantations were harmless, their poisons were not, though they threatened to do more harm than they really did. Probably many of the dancers did not expect

that what was said about the shell would be universally received as true, for when I ventured to banter some of them about it, their only answer was a good-natured laugh. As with the pagan nations of ancient times, so with them, superstitions and recreations were so mingled that it was difficult to separate them, and to tell when they were serious and when in sport.

The dance, with short intervals of rest, was kept up from morning till near night, and then came the feast. The food was of the best they could procure, the dancers were hungry, and doubtless the feast was as acceptable to them as a royal banquet to those who fare sumptuously every day. The spectators looked on with wishful eyes, and perhaps the sight of the feast, from which they were excluded, induced some of them to become members of the Wakan society for the sake of the good cheer.

These festivals were great occasions, often drawing together nearly all the population of two or three villages. The dancing-ground was always surrounded by a host of spectators, who, aware of the solemnity of the occasion, observed the strictest decorum. In a later period whiskey was sometimes drunk at wakan-dances, but the practice was severely reprehended by many of the Dakotas, although perhaps it was not more incongruous and unseemly than the Christmas carousals which some of them had opportunities of observing among their white neighbors.

Wakan Feasts.

Less ceremonious wakan-feasts were very common, and might be made by anyone at any time. If food was plentiful, several feasts of this kind might be in progress at the same time in a camp or village. When a man prepared to make a wakan-feast, the women and children left the tent and staid in some neighboring tent till it was over. The food was divided as equally as possible into a number of portions, corresponding to the number of guests to be invited. Each of these portions was usually as large as one could conveniently eat at one time. Several men were sent for to assist in the ceremonies, and while the food was being cooked two or more were engaged in praying, or rather wailing in loud recitative tones. They called it praying, but the word to pray is derived from the word weep, and in these feasts they wept rather than prayed.

The devotional exercises were continued most of the time while the food was being prepared.

When the feast was ready, a messenger went around and invited each of the guests in a low tone of voice. The one who was invited carried his own dish with him to the feast, where, after some preliminary ceremonies, such as fumigating the hands and knives with the smoke of cedar leaves, the master of the feast gave to each one a portion which he must eat up there and then or otherwise pay a forfeit. Generally the present given to the master of the feast by those who failed to devour the portion set before them was some such thing as a pair of leggings or cloth for a shirt. None of the food might be carried away, and the bones were carefully collected and thrown into the water. If the portions of food given at these feasts were unreasonably large, the guests complained of the imposition.

After the feast was ended, as the guests withdrew, each one, when he reached the door, turned and saluted all who were left in the tent, addressing each individually, and, if a relative, by the title indicating the relationship, as "my cousin," "my brother-in-law," etc. This parting salutation was a trying ordeal for some, and I have seen young and bashful women very much embarrassed on such occasions.

As already remarked, these feasts were very frequent. When they were killing deer in abundance many ate little except at wakan-feasts. The hunters, returning hungry from hunting, often abstained a while from eating, lest, after taking supper, they should be called to a feast and be unable to eat what was set before them. When hungry they were glad to be invited, but, when not hungry, I have known them to go very reluctantly and not without valid reason for their reluctance, because they must gorge themselves like boa constrictors or give some present which perhaps they could not well spare, as these were debts which they felt themselves under religious obligations to pay.

Food that was needed in the family was often lavishly expended in these feasts, sometimes when the owner would gladly have saved it for his own use if he could have done so without injury to his reputation, but he wished to be as generous as his neighbors and was ashamed to eat of their food while they never

tasted of his. He wanted to make as good a show of ability as others, and, prompted by generosity or vanity, incurred greater expense often than his means would justify.

I once heard a discussion between a Dakota and his wife, concerning the expediency of making a feast. The man was in favor of it, but the woman demurred on the ground that they could not afford it. This the husband admitted, was true, but said that they had made no feast that winter, and had feasted with others without inviting them in return till he was ashamed to do it any longer. The mother-in-law voted for the feast, and it was made. Are such consultations ever heard except in the tents of the Dakotas?

They thought their success in hunting was greatest when they made wakan-feasts most frequently, which was probably true, but they may have mistaken the cause for the effect. It seems probable that they first made use of these supplications in times of great scarcity of provisions, and if their wants seemed to be supplied in answer to their prayers they would be likely to renew their supplications in all times of extremity, till they finally came to regard their frequent repetitions as essential to their welfare. The prayers in the wakan-feast were addressed to Unkteri, the mammoth, whose worship was noted on a preceding page.

It may not be improper here to notice that gluttony for which Indians have been notorious. The Dakotas, when actively employed, did not eat often and were in the habit of devouring large quantities of food at a time. They frequently hunted all day without eating, and, as already stated, it was not an uncommon thing for them to start out in the morning without breakfast and eat nothing till they returned at night. These long fasts were of course followed by hearty meals, and hunters' stomachs became so distended, by filling them to their utmost capacity, that they would contain enormous quantities of food. When a white man saw how much an Indian could devour at once, he set him down as a glutton. But, though he could and did eat so much at one time, his meals were often "few and far between."

He also needed more food in winter in consequence of being more exposed to the cold than we are. In cold weather, either by night or by day, the Dakota man or woman was seldom what we

would call comfortably warm, and if they stepped into a warm room they were often so overcome by the heat as to fall asleep immediately. If they had not been hearty eaters, they would have succumbed to the cold.

They who eat only one kind of food at a time, prepared in the simplest manner, seem to eat larger quantities than those who have a variety at each meal. One accustomed to our mode of living, if compelled to live on fresh meat alone, will be surprised to learn how much it takes to satisfy him. Few white men can eat as much at a single meal as an ordinary Dakota, but let them live with the Indians, faring in all respects as they fared, and they would learn soon to rival them in eating.

White men who accompanied the Dakota delegation to Washington in 1837 said that after the Indians had been fed a few days on the diet of white people, they ate no more than others; and one of the chiefs told me, after his return, that the food eaten by white men was much more hearty than the food of the Indians, so that a very little satisfied.

It was natural that a people whose supply of provisions was so precarious, and who had so few sources of enjoyment, should make the matter of eating so prominent as to produce an unfavorable impression on those who had never experienced a scarcity of food. Moreover, it is not strange that they who heard them talk so much about eating, and saw them eat so much at a time, should call them gluttons; but probably a much larger proportion of white persons than of Dakotas injure themselves by high living.

The Feast of Raw Fish.

This feast, if it could be so named, was celebrated only when it was revealed to some one that it was absolutely necessary, which was not very often, for the Dakotas were not fond of raw fish nor raw flesh of any kind. It required some time to prepare for this ceremony. The chief actors, those who devoured the fish, represented beasts and birds of prey. Some personated wolves, bears, foxes, etc.; and others hawks, cormorants, and other rapacious birds. Those who represented quadrupeds, finding their arms too short for legs, lengthened them by holding short sticks in their hands. Each assumed the appearance and imitated the manner, as well as he could, of the beast or bird which he repre-

sented. They also attempted to imitate their voices, and in this some of them succeeded very well; for it is a part of their craft, as hunters and warriors, to learn to mimic the voices of birds and beasts. Those who assumed the character of birds used pipes or whistles, made for the occasion.

At the only performance of this kind witnessed by the writer, they had two pike, weighing three or four pounds apiece, painted blue, and lying on the ground, inclosed by a slight fence. The beasts and birds walked about the pen, often approaching it as though anxious to get the fish, and as often starting back in alarm, until at last, a signal being given, they all pounced upon the fish. As beasts and birds have no hands, they devoured them without touching them with anything but their mouths. Their teeth were sharp and their jaws strong, and the fish soon disappeared, bones and all. There was less danger in swallowing the bones than there would have been had the fish been cooked, for the flesh adhered to them firmly and they were swallowed with it.

Any one, after reading this account, will be ready to conclude that the tastes of the Dakotas were brutish, and that their stomachs would revolt at nothing; but it was as beasts, not as men, that they ate the raw fish. They did it as a religious duty, to secure a benediction or avert a calamity; or perhaps some shared in the ceremony to show that they could do what others could do. Not one of the performers on that occasion could have been induced to swallow a raw oyster, or probably not even one that was cooked. I suppose they did not relish the dish set before them, for one of them slyly showed me a bitter herb which he put in his mouth just before the attack on the fish commenced. The Dakotas were not eaters of raw flesh, and if some of them did sometimes swallow bits of the flesh of their enemies, as was reported, it was done in a spirit of bravado, or in the madness of excitement. I have seen a Frenchman, when very hungry, eat the raw flesh of a muskrat; but he was sharply rebuked for it by a Dakota, and probably few of them would have done it except in case of absolute necessity.

About some kinds of food they seemed to be quite fastidious, refusing, for example, to eat dried beef until it was cooked. To eat raw oysters and dried herring, as many of the civilized do, would have been regarded by them as an abominable practice. There are a

few eels in the Minnesota river, but the Indians, who called them snake fish, never learned to eat them.

As I was once passing through the village of Good Road, he called me into his house to help eat an eel. He said he had seen eels eaten in Washington, and knew they must be good. Some of his people had caught one, he had ordered it to be cooked, and was determined it should be eaten, but his men were afraid of it. He had invited them to the feast, but only a part of them had ventured to come. He divided the eel into as many parts as there were persons present, giving each a very small piece. The chief praised the eel, but waited for me to taste it first. He then ate his portion, and the others, one by one, swallowed what was given them, but with a very bad grace, and looking very much as if they were afraid they were eating a snake. I relate this anecdote in connection with the story of the raw fish, because I consider it unfair to present only the worst side of the Indian character.

Heyoka Feast.

Another feast was instituted in honor of the god Heyoka, to whom cold was as heat and heat as cold, etc. His votaries stood around a kettle of food, and, taking it out of the boiling water with their hands, ate it without waiting for it to cool. When the hot broth was sprinkled on their naked bodies, they shivered as if it had been cold water. They claimed to be, for the time, proof against the injurious effects of heat, and may have had some method of deadening the sensibilities of the skin; but their performances, as I have seen them, were not very marvelous and did not seem to excite much wonder in the minds of the spectators.

It is true that they snatched the meat from the boiling water, and ate it immediately; but they were quick and cautious in their motions, and snatched the food from each other before it had time to scald them so as to raise a blister, and if they did feel a little pain, they would not be likely to complain. When they sprinkled the broth on each other, they took the precaution to toss it high in the air. During the performance the spectators stood by, enjoying the sport, neither contradicting nor believing what was said by the fire-eaters. It was enough for them that the exhibition furnished amusement for an idle hour.

The Sun Dance.

As I never witnessed this dance, I shall not attempt to describe it. It is common among the Dakotas on the western plains, and has been minutely described by some who have seen it. It was sometimes performed by the Dakotas of the upper Minnesota river, but not often. The dancers danced with their faces toward the sun, till their strength was exhausted. They inserted sticks under the muscles of the arms or body, and, fastening one end of a cord to these sticks and the other end to a post or some heavy weight, pulled on them till the flesh gave way.

This was the only religious service among the Dakotas in which the devotees inflicted upon themselves severe bodily torture; and these painful and bloody rites were not popular with the Dakotas of the Mississippi and Minnesota.

They were willing to go through a weary round of ceremonies, to do any amount of praying and dancing in honor of their gods, provided a good feast at the end made amends for all their fatigue; but, except when mourning for the dead, they seldom afflicted themselves with bodily tortures, for neither their faith nor their zeal carried them so far as to make them willing to torment themselves to please either gods or men.

Thunder Dance.

The manner in which the Dakotas worshipped the Thunder bird, if it can be called worship, seemed rather designed to intimidate than to propitiate this god. Like all other sacred dances of the Dakotas, it was attended with many little whimsical ceremonies, too numerous to be minutely described. An image of the thunder bird was made and fastened to a pole twenty or thirty feet high, around which the worshippers, if they could be so designated, danced. At the close of the ceremonies, they shot at the pole near the top until they cut it in two with their bullets, when the likeness of the bird fell to the ground.

Occasionally some of the Dakotas were killed by lightning, and it was natural that they should wish to find out a remedy for the evil; but it does not seem reasonable to suppose the thunder bird would be more favorably disposed toward them after being treated thus in effigy.

A wakan-man, however, was wiser than seven men who can render a reason. If we would find good sense among any people, we must not look for it in their superstition, for that is always unreasonable, whether among the savage or the civilized.

Making a Bear.

This performance, like many other things done by the Dakotas, seemed to partake of the nature both of a diversion and of a religious solemnity. The man who represented the bear constructed his den by digging a hole in the earth about two feet deep, with paths leading out from it toward each of the four cardinal points. The den was inclosed with a slight fence, and the bear stayed by it a day or two, going through a certain formula of ceremonies. To lengthen his arms so that he could walk on all fours, he carried hoops in his hands which he used as paws.

On the last day of the play a number of young men gathered around him, having their guns loaded with powder only. When they drew near the den, the bear rushed out and chased them, trying to catch them by clapping the hoops over their heads. This was repeated until he had been out by three of the paths which led from the hole. The fourth time he was chased by the hunters, who fired very near him till he fell, and the farce was ended.

The Elk Dance.

In this dance the men who performed were entirely naked, and were painted to resemble the elk. They danced in the evening, however, when it was too dark for them to be distinctly seen, or at least that was the case in all dances of the kind seen by me.

There were others of these semi-religious dances or plays; but perhaps enough and more than enough have been described.

The Vapor Bath.

In preparing for this bath, a small hemispherical framework was constructed by sticking the ends of slender poles in the ground and bending them over. The frame was covered with skins or blankets, being only three or four feet high, just large enough to accommodate those who were to undergo or enjoy the steaming. Water was poured on heated stones placed in this little tent, filling the interior instantly with hot vapor.

What particular ceremonies were connected with this bath, I do not know. It was considered a religious rite, and the same kind of stones were used as they were accustomed to worship, that is, waterworn cobblestones, about three or four pounds in weight.

Rev. J. P. Williamson tells me that the Dakotas who have professed to renounce idolatry seem more reluctant to abandon this than any other of their superstitious practices. They may retain the vapor bath less from superstitious motives than for the sake of the supposed beneficial influence upon the health. Hennepin, who was very ill when he came to the villages of the Dakotas near Mille Lacs, tells us that they at once prepared for him a vapor bath, and that apparently through its effects he regained his accustomed health and strength.

Sacrifices and Offerings.

The Dakotas were accustomed to make votive offerings. Generally these were of no great value. The small articles placed on the stones which they worshipped have been mentioned. Offerings were also made to other objects of worship, some offerings being thrown into the water, others laid on the ground, and yet others hung in the air.

Dogs were offered in sacrifice, and also game killed in hunting. After being killed, dogs were thrown into the water, or were marked with paint and left lying on the ground, sometimes covered with a piece of cloth or blanket.

They often hung on trees or poles offerings of cloth, blankets, or skins. These were generally new, and were left hanging until they decayed.

Such offerings were often made or promised when the parties making them were about to engage in some hazardous undertaking, and they were often made just before the departure of a war party or just after its return. I do not think they were ever offered as an expiation for sin. It was not easy to learn from them just what their views were about the object and efficacy of these oblations, as they did not converse freely concerning such things, at least not with white men, and probably not among themselves.

It is not improbable that they often thus invoked the aid of the gods in the prosecution of enterprises which they preferred to keep secret. The sacrifices and votive offerings belonged rather

to private devotions than to public worship. They were frequently offered very privately, sometimes in sequestered places, and were seldom a subject of conversation. Doubtless they would have seemed very natural and proper to one of the ancient Greeks or Romans. They seemed to have very little connection with their more formal acts of public worship, and were probably more ancient than the latter.

Jugglery.

There were jugglers among the Dakotas, who, if the reports of eye-witnesses were true, were not a whit behind the wizards of other lands. They claimed to possess supernatural powers, and their claims were as well sustained by proofs as such claims are among any people. They were not spiritualists, but they either performed some of the same wonders by the help of their gods as the spiritualists do by the help of the spirits of the dead, or they practiced the same impositions on the people under one pretense as our spiritualists do under another. They knew how to release themselves when fast bound hand and foot with cords, and I heard of this exploit among the Dakotas before I heard of its being done anywhere else.

I have heard of many marvelous things done by Dakota jugglers, some of which were witnessed by white men of unquestionable veracity; but as I never witnessed them myself I shall not describe them.

Superstitions.

The most prominent forms of worship prevalent among these aborigines have been described, but I have not noticed all the little ceremonies observed by them. No one can ever be perfectly acquainted with all the minutiæ of their superstition, who is not reared among them, and of many I am doubtless ignorant; but I have seen more than I feel inclined to describe, and perhaps have already written more than any one will be disposed to read.

The mythology of the Dakotas is a chaos of incoherent imaginations, a mass of palpable absurdities. We should be surprised to find people so intelligent and shrewd about many things entertaining such crude and ridiculous notions about religion, if such inconsistencies were peculiar to them. While the rude Dakota pleases his imaginary god by purifying his hands with the smoke of cedar leaves, the enlightened ritualist glorifies the Most High

by shutting out the light of the sun and burning candles at noonday. One shakes his rattle, the other jingles his bells, and perhaps the noise of the rattle is as acceptable to God as the sound of the bells.

Many of the religious formalities of the Dakotas seemed to be without end or aim, and some of them whimsical and ludicrous; but they had many maxims, enforced by religious motives, the object of which was evident and laudable.

Many things were forbidden on the ground that they were wakan, that is, the doing of them would be followed by some calamity. It was as dangerous to do them as it once was for our ancestors, and perhaps still is for some of our contemporaries, to begin an important undertaking on Friday. To declare a thing wakan was often nothing more than an attempt to prevent improper or dangerous things from being done by an appeal to superstitious fears. Thus it was wakan to point a gun at any one in sport, to throw gunpowder into the fire, to whittle or hack a stick of fuel while one end was on fire, to threaten to kill a relative, though only in jest. Indeed, a thousand things that were considered dangerous or improper were wakan.

To say a thing was wakan was to give a sufficient reason why it should not be done, for these sayings had been repeated until they had become a part of the popular creed. These maxims could be learned only by familiar intercourse with the Indians, and they attracted the attention of white people much less than the ceremonies attending their religious feasts and dances; but they had far more influence over the everyday conduct of the people. Some of them were foolish notions, no more sensible than that to which allusion has been made, about beginning a work on Friday; but many of them were good rules for the regulation of the conduct, and things prohibited as wakan generally were such things as ought not to be done.

If any seemed disposed to disregard these warnings, the elders related to them the sad experience of those who had presumptuously trifled with things wakan. As a specimen of these illustrative anecdotes, one is here given.

One morning a young man asked his brother to go hunting with him, but the latter refused. When, after being urged to go, he still persisted in his refusal, he threatened to kill him if he

did not go. The father, who overheard this, said, "Stop, my son, that is wakan." The son, however, made light of the admonition and said that, though the gods were ever so many, he did not believe they would hear him when he spoke so low. He went out without his brother, but when he returned at night, as he drew near home, in attempting to shoot a bird, he accidentally killed his brother.

It would seem that there were not only some who made light of the wakan prohibitions, which occasionally were indeed unworthy of regard, but there were also skeptics who did not have much confidence in some of their objects of worship, as we may infer from the following story, told for the encouragement of those who prayed to stones and in warning to those who despised them.

As two young men were going to war, they came to a stone and one of them prayed to it, saying, "Grant that I may kill an enemy and return safe." The other, who thought stones deaf and prayers addressed to them useless, said, "If you can do anything, have me killed." The prayers were both answered. One was killed, and the other returned triumphant.

These are abridged specimens of a store of anecdotes related by the Dakotas. Whether treasured up from past experience, or artfully manufactured for the occasion, they furnish satisfactory proof of the folly of those who despised the traditions of their ancestors or the admonitions of their prophets. They had the same kind of proof for the efficacy of their religious practices as some farmers have for the belief that their turnips should not be sown or their bushes cut at a certain time of the moon, or as the bee-keeper has, that if he sells any of his bees there is danger of selling his good fortune with them. The same sort of proof supports many of the popular delusions of civilized people. It is hard arguing against a formidable array of well authenticated assertions.

It was a custom of the Dakotas to abstain from eating certain birds or animals. For instance, a man might abstain from eating bear's flesh, or some particular part of the bear, and so of any other animal. This abstinence might be voluntary or enjoined by a prophet, and it might be temporary or perpetual.

They frequently made vows to abstain from certain kinds of food, and it was probably this habit of self-denial which enabled them to keep their pledges so well when they promised to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors. They also fasted occasionally for religious reasons, abstaining entirely from the use of food; but it was not so easy to ascertain how much this was practiced, for they made no ostentatious show of fasting and were not communicative concerning their private devotions.

I have been describing the superstitions of the Dakotas, the inventions of the wakan-men. These were dark enough, a maze of falsehoods in which there were no glimmerings of light or truth, and they were the only part of their religion which attracted the attention of superficial observers.

But Cicero says that philosophers always make a distinction between superstition and religion. As a people, the Dakotas held certain opinions concerning religious subjects which were rather vague and defective than erroneous. These views or convictions were the remains of a clearer light which they had once possessed, or were the natural suggestions of reason and conscience.

The great mass of the people evidently believed in a superintending, overruling Providence, by which the world is governed and men often rewarded according to their deeds. It was very common for them to predict that some great calamity would befall the notoriously wicked. They were also accustomed to point out examples where great sins had been followed by severe punishments. These retributions they did not ascribe to any of the gods whom they ordinarily worshipped in public.

Moral delinquencies were not supposed to be very offensive to these imaginary beings. Their displeasure was incurred rather by the transgression of arbitrary rules; for example, the smoking of the wrong pipe, or at the wrong time, might provoke them more than theft or murder. It was as dangerous for the Dakotas to omit any of the prescribed ceremonies in the wakan-feast as it is for some Christians to eat meat on Friday.

The punishment of the wicked was ascribed to Taku-wakan, that is, some supernatural or divine power, though Taku-wakan was not a proper name and had no personal signification. This Taku-wakan had such a meaning in the minds of the Indians that none of us hesitated to use it when speaking of the providence of

God. The Dakotas could not be said to have any clear idea of the attributes of the Deity, but they did believe in a superintending righteous Providence. Although this belief was vague and undefined, it was real and universal, and so strong as to exert great influence over their conduct.

Evil deeds which provoked this unknown power to anger were not always of the same class with those which were punished by the gods of the wakan-men, but were transgressions of the divine law, what we call sins; and they believed that by this power individuals, families, nations, were punished for their iniquities. They sometimes said that they had been restrained from carrying out some wicked purpose by the fear of Taku-wakan; and they told of many individuals and families who had been destroyed by this mysterious power because of their wickedness. It was believed that whole bands were sometimes destroyed for their misdeeds.

They say that long ago some chiefs and principal men of the Iowas returned from Canada to Prairie du Chien in the winter, and attempted to pass through the Dakota territory to their own country. They were kindly received and hospitably entertained by the Wabashaw band, who sent messengers to the Wahpekutas, then encamped at Dry Wood, requesting them to receive the Iowas in a friendly manner and to aid them in their journey. The Wahpetukas returned a favorable answer and prepared a feast for the Iowas, but killed them all while they were eating it. This band of Dakotas was afterward very unfortunate. Many of them have been killed by the Sacs, and in one way and another they have been almost all cut off. These extraordinary calamities which befell them were attributed by the Dakotas to their wickedness, and especially to their barbarous massacre of the Iowas. Probably I should never have heard of that murder if the Dakotas had not mentioned it as the cause of the evils which befell the descendants of the assassins more than a hundred years after the offense was committed.

The Dakotas were quick to discern between right and wrong, and knew very well what to approve and what to condemn. As a general rule, whatever is regarded as a vice or a crime among white Americans was viewed in the same light by them. They did not need to be taught that theft, lying, adultery, and murder are wrong, any more than we do. Their consciences were not very sensitive.

but they were generally capable of forming a correct judgment of the moral character of actions. When any did them wrong they were loud in their complaint, and never excused the offender on the ground that he was ignorant of what was right.

The religion taught them by the wakan-men had no connection with morality and no tendency to make them better. Whatever correct ideas they had of religion or morality were not in consequence of their superstitions, but in spite of them. It was the protest of conscience and common sense against the teachings of lying fables.

Belief in Immortality.

Though they said little about a future state of retribution, they had a firm belief in the immortality of the soul. Their views of the nature of the future state, and of the condition of departed spirits, were necessarily confused and uncertain; but they expected to exist hereafter, and to go to what they called "the country of spirits." It was to them an unknown country, but a real one. To go to the land of ghosts was a common phrase, signifying to die, and they spoke of the dead as "dwelling in the land of spirits." To say, "I shall go as a spirit," was the same as to say, "I shall die." The bright line of light among the stars which we call "the milky way" they call "the path of spirits."

Many of the religious doctrines propounded by us, as missionaries, they received with doubt and distrust, because new to them; but when we spoke of the existence of the soul after the death of the body, what we said awakened neither doubt nor surprise, for the immortality of the soul was with them an article of popular belief. Here we stood on common ground. I have heard two or three deny the belief of immortality, but this was done in a spirit of contradiction, for the doctrine was believed as universally by them as by us.

What some of them said about each person having several souls, was, I think, the contrivance of some inventive genius to explain difficulties and reconcile inconsistencies. If the soul had departed to the land of ghosts, and at the same time hovered about the grave, and also remained where the lock of hair was kept, it seemed necessary that there should be more than one spirit, to inhabit all these places at once. The doctrine of a plurality of souls explained or

obviated this difficulty. Perhaps such a theory is needed by some of our own people, who believe that the spirit returns to God who gave it, lingers about the graveyard, and haunts also old houses and ruins, maliciously frightening benighted travelers. Plenty of irreconcilable and inexplicable notions about ghostly matters may be found afloat among any people, if they are sought for.

Whatever some individual Dakotas, when hard pressed by embarrassing questions, may have said about several souls belonging to one person, or to each individual, is not to be taken as the common faith of the people. It was evidently the popular belief that each individual had one soul, and not, as some have affirmed, that each one was to be divided into three or four distinct beings after death. From the common conversation of the people no one would ever learn or suspect that they believed a man has more than one soul. They speak of the soul of man just as we do, as one and identical with the body to which it belonged. Of the resurrection of the body they of course knew nothing.

A belief in transmigration of souls prevailed to some extent among the Dakotas, but seemed to amount to little more than a notion that some had existed as men or beasts before being born into this world. This idea is to be classed with the lying fables of their false prophets, rather than with the articles of popular belief.

To add to their importance, some of their wakan-men remembered having signalized themselves in some pre-existent state. The persons who had transmigrated from one state of existence to another, claimed in some instances that in their former state they were wild beasts; others affirmed that they were Indians, and others white men. Those who had been white persons, were too little acquainted with the character and customs of the whites to give a satisfactory account of their experiences as members of a civilized community. Their accounts may, however, have satisfied the Dakotas, if they are not more discriminating than their white neighbors; for it does not require a very intimate acquaintance with Indians to qualify one to write a description of them that will gain credence with the public.

Some were reminded that they had lived before by events occurring in this life. For instance, if one unexpectedly recovered after being severely wounded, he might remember having been a

grizzly bear or some other animal that is not easily killed. In speaking of a past state of existence, they invariably used the word which signifies to dream, which might imply that the pre-existence was imaginary rather than real.

The Dakotas had that instinctive dread of death that is common to all, but they had only the most vague and confused notions about a future state of retribution. Some current sayings proved that they thought some crimes committed in this world might be punished in the life to come. They had a common saying that whatever one stole in this world, he would be compelled to carry in the next; and they would sometimes say of a notorious thief that his ghost would have a heavy load to carry in the future state. They seemed to think that the suicide, who hung herself, would have to wear around her neck, in the world of spirits, the cord by which she was strangled.

These and other like sayings proved that they had some expectation of retribution after death, but it was difficult to learn how much they feared future punishment. They were no more free to converse on such subjects than are white persons, who, conscious of their guilt, can think of a day of righteous judgment only with apprehension. It is not probable that many of them had any very alarming apprehensions of being called to account hereafter for the deeds done in the body; but their thoughts and feelings concerning such subjects they kept mostly to themselves, and their fears of a coming judgment might have been greater than they appeared to be.

The public is familiar with many written compositions which have been published from time to time, purporting to set forth the ideas entertained by Indians concerning the beauties and delights of the Spirit Land. These romances may contain beautiful sentiments and delightful descriptions of that happy world, but those who are well acquainted with Indians will hardly believe that the sentiments or descriptions originated with them. A foundation for the statements they contain may have been furnished by interpreters, who were often annoyed by questions to which they could give no satisfactory answers without inventing one themselves or repeating what they had read. When the half-breed interpreter was asked by an inquisitive visitor what the Indians thought about another world, he did not like to tell how little he knew about the

matter; but he chose rather to conceal his own ignorance, and to gratify the inquirer at the same time, by giving such an answer as he knew would be more satisfactory than the true one. The writer speaks from experience, having been himself thus imposed upon.

Fables furnished by interpreters and others to gratify the curious and inquisitive, and to save their own credit, when exaggerated and embellished by ingenious and unscrupulous writers, become agreeable romances and give delightful descriptions of that heaven to which the Indian is supposed to look forward with longing anticipations. But the Indian, himself, knew of no such abode of the blessed. The Spirit Land was full of terrors for him, and his death song was not a song of triumph.

Recreations.

Some things which have been already mentioned, under the head of religion and worship, might perhaps with equal propriety be classed with diversions. Indeed they are so combined that it is difficult to draw a line between them. We can hardly tell whether Christmas and Thanksgiving partake more of a secular or of a religious character, whether they are times set apart for recreation or devotion; and so it was with many of the observances of the Dakotas. Solemn religious ceremonies might serve to introduce joyous festivals or sportive pastimes.

The Dakotas carried their religion into almost everything, for, unlike the Christian religion, it was of such a nature that it was never out of place. There was no incongruity between it and the most thoughtless levity or reckless dissipation.

Yet they had some recreations with which religious ceremonies were not mingled, and the most conspicuous and popular of these was the ball-play. When this game was played, sometimes all the active and able-bodied men were engaged in it, the middle-aged making up in skill and dexterity what they lacked in agility. If only the men of one village played, they divided into two equal parties; but often one band or subdivision of the tribe challenged another, or two small bands entered the lists against one large one.

With slight changes, this Dakota game is much played in Canada, and occasionally in England and the United States, under the name of lacrosse. Pike mentioned it as played by the Dakotas in 1805 on a beautiful prairie which became the site of the city of

La Crosse, Wisconsin. This city took its name from the ball game, which itself is so called from the peculiar ball-club and net, named by the French "la crosse."

The ball-club was made of hickory, bent at one end into a small hoop, about three inches in diameter, across which several strings were tied, crossing each other in the center of the hoop, and forming a little net with which they picked up the ball and threw it. The length of the club was proportioned to the height of the owner, but did not vary much from three feet. The ball was non-elastic, often made of wood, and not so large as that commonly used by ballplayers. The net in which the ball was held was only an inch or two in depth, so that a slight blow on the club caused the ball to fall out of it.

A smooth level place was selected on the prairie, and two parallel boundaries were fixed nearly half a mile apart. The aim of one of the parties was to throw the ball over one of these boundaries; and of the other, to throw it over the opposite one. The players wore no clothing save a breech-cloth and moccasins, but were gaily painted. Many wore bunches of ribbons or feathers, fastened to their belts behind, which fluttered like streamers when they ran, but which were often scattered in fragments on the field before the game was over.

The ball was first carried to the center of the playground and tossed into the air, and to whatever place it fell there was a general rush, followed by a clattering of clubs, each trying to pick it up himself, or to frustrate the attempts of others to get it. None might touch the ball with the hands, and there was generally a long struggle over it before any one could succeed in throwing it, for if one caught it on his club, some one of the opposite party was likely to knock it out before he could give it a toss. When it was finally thrown by one more adroit or more lucky than the rest, wherever it fell there was another rush for it, and another struggle over it.

If the ball fell, as it sometimes did, where there were few or no players, the one who first reached it had an opportunity to throw it far toward his own line, and if possible toward one of his own party; or, if he was a fleet runner and the way clear, he ran with it as far as possible, sometimes quite to the limit of the playground. But the players of both parties were so scat-

tered over the ground that it was seldom possible for the swiftest runner to carry the ball far, without having it knocked out of his club by some active opponent; and if he failed to throw it soon enough, he had no chance to throw it at all. Thus the ball was carried, or thrown, back and forth across the playground, now almost to the limit on one side, then intercepted and thrown b again, until finally it passed over one of the boundaries, when the players might take breath, for one point of the game was lost and won. After resting a few minutes, the ball was again tossed up, and the game was resumed.

It is not strange that the Dakotas should have been fascinated with their ball plays. No such interest can be felt in any of our ball games as was excited by these Indian games. It was an animating sight to see a hundred men or more, painted with various colors, with their gay streamers floating in the breeze, and displaying all their muscular powers to the best advantage. True they were nearly naked, but they were quite as well clothed as the competitors in the old Grecian games. This would have been one of the most celebrated games in the world if it had been played by the ancient Greeks and described by Homer.

A great crowd of spectators, often nearly all the inhabitants of two or three villages, hovered around the field, watching with deep anxiety the progress of the game, and were elated or depressed as the ball went this way or that across the playground. They had often more staked on the game than the players themselves had. It was a fair field for the display of all athletic qualities, of force, speed, skill and dexterity. Each actor was stimulated to do his best, because hundreds were watching to see who failed and who excelled, and each was anxious to save the property he had staked and to win that of his neighbor. Loud applause or sharp censure was heard from the surrounding multitudes, as they witnessed some skillful feat or awkward blunder; and the shouts of the eager contestants, as they surged back and forth or crowded together around the ball, were heard far away.

This favorite game was not only a test of the physical qualities of the actors, but was also a severe trial of their tempers. It was a rude game, and those engaged in such a strife could not be expected to deal gently with all around them. There was crowding, accidental blows from ball clubs were received, also collisions of men

running at full speed, and many other unavoidable accidents, so that frequently, as the game progressed and the excitement increased, one after another might be seen to leave the scene of action with a halting gait and take his place among the spectators. When there were many engaged in the play, seldom, perhaps never, all escaped unhurt. Complaints were sometimes made of carelessness or harshness, but generally injuries were borne good-naturedly. The game might be soon decided by the defeat of one of the parties, but it was more likely to continue till all were glad to have it end and indeed needed several days of rest.

The women had their ball-plays too, but in a different style from that of the men. They knocked the ball with clubs upon the ice of a frozen lake or river. Many of them were skillful players, and some were swift runners; but their motions were impeded by their dress, and their playing did not attract as much attention as that of the men. They commonly bet heavily on their games, and were too anxious to win to preserve an equanimity of temper. As they were not all remarkable for self-control, their games sometimes ended in disputes.

In the summer, girls sometimes amused themselves by playing little games with such clubs as were used by the men.

I have been particular in describing the ball-play, because it was the only athletic sport in which the Dakotas seemed to feel much interest, excepting foot-races. Some of their foot-races were very long, being designed to test the endurance as well as the speed of the runners.

Young men and boys amused themselves by shooting at targets with bows and arrows. Wrestling and boxing they did not practice. They very rarely struck each other with their fists on any occasion, but, instead of boxing, they had a fashion of hitting with the feet. It was done by running near another, and hitting him with the bottom of the foot while passing by him. To hit an enemy in this manner was counted the same as to touch him with the hand. Only the boys practiced this as a diversion.

The children had few games worth mentioning. The boys amused themselves in the summer with bows and arrows, which they always carried with them. If they found no game to shoot, they shot at marks.

In the winter they slid down hill. The boy made his sled of a piece of bark, or of a barrel stave, if he could get one. A hole was bored through the forward end, in which a string was tied, and the owner, holding the cord in his hand and standing erect on his narrow sled, with one foot before the other rode boldly down the steepest hills.

They had a way of fashioning sticks in such a shape that when thrown on the snow or ice, they glanced off and flew to a great distance. Both young men and boys were very fond of this diversion.

Gambling.

Betting on the ball game has been already mentioned. A very large amount of property, that is, a large amount for so poor a people, might be staked on a single game, especially when one band played against another. The stakes consisted of almost any kind of property in their possession, such as clothing, traps, guns, kettles, and horses. The property wagered was often literally staked, being hung on stakes within sight of the playground. If anyone had anything which he wished to stake, it was thus displayed for the inspection of the public. Then whoever wished to bet on the other side might bring some article and put with it. The one making the challenge could refuse to stake his property against a thing of less value. But this was frequently done.

The favorite game of chance with the men was commonly played with a bullet and mittens, though the name of the game indicates that moccasins were originally used instead of mittens, and it was doubtless played before bullets were known to the Dakotas. Four mittens were laid down in a row, and a bullet having been concealed in one of them by one of the parties, it was the business of the other party to tell which mitten contained the ball. Of course there was but one chance of four that the guesser would hit it right, but when one succeeded in finding the ball it was his turn to hide it. The gambling parties were often very large, but only one on each side was chosen to play. The others watched the turns of fortune and sang a tune that was appropriate to this game, which was always sung when it was played, accompanied by a drum. The

Dakotas often became very much absorbed in this gambling, and continued it many nights in succession.

Though it was a mere game of chance, they did not all so regard it, but thought the result might be affected by magical incantations. I was once with a hunting party which encamped several days with a band of Ojibways, and the men of both parties spent many nights in gambling. The Ojibways won considerable property from the Dakotas, causing much dissatisfaction, and the Dakota chief told me that he was afraid we should have serious trouble about it. The Dakotas did not accuse the Ojibways of cheating, but some of them said the games were won by witchcraft. The incantations used by the Ojibway player were very simple, for he merely dipped his fingers in ashes and blew upon and examined them before touching the mitten, which he did with a wise and mysterious look. However, as these maneuvers were followed by success, it was natural that the Dakotas should suppose that they had some efficacy.

Women did most of their gambling with plum-stones, which had certain marks burnt upon them. The plum-stones were a kind of dice, and after they had been shaken up in a wooden dish, the latter was set down suddenly so that the jar caused them to rebound. This was also a game of pure chance, but the players seemed to think that hissing sounds and waving the hands over the dish might in some way influence the result.

The young men learned to play cards, but did not gamble with them much at the time referred to.

The evils of gambling were in some respects the same as with other people. They wasted their time, and sometimes lost what they could not well spare; but they had no large fortunes to lose, and children were not robbed of their inheritance by the reckless ventures of their fathers. The loss of property which they incurred was not irreparable, and caused only temporary inconvenience. There were no professional gamblers among them, and probably no cheating; but their games were such that, excepting the ball-play, chance alone determined the result.

Nearly all the men in a village would occasionally be devoted for a season to gambling, and then all at once they would leave it and turn their attention to something else. The women, when at leisure, spent much time over their plum-stones; and in warm

weather some would sit in the shade, rattling these dice for a half a day at a time. When one was bankrupt or tired of playing, another would take her place. Unlike the men, they had no music at their games; and not many, generally only two, were interested in the result of the game. They were very still and quiet in their gambling, seldom disputing, bearing their losses better than one would expect. The maiden handed over some favorite ornament to the winner with a little sadness in her countenance, and perhaps with a half suppressed sigh, but bore her loss in silence. They staked small articles, such as beads, earrings, and other ornaments, and occasionally things of better value. Like the men, they had their fits of periodical gambling, and a greater portion of the time it was laid aside and not permitted to interfere with their usual avocations.

Social Feasts.

Such feasts as were attended by many religious ceremonies have been already described, and there remains to be described only the social feast, or the "calling together," as the Indians named it. This important feast was attended with few formalities, and was conducted in a rational and agreeable manner. It was held in one of the largest tents or houses, and as many were invited as could be accommodated. If the village or camp was not very large, all the men might be called together. When the food was prepared, a herald stepped out into the middle of the village or camp, and, after gaining attention by singing the proper tune, he called, in a loud voice, each guest by name. After repeating the name he said, "I call you to the feast." I never saw women at these feasts. The food was often roasted venison, but any other food might be used. It was divided as equally as convenient among the persons present, and the allotments were large or small, according to the amount of food in proportion to the number invited, for it was not considered necessary to provide a full meal. Custom allowed each guest to eat his portion at the feast, or to carry it home, as he might prefer. Consultations were held at these feasts, and matters of common interest were discussed and decided.

It was in these assemblies that the chief frequently ascertained what course would be acceptable to a majority of his band, and he issued his orders or made his proclamations accordingly. These

were the proper places for consultation, the popular councils. When they met to consider matters of great public interest, it was considered necessary to have as many of the men present as possible; but if the matter was of little importance, they were not so careful to have a full assembly.

The persons present at these councils did not always agree in their views of public matters, and there were sometimes animated discussions, but rarely noisy disputes. Young men seldom took an active part in the debates, but their responses or silence at the close of the speeches showed what their sentiments were. Those who were overruled acquiesced in the decisions of the majority, or yielded to the wishes of the more persistent or influential, though not always without a little private grumbling. The disagreement in council might be so great that it was necessary to adjourn without coming to a decision. If both parties obstinately adhered to their own opinions concerning the matter in dispute, the same measure might be debated in several successive councils.

The character of the Dakotas was exhibited in a very different light in these meetings from that which marked their religious assemblies. The good sense, dignity, and decorum of the one appeared in strange contrast with the ridiculous absurdities of the other; but shrewdness in worldly matters and preposterous notions concerning things unseen are often found in the same person the world over.

The War Dance.

Some of their dances have been described in connection with worship, and most dances had religious ceremonies connected with them.

Performers in the war dance painted their faces in such a manner as to render their appearance most frightful, and each one held some weapon in his hand. They stood with their knees bent, and kept time to the drum and rattle by short, quick jumps, lifting both feet from the ground at the same time. When they stopped to breathe, some one would recount, in a loud voice and with appropriate gestures, his exploits in war. At intervals, the loud, abrupt, sharp notes of the war-whoop were heard. These dances were very violent exercise, and could not be continued long at a time. There was some variety in them, but they closely resembled each other.

Their main object in war dances seemed to be to render themselves as hideous and terrible as possible. In this they succeeded so well that persons of weak nerves, who were not acquainted with them, did not care to go very near them while the dance continued, even to gratify their curiosity to see how Indians look. Indeed no one, while viewing a war dance, would think it desirable to have them lay violent hands on him.

No easy or graceful movements were made in any of the Dakota dances. The motions of the men were unnatural, abrupt and violent, and the strength of the dancers was taxed to the utmost. None of their favorite recreations had any attractions for the indolent, effeminate, or feeble; but they were designed to afford the actors an opportunity to exhibit agility, strength, hardihood, and powers of endurance, qualities that were highly prized by the Dakotas.

Scalp Dance.

This was one of the few dances in which both men and women participated, and in this they danced separately. Most of the dancing was done by the women, while the men stood by, singing the scalp tune and beating the drum. Usually some old women seized the staff to which the scalp was attached and led off the dance, and then the other females formed a circle and danced around her. The dancing performed by the females was characterized by gravity and decorum, with no such demonstrations of triumph and exultation as we might expect to see on such occasions. Their singing, however, had in it a sound of triumph. The female dancers, clothed in their best apparel, stood close together in a circle, with their blankets wrapped around them and their faces toward the center of the circle. They stood very straight, with serious countenances, having their eyes fixed on the ground before them.

In dancing they raised both feet simultaneously from the ground and jumped a few inches sideways. This was done by the action of the muscles of the ankles and feet alone, and in this way, standing perfectly straight and in close order and moving by each leap a few inches to the right, they kept time to the music and passed slowly around the circle. At certain stages of the dance, the men and women formed in two separate lines, facing each other, and

danced back and forth, the two lines alternately approaching each other and then again receding.

During all the time that the dance continued, the tune of the scalp dance was sung. The few words of the song were frequently repeated, and the women at intervals responded with short, shrill notes, which could be heard at a great distance. The character of the music was in keeping with the nature of the dance. When heard in the darkness, the ceaseless reverberations of the drum, the loud defiant notes of the men, and the shrieking chorus of the women, as they rose on the night air, made such music as we might expect from those who could dance with delight around the scalps of the dead.

The dancing of the men was in a very different style from that of the women. It was never very agreeable, and was sometimes disgusting to the beholder. To the civilized eye, the whole performance had a fiendish aspect, and, unlike most of their dances, was often continued far into the night. This furnished a convenient opportunity for illicit intercourse between the sexes; for, in the excitement and confusion of the dance, some of the dancers might slip off into the darkness without being missed. The more thoughtful of the Indians complained of the demoralizing influence of the scalp dance when held in the night. Are any of our dances similarly demoralizing?

Smoking.

It is well known to the public, not only that Indians are inveterate smokers, but that the pipe is made to occupy a prominent place in the transaction of important business. They often expended great labor in making and ornamenting pipes and pipe-stems, especially such as were to be used on great occasions or to be presented to important personages. So much is known about this public use of the pipe, that I shall only describe their manner of smoking. They smoked the dried bark of dogwood, mixed with a small proportion of tobacco. They had smoked from time immemorial, and, when first discovered by white men, raised their own tobacco. They inhale the smoke, drawing it into the lungs, and often breathing it out through the nostrils.

Tobacco alone is too strong to be used in this way, and the common clay pipe is too short, as the smoke from it is too warm for the lungs. A very few whiffs drawn into the lungs suffice for

the time, and a single small pipeful answers for several persons. Their pipes are made of the red pipestone; and the stems, which were two or three feet long, were made of young ash trees, the pith being bored out with a wire. Most Dakotas carried their pipes when travelling or hunting, but at such times did not smoke very often.

Few of the young women smoked, and boys did not generally smoke until grown up. The Dakotas used much less tobacco than white men who smoke, but did not like to be long without their pipes, and when a company were together pipes were passed around frequently. The bowls of the pipes were not very large, but a single pipeful served for ten or fifteen to smoke, though in a company of men, especially of old men, the pipe was passed around at very short intervals. Their pipes were commonly ignited by lighting a small piece of touch-wood with the flint and steel; and they were so accustomed to this that I have seen them light their pipes in this manner while sitting by the fire.

Wars.

The war parties of the Dakotas were composed of volunteers following volunteer leaders. When one wished to lead out a war party, he gave notice that he had been directed to do so by some god from whom he had received information of the manner in which the affair should be conducted, and of the results of the expedition. This information was communicated by him in guarded, ambiguous language, metaphorical figures being used, so that the interpretation could be made to correspond with future events. Some of the revelations were contrived with as much subtlety as the answers of the ancient oracles. The leader also continued to receive, from time to time, such revelations as were needed on the march.

If the event did not correspond with the prediction, the prophet could save his reputation by attributing the failure to the misconduct of some of his followers, by which his tutelary god was offended; and, if there happened to be an agreement between the prophecy and the event, his reputation as a true prophet was established. It required a shrewd man to so manage as not to run the risk of being considered an impostor, and some of these pretended prophets lost all credit with the people; but others contrived, even when unsuccessful, to return with a good reputation.

Probably not all the followers of these leaders believed in their inspiration, but they were willing that the timid and inexperienced should be animated with the confidence and hopes which such belief afforded. After all they used their own judgment, managing their expeditions very much as though the gods had nothing to do with them. We can hardly believe that such generals as Pompey and Caesar were much governed in their movements by the reports of the augurs who accompanied the Roman armies. It was little to them what signs were found in the entrails or vitals of the victims that were slain, but many of the common soldiers were doubtless very much inspired by a favorable report from the augurs. It was useless for a man of inferior abilities to pretend that he had been chosen to lead a war party, for they confided more in the natural abilities of the man than in the supernatural wisdom imparted to him by the gods. They would not follow a fool, though he claimed to be led by all the gods known to their mythology.

As these war parties were composed of volunteers, they might be large or small, according to circumstances. Sometimes, though very rarely, quite an army might be collected, composed of most of the men from several villages; but it was not common for many to go together to war. Most of the men might have something else to attend to, might be apprehensive of an attack from the enemy, or think the expedition ill-timed or unadvisable.

It was not thought good policy to send out large war parties, for it was difficult to keep them supplied with provisions, and they were in danger of being discovered too soon by the enemy. Young men who had never killed an enemy were most anxious to go to war, though they were made to act as servants for the veteran warriors. Women sometimes accompanied the men, but very seldom. They did not go to fight but to mangle the bodies of the slain, and none went except those who had lately had friends killed by the enemy and panted for revenge, or some old hag who resembled a woman only in form.

Guns and knives were chiefly depended upon in fighting, but hatchets and war-clubs and especially the consecrated spear were carried by war parties and all were more or less used. Spears were doubtless much used by their ancestors and had a traditionary importance, but could not have been so much depended upon after the introduction of fire-arms.

Shields made of raw hides had been used formerly, but were laid aside when the arrow was superseded by the bullet. Arrows were not entirely discarded, however, as they could be discharged more rapidly than guns or rifles and made no noise.

They carried some provisions, and while they were far from the haunts of the enemy killed what game they could conveniently; but when they passed out of their own territory all hunting ceased and no fires were kindled. Strict rules were adopted and were rigidly enforced, and, if necessary, severe measures were used to secure subordination and keep all in their places. If they wished to cross rivers that were not fordable, they made little rafts large enough to carry their arms and baggage, and, swimming behind them, pushed them across the stream.

Fleet and reliable scouts, sent out by two and two, were kept always in advance of the main party, and returned from time to time to report. These scouts had a difficult and dangerous service to perform. They were to see without being seen, for, while it was important that they should discover the enemy, it was equally important that the enemy, as watchful and wary as they, should not discover them. While hunting for others, they might themselves be waylaid and shot. If only their tracks were seen, it might render the whole expedition abortive. They were not hunting white men, but Indians, who join all the intelligence and cunning of a man with all the alertness of a wild beast that is hunted, and sometimes scouts that were sent out never came back.

When any of the enemy were discovered, the utmost pains were taken to approach them unperceived. This was no easy matter, for they were more watchful than deer, and a surprise was made more difficult by the fact that where a scalp was to be taken each one wanted a chance to take it and was unwilling to remain behind while others secured the trophies.

If the enemy discovered was away from home, as hunters out hunting, they killed them as soon as possible, and taking the scalp or scalps, started for home in haste. By that time they were likely to be out of provisions and too much fatigued to feel any disposition to tarry long enough to give the enemy time to rally and pursue them. If, however, the party was a strong one, most of them might lie in ambush, while a few showed themselves and tried to draw the enemy into the snare and kill more. This stratagem was

not often successful, for they had enemies to deal with who knew all the wiles of savage warfare.

On discovering a camp of the enemy, they were careful to ascertain their number and probable strength. If they thought them too strong for an open attack, they lay in wait, hoping to catch one or more of them away from the camp, and to get off without being overtaken. In this they often succeeded, and most of their scalps were taken in this way. It was not always necessary for them to lie in ambush near the camp, but they took their station near some well-beaten path, perhaps several miles from the tents, so that if they killed an enemy they might get a good start for home before avengers started in pursuit.

They might be prevented from attacking a camp by the difficulty of approaching it, for the Indians located their summer villages in the most secure places, often on islands. In such cases nothing could be done more than to cut off some luckless straggler, unless the main body could be enticed into an ambush; but Indians are not easily drawn into an ambush, and their excessive fear of being waylaid often prevented their pursuing an enemy when they might have done so with success.

When they dared not make an open attack and despaired of falling in with any stragglers, they fired into the tents in the night and fled under cover of the darkness. This was done once at Kaposia by Hole-in-the-Day, but firing into tents and running away was not considered a very brave exploit, and they who did it gained little honor and no trophies.

After examining the enemies' camp, if they found no obstacle in the way of an attack and concluded that they were able to overcome them, they waited until daybreak. All the reconnoitering was done by one or two, while the rest of the party lay concealed, often several miles away. They did not attack in broad daylight, because they could not then make their approach unseen, and their enemies would be better prepared to fight or flee; nor did they make an assault in the night, lest in the confusion of the fight they should injure each other, and lest many of their enemies should escape in the darkness. They made it an invariable rule, when practicable, to begin an assault at early dawn, for, though they would be likely to find a larger number asleep at an earlier hour, they could

then better distinguish their friends from their foes, and could see those who attempted to escape.

In preparing for an assault, they threw off most of their clothes and painted their bodies so that they could recognize each other in the tumult and confusion of the fight. The paint and war-whoop served instead of uniforms, enabling them to discriminate during the battle between friends and enemies, for each tribe had a war-cry of its own. In commencing the attack at break of day, the assailants had greatly the advantage, as their enemies could be shot down before they could prepare to defend themselves, and if any attempted to escape they could be seen and killed. But Indians were so quick to seize their arms, and fought with such desperation when there was no hope of escape, that the attacking party could hardly expect to kill many of them without losing some of their own number. Indians were not slaughtered like sheep without any attempt at resistance, as many of the white settlers on our frontier were in 1862.

To be awakened suddenly out of sleep by the report of fire-arms, the yells of the assailants, and the whizzing of bullets, mingled with groans of the dying and shrieks of women and children, was well calculated to fill the mind with consternation; but the Indian was generally true to himself in such emergencies, and, though the women might be wild with terror, the men thought only of fighting. When there was no hope of escape and nothing else to fight for, they fought for vengeance.

Even after a man was shot down and mortally wounded, it was dangerous to go near him so long as he could wield a knife, for he might kill another while he was dying himself. An old man at Lac qui Parle told me that he knew a Dakota killed by a very old Ojibway, who had no weapon but a knife with a broken blade not an inch in length. An Ojibway camp had been taken by assault, and the old man was found sitting in one of the tents. The Dakota, supposing him to be so old and decrepit as to be unable to make any defence, carelessly laid hold of him to kill him, when the old man seized his antagonist and drew the broken knife across his abdomen, giving him a mortal wound.

The Dakotas felt little compassion for their enemies, and doubtless sometimes tortured them. A chief once told me that when a

young man he helped throw Ojibway children into the flames of their burning houses. That must have been about the year 1790, and it is the only case of torture I recollect to have heard of among them; but if they tortured one they might another, and they were cruel enough to do it. No one acquainted with them would have been surprised to learn that they were in the habit of tormenting their prisoners of war, for there were among them men as vindictive and cruel "as e'er clenched fingers in a captive's hair." We have, however, no proof that any such practice was common among them. Certainly it was not so common here as among the tribes farther east, unless those Indians have been greatly calumniated.

The Jesuit missionaries, writing of the Dakotas more than two hundred years ago, say, "The Dakotas are more generous than the Algonquins and Hurons, and, seeming satisfied with the glory of victory, restore the captives they have taken without reward." They very rarely, if ever, tried to prolong the agonies of those whom they killed, but despatched them at once, and cut their dead bodies in pieces. Their traditionary rules required that when an assault was made it should be a surprise, sudden, bold, and decisive. The combatants could not win the highest honor by standing at a distance and shooting at the enemy. It was not he who shot a man, but he who first touched him, to whom they accorded the chief credit of killing him. The rules by which military honors were awarded to the successful warriors were evidently designed to make all press forward and strive to be foremost.

It was considered most honorable to be the first to touch an enemy, but the three next following were accounted as having helped kill him, though he might be dead before they reached him. These four who first touched the enemy wore eagle feathers in token of their prowess.

While those who were in front pressed eagerly forward, they were sure of being well supported by others who were as anxious as they to win laurels. If the credit of killing had been given only to the foremost, others, seeing him in advance, would not have had the same motive for supporting him, and might have hesitated about exposing themselves to danger when no honor was to be gained.

One who shot a man but did not touch him, wore a feather, but with a mark to denote that the wearer had not come in actual contact with him. Some of these rules of warfare were probably very ancient, having been adopted when they used no weapons but those of their own manufacture, and when it was more difficult to kill men without coming to close quarters than it is with fire-arms. This may account for those regulations which were designed to bring the warriors as quickly as possible into close contact with the enemy.

The Dakotas, when first heard of by white men, had an established reputation for skill and bravery in battle, and that reputation was probably well earned. Though they were extremely cautious before and after a battle, their military rules required that when an assault was actually made, the assailants should throw their whole force on the enemy at once and make short work of it.

Doubtless in former times many a camp of their hostile neighbors was swept by them in an instant as with the besom of destruction, but in modern times their mode of fighting must have been considerably modified to adapt it to the use of fire-arms. It was considered unmanly to shoot women and children, unless they were likely to escape by flight; and, unless they chose to take them captives, they commonly killed them with knives, spears, war-clubs, or hatchets. To seize a man who was not wounded and kill him with a knife, was considered an act of bravery worthy of the highest applause, and the Dakotas sometimes needlessly lost their lives in attempting to kill wounded men with knives or clubs.

Red Bird, a noted warrior of the Lake Calhoun band, was killed in the battle, or rather slaughter, on Rum River by an Ojibway who had been shot down and was lying on the ground. Knowing that he was alive, Red Bird was anxious to be the first to reach him, and, though warned of the danger by others who knew that the Ojibway's gun was loaded, he rushed on and was killed.

When a war party unexpectedly found itself in the presence of a strong force of the enemy and an attack was apprehended, intrenchments were made by digging pits in the ground, the earth being loosened up with knives and thrown out with the hands. They did not dig a long trench, but separate holes, each one se-

lecting the place that best suited him. If they had time to finish their pits they dug them three or four feet deep, and if they found easy digging they did not require very much time and it was marvelous to see how rapidly they would throw out the earth.

The inhabitants of villages prepared in a similar way for defence against an apprehended attack from a war party, although when women and children were to be protected the pits were made large enough to accommodate families, the non-combatants sitting securely in the bottom of the trenches while the bullets whistled over their heads. I once passed a large camp of Indians in the evening and saw them dwelling quietly in their tents, but on visiting them again the next morning I found them all hidden in the ground. They had been alarmed in the night, and before daylight they were where hostile bullets could not reach them.

It will be understood, from what has been said in another place, that the number of eagle feathers worn by the Dakotas was about four times as great as the number of the enemy killed. There were seldom less than four in a war party, and, if the one who shot the enemy was not one of the four who first touched him, there would be five feathers for one dead enemy. A man might be entitled to wear a great many feathers, even though he had never actually killed an enemy himself, so that the number of feathers on a warrior's head did not often exactly represent the number of foes whom he had slain.

In the confusion and excitement of battle, it sometimes happened that it was difficult to tell who shot a man, or who were the first four to touch him, for two might reach the spot so nearly at the same time that it was difficult to tell who was first. This uncertainty gave rise to some disputes, but they were generally amicably settled in councils, after all the evidence had been carefully examined. It was considered a greater exploit to kill a man than to kill a woman or a child, and a difference in the feathers worn indicated the different degrees of honor.

The feathers were taken from the tail of the eagle, and no one not entitled to them was permitted to wear them, or indeed would wear them, more than a private soldier would assume the uniform and insignia of rank of a major general. They were

carefully preserved in cedar boxes, and were worn only on special occasions.

The scalps of the slain were always taken if possible, for if these trophies were not secured no honors were awarded. Nothing but the scalp was received as proof that an enemy had been killed, for if any other evidence had been admitted there would have been danger of imposition or exaggeration, when the war party was very small. When they were hard pressed by the enemy and had no time to take the whole scalp, they might seize a lock of hair and cut off a piece of skin with it. I have seen them dancing around such pieces, but they took the scalp entire if possible.

The Indian custom of bringing home the scalps of their enemies is certainly a barbarous one, and it is not strange that many severe things have been said about it; but the scalps were taken simply as proof that enemies had been killed, just as David brought the foreskins of the Philistines to Saul, or as a man who claims the bounty for killing a wolf shows its head as evidence that the wolf is dead. The warrior was stimulated to kill his tribe's enemies by the promise of a bounty, to be paid in badges of honor, and he could not claim the bounty till he had shown the scalp of the enemy as proof that he had killed him.

It is well that civilized soldiers are not required to exhibit such proofs of the deaths of their enemies, for it is only a barbarous practice; but we might be discouraged if we knew thus how little damage is actually done to our enemies, when yet we are assured by a report of our generals that they are almost annihilated.

In scalping a female, the Dakotas took only that part of the skin of the head on which the hair grows; but from a man they took the skin of the whole head, except the nose and upper lip, the skin of the cheeks and chin being taken with the ears also attached to the scalp. It took some time to scalp a man properly; and, if they dared not stay where one was killed long enough to do it, they cut off the head and carried it with them till they had leisure to take off the scalp.

The scalps were tanned and the flesh side painted, and, hoops of suitable size being prepared, they were stretched by passing cords through holes near the edge of the skin and around the

hoops. The hair was carefully combed, and a comb was tied to the hoop to be used when necessary. The hoop had a handle by which it was carried. The scalps, which were treated with a sort of superstitious reverence, no females except young girls and old women being allowed to touch them, were carried from village to village, that as many as possible might have an opportunity to dance around them, and were finally buried with great formality. The Dakotas complained that the Ojibways did not treat scalps with proper respect.

When, in an attack on the enemy, the Dakotas lost any of their number, they made no attempt to bring the dead bodies away or to conceal them; but their rules required them to bring off their wounded, and I never heard of a wounded man being left behind by a war party. How much soever they might be exhausted by marching and fighting, or however great the distance from home, they did not desert their wounded comrades, but made it a point of honor to bring them as far as possible, even when they knew that they were mortally wounded and would die on the way. When compelled to retreat under fire from the enemy, they laid the wounded on blankets, and four men ran with them, each taking hold of a corner of the blanket. If there were not enough bearers or for some other reason they could not carry them in blankets, they carried them by turns on their backs. When they were not hard pressed by the enemy, they made litters by taking two poles and tying sticks across them, covering the framework with blankets. These were carried by two men who walked between the poles, bearing them by straps passing over their heads or shoulders. If the retreat was in an open prairie country, four men carried the litter. As the war parties were generally small, it was a hard task to bring home the wounded.

If a wounded man died on the way home, they left his body where he died. In such cases they did not conceal the body, but dressed it as well as they could, painted the face, and placed the dead man in a sitting posture with his back against a tree, if there were any near, and his face toward the enemy. They were accustomed to say that the scalp belonged to the enemy and they would not defraud them of it, but probably that was not the original reason for adopting such a custom. If a Dakota was killed near

home, the enemy was not permitted to take his scalp if his people could prevent it, and the body was brought home and buried; but it would have been bad policy to require war parties to bring home or bury their dead. They were commonly sufficiently exhausted without any useless expenditure of strength. The bones of those who were left were sometimes brought home by their friends and buried, but not often.

On the return of warriors from a successful expedition, they blackened their faces as though mourning for the death of a relative, and each one wore for a time a bunch of swan's down on his head. For a considerable time they were not permitted to accompany another expedition against the enemy.

In speaking of Dakota poetry, I gave the words of one scalp song, and will here insert another of these strange productions: "My dog was hungry, and I brought him a fat enemy." To explain the meaning of the words, I will state that a war party of Ojibways, after having killed a Dakota near the lower end of Lake Pepin, were pursued and four of their number killed, one of whom was brought to the trading post of Louis Rock and was eaten by his hogs.

After a scalp was brought home, as soon as words suitable to the occasion could be prepared, those who accompanied the expedition went from house to house and from village to village, singing. The song was short, but they sang chiefly by note and could sing as well without words as with them. The young warriors of the victorious party, especially such of them as had never been to war before, walked about very proudly, and were everywhere made welcome and feasted, and were treated with the greatest consideration.

No one without witnessing it, can realize what intense excitement was produced in a village by the return of a successful war party. The women manifested mingled feelings of exultation and terror, for they were never more apprehensive of a hostile visit from their enemies than immediately after some of them had been slain, and the sight of the scalps of others reminded them that their own might soon be taken. For a time every thing else was forgotten. The old men wanted to know every minute circum-

stance of the surprise or the fight, and especially how each one was killed.

They would have been delighted with Homer's description of a battle, for they were very inquisitive to know just how each wound was given, and how each victim died. The warriors were required to give a detailed account of their adventures and exploits, and they generally made it a point of honor to tell the exact truth without concealment or exaggeration.

If they had been against the Ojibways, we commonly soon heard the Ojibway version of the affair, which seldom differed materially from the account given by the Dakotas. Sometimes they had mortally wounded more than they knew of. The Dakotas often spoke with contempt of the Ojibways, but were careful not to presume too much upon their imbecility or cowardice. They acknowledged that there were brave men among them, and, when any of them performed a daring feat, gave them credit for it. They admired a brave man, whether he was a friend or foe. The Sacs they held in high esteem for their valor.

War expeditions were seldom undertaken in the winter, because fire was then necessary and they were in danger of being betrayed by the smoke. The old men, however, told of a strong party which once in their youth went out in the winter and destroyed several Ojibway camps in succession.

The warriors occasionally met together to recount their achievements. A post or tree was prepared on which each in turn recorded his exploits. Whatever he wished to relate, he portrayed as well as he could in picture writing, and then gave a verbal explanation accompanied by appropriate gestures. The pictures, words, and gestures, altogether gave a vivid and impressive description of events, and served to keep in memory transactions which might otherwise have been partially forgotten.

Although the Indians were so eager in the prosecution of war, it was very seldom that many were killed, and a great slaughter was a very remarkable event. The different tribes were well matched against each other, and all were too cautious to be easily surprised. During ten years, beginning with 1835, the Dakotas had about eighty killed by their enemies, and they killed about one hundred and fifty of the Ojibways, Sacs, and Pottawattamies.

Seventy of the Ojibways were slain at the massacre on Rum river, July 4, 1839, an event that could hardly have happened in the ordinary course of warfare.

Much has been said about the barbarous manner in which the Dakotas and their neighbors carried on their wars; but leaving out of the account the torture of prisoners, which certainly was not much practiced by the Dakotas, their mode was the only one by which war in their circumstances could be prosecuted. They had no prisons where captives could be confined, and it would have been about as safe to capture a man as to take a mad wolf into custody. He would soon have gone back to his own people carrying a scalp or two with him. If they brought home half-grown boys or adult women, such captives were very likely to escape and carry back important information to the enemy. If infants had been spared, they would have perished on the way home; and if small children were captured, they must be carried one or two hundred miles, through the wilderness, by men who were too much worn out by marching and watching to assume any unnecessary burden. There was no way in which the power of an enemy could be weakened except by killing or capturing them, and there were very few whom it was safe or expedient to capture. No fortresses, nor trains of luggage, nor parks of artillery, were to be seized.

It made little difference to them whether they drove the enemy or were driven by him, and they did not care who held the field of battle, if they only held the scalps. If they lost more than they killed, it was a defeat; but if they killed more than they lost, it was a victory, though the enemy should chase them a hundred miles. The empty honor of holding a battle-field was nothing to them.

They were so cautious in the prosecution of their wars that they have incurred the imputation of cowardice, but they used no needless caution. It would have been folly for them to undertake to carry on their wars after the fashion of civilized nations, for their circumstances were altogether different. Civilized armies do not always succeed well when they march against Indians, and the Dakotas could not have afforded to run the risk of such a defeat as Braddock's. It would have ruined them. A loss of eight or

ten men from a little band must be severely felt by all in the village, for their families were left without property, to be supported by others who could hardly maintain their own. They were not only missed as hunters but as warriors, being needed both to support and to defend their families. When the warriors had an opportunity to strike an effective blow without great danger to themselves, they were expected to do it, but all rashness was discouraged and all doubtful conflicts avoided. Recklessness, as well as cowardice, was considered a base quality in a warrior.

The conduct of Indian warriors sometimes seems strange to us, because we forget the necessity they were under of being careful of their lives. Civilized nations may lose large armies and hardly miss them, but every Indian man was a soldier, and to lose the army was to lose every man capable of bearing arms. They would let an enemy escape when they knew they could kill him, because they were afraid of being drawn into an ambush, or because they could not afford to give two for one.

In the summer of 1839, two Ojibways waylaid and killed a Dakota near Lake Harriet, and, taking his scalp and two guns that he was carrying, concealed themselves near by in a thick cluster of young trees. The writer was on the ground soon after the man was killed, and in the course of half an hour about fifty armed Dakotas were gathered around the dead body. The tracks were plainly to be seen in the tall grass and led directly into the thicket, but the Ojibways were well armed, having each two guns, and the Dakotas did not molest them. They knew they could kill them but feared it would require the loss of a greater number of their own men, and started off fifty miles another way in quest of vengeance.

They were rather cautious than cowardly, and fought with desperation when they thought the occasion demanded it. The Ojibways would no doubt have been pleased to have the Dakotas adopt our military tactics and maxims. Nothing would have suited them better than to have them march into the forests and swamps of the upper Mississippi, in good military order, especially if led by such generals as Braddock or St. Clair.

With regard to the barbarities practiced by the Dakotas, they had no reason to believe that the white people generally disapproved of them. In their official character, the commanders of the garri-

son at Fort Snelling advised them to live in peace with their neighbors; but in their private intercourse with military men and others, the Dakotas learned that he who had performed the greatest exploits in war was most highly esteemed by them. The Dakotas might be told that it was wrong to kill women and children, but he who had the most eagle feathers on his head was sure to attract the most attention and also to be treated with the greatest consideration.

Marriage Customs.

There were few formalities attending marriage, except the contract for the purchase of the bride. Wives were purchased, and it was as disreputable for a young woman to become the wife of one who had not purchased her, as it is with us for a woman to cohabit with a man without the ceremony of marriage. It was not, however, considered so disgraceful for a widow or a divorced woman to marry without being purchased. Women did not consider it disgraceful to be bought and sold. The higher the price paid for them, the better they were pleased, for the payment of a great price proved that they were esteemed valuable.

It is probable that the wishes of the young women were generally consulted, and that a due regard was paid to their preferences in making arrangements for their marriage, but not always. They were sometimes compelled to marry men whom they disliked, but probably no means of compulsion were used that are not sometimes employed for the same purpose among civilized people. Parents were not in the habit of dealing harshly with their children, and it was not safe to drive a spirited girl to extremities, as she might elope with one who was able to protect her; or, if there were no other way to escape, the gate of death stood always open and she might commit suicide. Though this was seldom done, it happened often enough to serve as a salutary warning to those who had young women to dispose of in marriage.

Doubtless there was commonly a mutual understanding and agreement between the parties to be married, but not always; and women were not unwilling to marry men with whom they were little acquainted, provided they liked their appearance and knew that they had a good reputation. Girls did not by any means admit that they had nothing to do in selecting their partners for

life, and parents sometimes complained that their daughters were too fastidious in the choice of husbands.

Brothers claimed the right to dispose of their sisters in marriage, but where there were no brothers or none of a suitable age, parents or other relatives made the marriage contract. None paid so much for their wives as Jacob did for Rachel, but the young women generally brought higher prices than young men were able to pay without the aid of their friends. As among white men, so among the Dakotas, a lover might fail to obtain the object of his choice because he was not so rich as some of his neighbors. There was also another resemblance between the civilized and the savage, that a man might, after performing some warlike exploit, obtain for almost nothing the girl who had been refused when he offered a good price for her, military renown being accepted in lieu of other qualifications.

Almost any kind of property might be given in exchange for a wife, such as horses, guns, cloth, kettles, etc. When a man wished to purchase a wife, if he had not property enough of his own, he solicited contributions from his friends, and, gathering all together, carried and deposited them by the house where the woman whom he wished to purchase resided. If they were accepted, the bargain was soon completed, and the marriage consummated without further ceremony. If they were rejected, they were taken back and restored to the original owners. But if the woman and her friends could not agree either to accept or refuse the offer, the goods were left sometimes for several days awaiting a decision, until notice was given that the offer was accepted or rejected. In arriving at a decision, more regard was generally had to the character of the man than to the value of his presents.

The bridegroom, if a young man, took up his abode at the residence of the bride, and whatever game he killed was carried there. The reputation of a skillful and industrious hunter was, as it ought to be, a great help to him in obtaining a wife.

After marriage, a man was not permitted to look his wife's father or mother in the face, speak their names, or address his conversation directly to either of them. If it was necessary for him to speak of or to either of them, he used the plural instead of the singular number, and, in speaking to them, used the third

instead of the second person. The same rule was observed by the parents in addressing or speaking of their sons-in-law or daughters-in-law, and by the woman toward the parents of her husband. This whimsical prohibition, so far as speaking the name was concerned, extended to a large circle of relatives, so that often when one asked the name of another, he was prevented from telling it by this absurd custom.

It is difficult to imagine any reason they could have for the adoption of such a rule, but this custom was not peculiar to the Dakotas. Intermarriages were not allowed within the circle of relatives embraced by this prohibition, that is, it was held improper for two persons to be joined in marriage who were not permitted to speak each other's names.

Women, especially young women, seldom spoke the names of their husbands, but many of the old women did not hesitate to do so. When it was necessary for a woman to speak of her husband, if she had children she would say, "This child's father," or "My child's father." Neither men nor women liked to tell their own names.

Polygamy was not general among the Dakotas, a single wife being the rule, and polygamy the exception. Among the Medawakantonwan less than one tenth, and perhaps not more than one twentieth, had more than one wife at a time, in remarkable contrast with the polygamy which Julius Caesar described as prevailing among our British ancestors.

The extent to which polygamy generally existed among the Dakotas at any time depended upon the relative number of men and women. If the number of the men was about equal to that of the women, not many of them would have more than one wife, for very few would live without wives. But if many of the men should have been lost in battle or in any other way, so that their number should not nearly equal that of the women, polygamy would prevail just in proportion to the lack of men, for few of the women would live long unmarried. Polygamy was not popular with the Dakotas, and they generally spoke of it as undesirable, but it existed more or less in every band.

The wives of a polygamist could seldom live together in peace, and if a man were to take more than one wife, it was thought best to marry sisters because they were less likely to quarrel than

women between whom there were no ties of blood relationship. Few Indian women would have been reconciled to polygamy if it had not been for the great help women were to each other, especially when on the hunting expeditions.

The Dakotas, both men and women, learned to maintain on almost all occasions an appearance of stoical apathy. We could not expect lovers among them to be very demonstrative, but evidently many husbands and wives were very much attached to each other. The attachment of some, however, if they had any, did not last long. It was not an uncommon thing for married persons to separate after living together a short time. These separations were sometimes final, but often the husband returned after a short absence. The young husband frequently left his wife, not because he was dissatisfied with her, but because he disliked her relatives or was homesick, for the husband and wife often belonged to different villages. Separations and reconciliations might be repeated several times, and finally the parties might live together permanently. If they did not forsake each other utterly before they had homes and families of their own, they were likely to live together till death separated them.

Social and Industrial Condition of Women.

The women were often abused and had hard service to perform, but neither wives nor daughters were treated as slaves. They had their acknowledged rights, and spirit to maintain them. In many respects they were treated by the men as equals, and participated with them in their most solemn religious festivals. They had no voice in the public councils, but they contrived to make themselves heard at home, and I have known them to remove a camp in spite of the remonstrances of the men. In theory, each man ruled in his own house (or rather family, for the house belonged to the woman); and this theory was carried out in practice about as well as it is with their white neighbors. The wife did not break her promise to obey her husband, for she never made any vows to either break or keep; but he was as likely to be ruled by her as she by him. In an actual fight between husband and wife, he was pretty sure to come off conqueror, for, if she was too strong for him, he seized his weapons of war; but their quarrels did not always proceed to blows, and in a war of words she was at least a

match for him. If she was not able to fight with him, she had a great many ways of convincing him that it was best for him to keep the peace with her. It required but a slight acquaintance with the Dakotas, to discover that, as a general thing, the women were not afraid of their husbands. Indeed, Dakota women, old or young, are not the right material to be made slaves.

It is true that the women were feminine in their disposition. Squaws are not generally amazons or furies. With rare exceptions, they are not masculine in their dispositions, habits, or aspirations. Very few of them manifest any inclination to meddle with fire-arms or other weapons, even when it may seem necessary, or to engage in hunting, trapping, or fishing. Girls show no disposition to play with bows and arrows, and, though I have seen them fishing from necessity, they seemed to take no delight in it. They were indefatigable in their search for wild berries and other wild fruits, but to the wild game they gave little attention till it was laid down at their doors. The women were always armed with knives, and, if attacked, doubtless defended themselves as well as they could; but they were always women, and, when frightened, obeyed the natural instincts of the sex and shrieked for help. Even the language spoken by the women differed from that of the men, so that by reading a single sentence of a letter one can tell whether it was written by a male or a female. In a word, the difference in disposition and habits, between men and women, was as great among Indians as among us.

But though the women differed from the men, they were not held in subjection by them. Though feminine, they were not imbecile in body or mind. Hardened by the exercise of their rude labors, and armed with fortitude and resolution, they did not tamely submit to what they considered unjust treatment. The woman was acknowledged owner of the tent and nearly all that was in it. Her husband might desert her and take his gun and traps along with him, but he could not turn her out of the house, or take her children from her if they chose to stay with her. She might be left in destitute circumstances, but her neighbors would not suffer her nor her children to starve.

Young women, when first married, were usually for a considerable time, frequently for several years, under the protection of their parents and brothers and sisters, and the husband was per-

haps as much in danger of being abused by them as was the wife by him. Some women were so maltreated by their brutal husbands that they were greatly to be pitied, and some husbands were so treated by their wives that they were not greatly to be envied; but perhaps such things are hardly worth mentioning, for they are not Indian peculiarities.

Treatment and Education of Children.

Parents did not commonly treat either their sons or their daughters harshly, and both boys and girls were taught to cultivate a self-reliant, independent spirit.

Infants were very tenderly cared for. They were wrapped in bandages and laid on the little board cradle that has been mentioned. A bandage of woolen cloth was wound around them and the cradle, holding the baby firmly in its place. A veil or curtain was fastened to the top of the cradle and hung down to the foot, being kept from the child's face by a wooden bow. The veil protected the child's face from the wind, cold, sunshine, dust, insects, etc. The bow also served to protect the child in case of an accidental fall. The feet rested on a projection, but the babe while very young was supported chiefly by the bandages around it. The cradle was carried on the back, supported by a strap which rested on the head of the bearer, and it needed no rocking.

Nothing better than this cradle could have been contrived for the comfort and safety of the infants. There was no other way in which they could be carried on the frequent journeys with safety. They were taken from the cradle often enough to give them exercise, and most mothers took great pains to keep them clean. The cradle was carved and painted, and its trappings were sometimes very highly ornamented, a woman sometimes spending weeks embroidering the wrappings of her child.

There was no efficient family government among the Dakotas, and severe measures were seldom resorted to for the maintenance of parental authority. The parents gave advice to their children, but fathers did not often lay their commands upon them. When they wished their children to perform any service, they usually spoke kindly to them, saying, "My son, or my daughter, will you do this?" Generally in their intercourse with their children there was a mildness of manner such as we would hardly expect to find among savages.

Some parents had great influence over their children, and others very little. Some possessed and others lacked those personal qualities which command respect and obedience. They always commended an obedient disposition, and were pleased to have their children docile and good-natured, but they did not approve of subduing the spirit of a child by force and compelling him to submit to authority. Fathers rarely, if ever, inflicted corporal punishment on their children. The mothers chastised them only when so provoked as to lose all command over their temper. They might sometimes be seen chasing their refractory sons through a village and throwing sticks at them, but such ebullitions of passion were not of very frequent occurrence.

Nothing seemed to provoke fathers to use harsh language toward their sons so much as to observe in them indications of effeminacy or cowardice. Among their traditionary tales is the following. When most of the men of a certain village were about starting on a war expedition, one young man who did not seem inclined to go was sharply reproved by his father, who said to him, "I suppose you hope to have a good time with the women when the men are all gone." The son, stung by his father's reproaches, joined the war party; but the Ojibways were found securely posted on an inaccessible island, and the party were compelled to return without accomplishing anything. As they were about to turn back, the young man handed one of his garments to a comrade, saying, "Make my father sad with this;" then plunging into the lake, he swam to the island and was killed by the enemy.

I once lived three months in the tepee of Whistling Wind, a man well known to the old traders as one of the most industrious and successful fur-hunters. He had a nephew living with him, who spent more time than his uncle thought necessary in oiling his hair. One day, while he was engaged in smoothing his locks with deer's marrow, I heard Whistling Wind say to him sharply, "Nephew, when I was young, we oiled our feet and said, 'My feet be swift in the chase,' but you neglect your feet and put the oil on your head."

Mention has been made of Red Bird, who was killed in an attack on the Mille Lacs Indians. That expedition was undertaken to avenge the death of a son-in-law of his sister. As Red Bird was

about to start after the Ojibways, he saw his oldest son, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age, weeping over the dead body, and said to him, "Why are you crying like a woman? Don't you know which way the Ojibways have gone?" The boy took the hint, and, following his father, was mortally wounded by a shot in the abdomen. After he was wounded he called for his father, and when the bystanders asked what he wished he pointed to the wound and said, "I want my father to see this. I suppose it is what he wanted." When told that his father was dead, he did not speak again.

Children, in return for the kindness received from their parents, usually evinced much regard for them, taking care of them in their old age. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that some parents neglected their children, and that some children were ungrateful to their parents.

The young were often admonished to treat the aged with deference, and these admonitions were in some measure regarded. The aged and experienced were accounted wiser than the young, and their opinions given in council had great weight. The wisdom of age was held in higher esteem than with us, and this may be attributed to the fact that what they knew of the past they learned from the aged, while our young people learn from books.

Great pains were taken to educate their sons in the hunter's craft, and both boys and girls had much to learn to fit them for their station in life, low as that station seemed to be. It is quite as easy to learn to get a living by farming as by hunting where game is as scarce as it was in the country of the Dakotas, and ignorance and stupidity are as great disqualifications for the hunter or warrior as for the mechanic.

Daughters had a great many lessons to take before their education was completed, for, though they appeared to us to know almost nothing, they knew a great deal of which we are ignorant, and it was to them useful knowledge, essential to their welfare. No one could be long with the Dakotas without hearing them give their children such instruction as would qualify them to take care of themselves.

Whatever they did or made, it was the aim of the Dakotas to do everything well and in a workmanlike manner, if it was nothing more than making a moccasin, a ramrod, or a paddle for a canoe.

They did not like to be thought bunglers, or to see their children, either boys or girls, do anything awkwardly.

There were a great many things to be learned about the habits of wild animals and birds, the best manner of approaching them, handling fire-arms so as to avoid accidents, setting traps, etc. They took much pains to learn to imitate the voices of birds and beasts, and this was a very necessary part of the education of both the hunter and the warrior. When near an enemy they could communicate with each other by mimicking the voice of birds, without giving alarm; and they sometimes imposed upon the beasts which they were hunting by counterfeiting the voice of the mother or her young. They had discovered a great many ways of accomplishing their purposes, which none but a race of practical hunters would ever have thought of.

I was once walking through scattering trees and bushes, with a man who had a bow and arrows. He shot one of the arrows at a humming-bird which he discovered near by. We searched for the arrow some time in vain, and, as he stopped looking for it, I supposed he had given it up for lost; but he went back, and, placing himself where he stood when he discharged the first arrow, he shot another, watching carefully where it fell. He then found them both without any difficulty. Probably his attention was so completely given to the humming-bird that he did not watch the flight of the first arrow, but he knew how to find it.

They took special pains to teach their children how to guard against being frozen, and the young people profited well by these instructions, so that notwithstanding their exposures it was a rare thing for a sober Dakota to be seriously injured by the frost. With their fire-steel and flint, they would kindle fires when anyone but an Indian would have thought it an impossibility, and it was well that they could do it, for often the preservation of their lives depended on the speedy starting of a fire under the most difficult circumstances.

In the winter of 1835-36, I left a camp of hunters on Rum river, near the border of the Ojibway country, to come alone to Lake Calhoun. As it was midwinter and I was coming without any track across a region of country I had never seen, I knew the Indians would protest against it, and therefore said nothing about my pur-

pose till I was ready to start. When I went to take leave of the chief, he remonstrated against the proposed journey, deeming it a foolhardy undertaking for a white man, as doubtless it was. Seeing that I could not be moved from my purpose, he said to me very seriously, "You white men are wise, but we have some maxims about traveling in winter, which we consider of great importance, and if you will go I want to give you a little advice before you start. Do not trust the ice on the river until you have thoroughly examined it, and take good care of your hands and feet. If you freeze your hands you cannot build a fire, and if you freeze your feet you cannot walk."

The Indians were so much concerned about me on that occasion, that the chief sent his brother to overtake me and accompany me home. He told me afterward, that he followed me half a day, but found my steps so long that he despaired of overtaking me, and, after staying out one night, returned to camp.

Personal Names.

The Dakotas have ten common names for children, which they inherit as a birthright, five for males and five for females, so that each of the first five children in a family is provided with a name as soon as it is born. The firstborn, if a son, is called Chaska, and if a daughter, Winona, and so of the other eight names. These names indicate the sex and the order of time in which the children are born; but only five of such names could belong to the same family. If a family consisted of more than that number, the younger ones had to be provided with other names.

It might happen that a child was the firstborn of one parent and not of the other, and in that case it was generally counted according to the place it held in the family of the mother, but might be counted with the children of either parent. These names were very convenient, and parents often continued to call their children by them long after they were known by other names.

Almost all children had other names given them, and in most cases while they were still very young. The first bird that a boy killed with an arrow, though no larger than a wren, was cooked and some man was invited to eat it and to give the boy a name; but that name might be changed for another when he killed an enemy if not before. The meaning of the names given was some-

times obvious enough, but many of them had an occult signification and needed to be interpreted by those who gave them. The names of females were distinguished from the names of males by a difference of termination, and were such as were considered appropriate to females.

When young men signalized themselves by some act of bravery, they were honored by having the name of some celebrated ancestor bestowed upon them. Names that are mentioned by white men who very long ago visited the Dakotas are still common among them, and probably the same names have been in use for many centuries. Men might change or try to change their names at any time, and some were known by more than one name.

As the Dakotas depended chiefly on their relatives for protection and defence, they were careful to know and acknowledge their kindred to a very remote degree, but their chief reliance was on those who were nearly related to them. They expected their brothers, cousins, uncles, and nephews, to stand by them in case of necessity, and this expectation was not often disappointed. Whatever differences these relatives might have among themselves, they were ready to support each other in case of need against all others. It was well understood that one who had many and powerful relatives, however weak he might be himself, could not be injured or insulted with impunity.

The Dakota method of reckoning kindred differs from ours, but it would take too many words to explain the difference. Many who are called by us uncles and aunts, are called by them fathers and mothers; so that many who are cousins with us are brothers and sisters with them, and some whom we call nephews and nieces they call sons and daughters. They have many names denoting different degrees of relationship, which we comprehend under the general head of cousins or distant relatives.

Adultery and Fornication.

As matrimony has been spoken of, it may be thought that something should be said about the manner in which the marriage covenant was kept, but it is difficult to know just what to say on such a subject as this. Adultery was condemned among the Dakotas by public opinion, and was sometimes severely punished; consequently, when committed, it was a secret crime. Unfaithful-

ness in a married woman was considered deserving of the severest punishment, and such punishment was sometimes inflicted. The husband would also have been justified by public opinion in avenging himself on his wife's paramour, even to the shedding of his blood. Under such circumstances, the perpetrators of this crime would ordinarily be careful to guard against detection, so that it would be as presumptuous for any writer to undertake to tell how much or how little adultery prevailed among the Dakotas, as for him to pretend to know how much of it there is in St. Paul or Chicago.

We know that there was a looseness of morals among this people, but to what extent it prevailed none can tell with certainty. Because some were known to be dissolute, to condemn all the rest on mere suspicion, to condemn a multitude of women who were never suspected by their own husbands, would be unfair.

Let us not slander them even though they were heathen women, and though most of them are now in their graves where calumny can do them no harm. I have no high opinion of the chastity of the Dakotas, male or female; but with the consideration of the circumstances in which the women were placed, they certainly deserve credit for what virtue they did have. To condemn them in such sweeping terms as have been used by respectable writers when speaking of the women of southern Europe, would be unjust. If the women of France, Spain, and Italy, are not shamefully slandered by writers who are supposed to be men of veracity, the Dakota women were more virtuous than they.

It is probable that adultery was not rare among the Dakotas. Some men suspected their wives and watched them, and some of them doubtless needed watching; but I believe a large majority of Dakota women were never suspected of unfaithfulness by those who knew them best. There were a great many families reared by them, of whom no one could have any reasonable doubt that they were all children of the same father and mother.

While adultery was reprobated by popular sentiment, unchastity in the unmarried was not in good repute. The loss of a reputation for virtue was, perhaps, as great a loss to the Indian girl as it is to the white girl; and while no one acquainted with them believes that they were all virtuous, it is almost certain that many of them

were not licentious. If it were proper, remarkable examples could be given of the prudery of some, and the shamelessness of others. Some were lascivious, having as little regard for appearances as some of their white sisters, while others were very careful of their reputation, never going alone where there was danger of their being suspected of improper conduct.

During a residence among them of about twenty years, I never knew an Indian girl, while living among her own people, to give birth to a child before she was married. Compare this fact with the crowded foundling hospitals of some civilized countries. But to esteem all the unmarried girls chaste would be to have a better opinion of some of them than they had of themselves.

Tacit confession of guilt was sometimes extorted from them by a certain ordeal through which they were compelled to pass. The Dakotas had a custom of making a feast, occasionally, to which all were invited who had not been guilty of a breach of the laws of chastity. The feast was sometimes for the married, and sometimes for the unmarried. The guests all sat in a circle on the ground, both males and females being invited. Those who were conscious of disqualifying conduct were warned not to partake of the feast, lest the gods should be offended and some evil befall them; and that was not the only danger to which they were exposed, for it was the duty of any who were cognizant of their guilt to remove them from the circle. To stay away was to confess their guilt, and to participate in the feast was to run the risk not only of public exposure but of offending the gods.

At the feast for the unmarried I never saw any men except very young ones, but nearly all the unmarried young women were there. Some, however, staid away. With the unmarried it was probably a pretty severe test of character, for if any attended the feast who had no right to it there could be little danger in exposing them; but I do not think much could be learned from this test in regard to the character of married persons.

If a man had illicit intercourse with the wife of his neighbor, he would be in no haste to make the fact public, and a woman might fear the wrath of her husband more than the anger of the gods. I have known but two removals from the ring, one of a married woman, which caused much excitement, and the other of an

unmarried girl. They, however, both protested that they were innocent.

I have mentioned this trial feast as a curious custom of the Dakotas, and as throwing some light on the character of this people. It proves that they thought chastity and conjugal fidelity worth guarding, and such a custom was not likely to be adopted or observed by a people sunk to the lowest depths of licentiousness. Let us be thankful that we have no such pagan customs and are not subject, as these dark-minded heathen were, to such annoying and impertinent inquisitions.

As for prostitutes, they were held in no higher estimation among the Dakotas than among white Americans. Their occupation was not so profitable as that of the same class of persons among their civilized neighbors, for they had all the disgrace of the vocation with none of its rewards except insult and contumely. The name of harlot was the most opprobrious epithet that could be bestowed on an Indian woman. There was no encouragement for such persons, unless they were patronized by white men; and there were few women who did not live with their husbands, excepting widows and those who had been divorced.

Of the manners of the females in public we can speak with more confidence than of their conduct in private. As a general rule they were chaste in their conversation and modest in their behavior, both at home and abroad. Many of the young women were diffident and bashful and very much afraid they should say or do something unbecoming. Mothers took great pains in training their daughters to habits of decorum. They were taught to assume the correct posture when sitting, and to gather their garments closely around their feet. I have heard little girls sharply reprimanded by their mothers for the careless exposure of their persons.

It is true that the mode of life of the Dakotas did not permit such habits of privacy as prevail among the civilized. Scores of women and girls might be seen swimming in rivers and lakes, at least their heads might be seen; but they did not bathe in company with the men, like the ancient Teutons, as described by Caesar. They sought retired places when such could be found, but nothing could keep them out of the water in warm weather; and it was

better that they should bathe in public places than that they should not bathe at all.

All Dakotas, both men and women, were accustomed to hear and use expressions of language that would not be tolerated in civilized society, but they used such language less than might have been naturally expected. Many words, the use of which is interdicted among us, were used by them without any suspicion of their impropriety, saying in plain words what we express in indirect terms; but when one became accustomed to the words, he thought little of their impropriety, for they suggested no other ideas than do the phrases which we use as substitutes for them.

Euphemisms were by no means unknown among the Dakotas, and many were careful to avoid whatever language they considered indelicate. Some of the women were very particular in this respect, while others, especially the older ones, were less guarded in their conversation, and some of the men were exceedingly vile. They were the most likely to use filthy language in the presence of some vile white man, who set them the example and seemed best pleased with them when their language was the most exceptionable. Many of them could accommodate themselves to the company they were in. To the dissolute white man they would show their worst side, and to one of an opposite character their best side, so that both were liable to be deceived. To one they appeared worse than they really were, and to the other better.

There was one thing which, more than any other, led some persons to form an unjust estimate of the general character of the Dakota woman. When a white man became known to the Indians as a man of doubtful character he came chiefly in contact with the worst specimens of female character. Only the lewd cared to have anything to do with him, and all others carefully avoided him.

If we wished to know the character of American women for chastity, should we inquire of those whose intercourse with them is confined to the most lascivious and licentious? Yet it is from such persons that the public gets most of its information concerning the character of Dakota women. Many of them would not go where they were likely to meet one of our soldiers without an escort to protect them from insult. A great many of the more respectable of the Indian women seldom went near the house of a

white man, except when it was necessary, but staid at home and industriously engaged in taking care of their families. The conversation of many of the Indians was lewd enough at best, but probably the worst language that some of the women ever heard was addressed to them by white men. Yet I do not think the example of the whites had, up to the year 1834, exerted a very deleterious influence on the Dakotas as a people.

The character of some of the females in the vicinity of Fort Snelling suffered in consequence of their intercourse with soldiers and others, but they were few in comparison with the mass of the people, and their example was not thought worthy of imitation. A great many of the women in the neighborhood of the fort, however, had nothing to do with unprincipled white men; while those living more remote seldom saw any white man but the traders, who commonly each had an Indian wife of his own.

Whatever may be thought of the conduct of officers and others, who cohabited with Indian women, as far as the women themselves were concerned it was lawful wedlock. They were married according to the customs of their people, and were wives, not concubines.

While some of the whites were exerting a bad influence over the Indians, others gave them salutary advice and set them good examples. I should have thought that the example of the whites had done the Indians much damage, if I had not had an opportunity to compare those nearest the white people with those more remote from them. In 1834, the morals of the former were certainly as good as those of the latter, and they were more intelligent and more agreeable in their manners. In later years, however, they were rapidly demoralized by coming into too close contact with their white neighbors.

In concluding what I have to say about the chastity or unchastity of the Dakotas, I will only add that while all who knew them will admit that they were quite bad enough, yet when we consider that their libidinous passions had no restraint but the private conscience of pagans and the public sentiment of a savage people, ignorant of all religious obligations, and that the marriage contract had no legal force, we may well wonder that we found among them so many families, so many men and women living together as man and wife, whom nothing but death could separate.

and who used their best endeavors to take care of their children, make them comfortable, and place them in a position to take care of themselves when they could do no more for them.

Cleanliness.

All who write about Indians characterize them as filthy, and if they mean by this term that their mode of life is such that they cannot keep themselves as clean as those who live in houses, have changes of raiment, and conveniences for washing and bathing, it is true; but if they mean to say that they are reconciled to filth and take no pains to keep thmselves clean, it is a mistake, at least so far as the Dakotas are concerned.

Certainly they kept neither their persons nor their garments clean, not always so clean as they might, and it would have been strange if they had not become so accustomed to soiled garments as not to be very much shocked at the sight of them. Huddled together in little tents a great portion of the year, without soap or other conveniences for washing, having no change of clothing, and often compelled to wear the same garments by night and by day, they could not present a neat and tidy appearance. The question is not whether they were clean, but whether they were as cleanly as they well could be under such circumstances, that is, as cleanly as they could be and support themselves by hunting.

I have heard a white woman, who was intimately acquainted with the habits of the Indian women, say that she did not believe any white woman, situated as they were, would keep herself as clean as most of them did. That filthy and squalid appearance which Indians often presented to the eyes of a white man, was a necessity of their manner of life, unavoidable so long as they lived by the chase.

It would be as reasonable to declaim against the smut on the face of a coal miner, as against the dirty appearance of Indians. If they wore any garments, they must wear soiled ones. They were too poor to own, and were unable to carry on their journeys, such clothing, bedding, and washing apparatus, as were necessary to secure personal cleanliness.

The overloaded women could not carry a washtub in their removals, and considered even a wash-basin an incumbrance; so, instead of using one, they drew the water into their mouths and

spirted it out into their hands and thus washed their hands and faces. This was a heathenish fashion, but better than none. In fact there was no place in the little crowded tent in which to use a wash-basin, and we could hardly expect even a Dakota to wash outdoors in the winter.

When I accompanied a winter hunting party, this matter of washing was rather embarrassing after the lakes and streams were frozen over. I was notified, by the mistress of the house, that all washing at the common watering place was strictly interdicted. There was no washbowl or basin, and, if I washed in any dish or kettle, it would be perpetually polluted and could never again be used for cooking purposes, for these filthy Indians have some very strict notions. I did not like to go to a distance of twenty or thirty rods and cut a hole through the ice every time I wished to wash myself, neither did I fancy their mode of washing. Therefore I washed in the snow, and doubtless they inferred from it that I was whimsical, more whimsical than wise. In the meantime my clothing could not be washed in the snow, so I stood it as well as I could, and threw my under-garments into the last fire kindled on my way home. The Indians could not afford to purify their raiment by fire, and probably I should not have done so had I not at that time been somewhat of a novice.

In reading vivid accounts of the filthy and disgusting appearance of Indians, I can hardly help wishing that the writers were compelled to take a nearer view of them and live with them, faring as they do, through just one winter's campaign. I should like to see which came out the cleaner in the spring, the white man or the Indian.

When the white lady looked on the soiled blanket and greasy coat of the Indian woman, she was shocked at her filthy appearance, as she well might be. She pronounced her a filthy wretch, and yet very likely that filthy creature had been into the cold water of some lake or river up to her waist once a month all winter, to wash herself and her clothing. For this purpose, they went into deep springs when they could find them; but if they could get at the water in no other way, they cut holes through the ice. They went in with their clothes on, and built fires on the shore by which they stood and dried themselves and their garments. These ablutions were performed in the coldest winter weather, when it made

one shiver to think of it. Is it fair for those who have their warm rooms and warm baths, to stigmatize these heroic women as filthy wretches?

In the summer all but the aged bathed often, and they also washed their garments in the lakes and streams.

Swimming.

In swimming, the Dakota men used their feet and legs much in the manner of frogs, as white people ordinarily do, but they did not strike with both hands at a time. They used their hands alternately, and, while striking with one, raised the other out of the water and reached forward. Their alternate use of the hands gave their heads and shoulders a rolling motion, as they turned first on one side, then on the other. They could not swim quite so rapidly as if they had used both hands at once, but could swim farther, as in our usual way the arms tire sooner than the lower limbs. In their mode of swimming they struck but half as many blows with their hands as with their feet, one arm resting while the other was in use; and, by lifting their hands out of the water, they avoided the resistance ordinarily encountered in moving them forward.

The women, who in everything they did had a fashion of their own, differing from that of the men, used their arms as white people commonly do, but their feet they held near together, and, raising them alternately out of the water, propelled themselves by striking backward with the top of the foot against the water. These blows with the feet they struck in rapid succession, and when many of them were swimming together they made more noise than the paddle wheels of a steamboat.

Diseases.

The Dakotas do not seem to possess remarkably strong constitutions, as compared with white people; but it is not easy to draw a comparison of this kind between nations differing so much in their condition and mode of life. It is difficult to know how much of their sickness and disease was owing to debility of constitution, and how large a portion of it should be attributed to hardship, exposure, unwholesome diet, etc.

One who only saw a company of Dakotas and observed their healthy, robust look, especially that of the women, was likely to form an erroneous opinion concerning their general health and strength of constitution. These hardy looking men and women were only a remnant who had outlived a multitude of their companions, as a few of the strongest trees may be left standing in a forest through which a hurricane has passed.

Among civilized people, the lives of the feeble, sickly, and helpless, may be long preserved by proper care and attention, but such persons cannot long endure the vicissitudes of savage life. The reason why the Dakotas did not increase faster was not because so few were born, but because so many died. I kept for a time the record of births in one village, and am confident that the number was greater than is common among an equal number of white people. This would be natural, for almost every marriageable woman lived with a husband, and they all rejoiced in the increase of their families. The Indian women were at least as prolific as the generality of women, and when married to white men, and living in comfortable circumstances, they generally raised large families of children; but death was always busy thinning out the Indian families, and when they arrived at middle age only a few of them were left. Some were killed by their enemies and others died of starvation, but these were few compared with those who died of diseases. By far the larger part died in infancy and childhood. Parents tried to take good care of their children, but they could not always protect them from the inclemency of the weather; often they had no suitable food for them at weaning time, or when they were sick; and many of them were carried off by the diseases to which children are everywhere liable.

In the spring of 1847, about thirty children died of the whooping-cough at Shakopee, most of them infants, and constituting not far from one-twentieth of the population.

Except the diseases incident to infancy and childhood, the Dakotas suffered more perhaps from scrofula and consumption than from any other diseases. About the year 1850, bilious diseases prevailed to an alarming extent all along the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and many of the Indians died from the effects of the epidemic complaints. About 1834, a great portion of the Wabashaw band died of smallpox, and that disease has since

proved fatal to some of the Dakotas, but its ravages have been greatly checked by vaccination. Notwithstanding there was so much of sickness and death among the Dakotas, their numbers did not seem to be diminishing while they lived by hunting.

Dr. T. S. Williamson, who resided many years at Lac qui Parle, said that the number of Indians in that vicinity was slowly increasing; and the same was probably true of most of the bands within the limits of Minnesota. The race did not by any means appear to be a worn-out race on the verge of extinction, but a strong and vigorous one, in mind and body. If white men had not crossed the track of this people, I know not why it might not have continued to exist through thousands of years to come. They had encountered and survived as many hardships and difficulties in the past as they were likely to meet in the future, and they exhibited no signs of degeneracy which unfitted them for taking care of themselves as well as their ancestors had done before them.

The reader will bear in mind that I am describing the Dakotas as we found them, not as they have become since we have tried on them an experiment in the way of civilization. Without cultivating the soil, they never could have been much more numerous than they were unless they had enlarged their territory by seizing on the lands of their neighbors, for there were as many of them as their country would support while they lived by hunting. This is the true reason why the Indian population did not increase.

Insanity.

I have seen but one insane Dakota, except in cases of temporary insanity caused by fevers. The insane person mentioned had been the wife of a Canadian, and after she lost her reason had no certain home, depending upon charity for support. When I have seen her, she was well clothed and seemed to be well fed; but I do not know what finally became of her.

Many years ago a woman became insane in consequence of having been with a hunting party which was reduced to such a state of starvation that the sufferers ate the bodies of their companions. After her return, she would look at the children who were fleshy and remark that they were good to eat, and once, seeing some pumpkins, she said she wished they were men's heads.

The Indians of the village to which she belonged, fearing that she would kill some of them, put her across the Minnesota river, and as she swam back in the night killed her with clubs when she reached the shore. I received the account from some who helped to kill her, and suppose the occurrence took place about the year 1820.

About 1845, a girl eight or ten years of age was tied in a tent, being left to die there alone, by the Indians of Oak Grove, because she was deranged. I found her before she was quite dead, but not in time to save her life. Her parents had recently died, and she had no relatives at that place. All the principal men of the village approved of the deed, saying they were afraid she would do mischief. Probably she would not have been killed, certainly she would have been spared longer, if she had had relatives to take care of her, for she had been insane only a few weeks.

Cases of confirmed insanity must have been rare among the Dakotas, for I can recollect only these which have been mentioned, though doubtless there were others.

If an insane person had relatives and was harmless, probably he was taken care of as idiots were; but, if considered dangerous, he was killed or left to perish, for he could not be confined.

Deformity and Idiocy.

I have known but few badly deformed Dakotas, and I saw nearly all the men and women who lived on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers at the period from 1834 to 1840. The worst deformed Indian I ever saw was idiotic and nearly helpless, yet she was well taken care of and lived until nearly grown.

The only idiots I have known among the Dakotas were related to each other. The girl who has been mentioned, as having been both deformed and idiotic, had a cousin who was an idiot, but he was well cared for and lived to grow up to manhood. He never learned to talk, and was accidentally drowned. It is doubtful whether, as a general rule, great pains would be taken to preserve the lives of badly deformed or idiotic children; and even if taken care of, they would not be likely to live long, for none have more need of sound minds and active bodies than they who live by the chase.

The Indians were very much ashamed of any personal deformity, and took all possible pains to conceal it. A man who had lost his hand or part of it by the bursting of a gun would hide the defect as much as possible, keeping it wrapped in his blanket.

A young man of my acquaintance, who had lost one hand by the bursting of a gun, was an active and successful hunter, and could dress a deer as well as those who had two hands. I asked one of his brothers how he did it, but he said he did not know. No one had ever seen him do it. It was supposed that he used his teeth, but he would never dress a deer in the presence of others.

I once heard a one-eyed orator make a speech at the Agency house, who kept his blind eye carefully covered with the hair of his head. Often during his speech he put his hand to his eye, to assure himself that it was not exposed.

Surgery and Medicine.

The Dakotas did not perform many surgical operations. They practiced bleeding to a considerable extent, both by scarifying and opening veins. Some of them were very successful in the treatment of wounds. They were very careful to keep the wound clean and well dressed, and used with success certain plants and roots in reducing swellings and removing inflammation.

As among other people, so likewise among the Dakotas, there were two systems of medicine or modes of treating the sick. One was founded in reason and was the result of experience, and was the same in its nature as that adopted by the great mass of the civilized world; the other was supported by no reason, but was the invention of cunning imposters, who for their own profit pretended to cure diseases by the exercise of powers which they themselves knew they did not possess. These two systems of treatment were entirely dissimilar, and had no connection with each other.

Sometimes the sick Indian was healed by the use of appropriate medicines, and sometimes he paid the conjurer or wakan-man for shaking his rattle over his head. The professed conjurers had no more conscience than the clairvoyants, spiritualists, and other quacks, who practice on the superstitious credulity of the white people. They were very numerous and had great influence over the people, but it is a mistake to suppose that the Dakotas depended solely on the wakan-men for the removal of diseases.

They believed in the efficacy of medicines and made great use of them.

For external injuries they made external application of such things as they had learned to value through experience, and for internal diseases they administered medicines as we do. They had learned the medicinal qualities of a great many plants, roots, etc., which they held in high estimation; but they soon discovered that many of their remedies were inferior to those in possession of the whites, and made frequent application to us for medicines.

About the year 1847, when many of the Indians at Shakopee and Carver were sick, I had forty applications for medicines in one day, and at the same time there was very little conjuration over the sick. Not one in twenty called the wakan-men for help, but depended entirely on the healing power of medicine for recovery.

I have said that there was no connection between the use of medicines and conjuration. There might seem to be, for conjurers used medicines as well as others, and some of them were quite skillful in the use of them; but if they administered medicines, that was a separate matter and was done for extra pay. No doubt they often contrived to have their incantations credited with cures that were actually wrought by medicines.

Some who were not conjurers understood the nature of medicines as well as they did and knew as well how to administer them. Some had, or pretended to have, valuable medicines which they sold for high prices, but the proprietors of these medicines were not all wakan-men.

The theory adopted by the wakan-men was that internal diseases were caused by some malignant supernatural influence, consequently that superhuman aid must be invoked to effect their removal; and in attempting to induce Satan to cast out Satan they made strange work of it. When a person was so sick as to need the aid of one of these doctors, a messenger was sent to him with a present or the promise of one, and if he thought the reward sufficient he immediately waited on the patient. The doctor pretended to know the cause of the disease, and sometimes whether it could be cured. This knowledge he obtained from the invisible world, and he had the advantage in this respect of some of our

own impostors, for he did not need to examine anything taken from the body of the patient, not even a lock of hair. The disease was commonly ascribed to some transgression, intentional or accidental, of some one of their superstitious rules.

To prepare for the operations of the conjurer, a tent was pitched or one was vacated, and the sick person was laid on his back in the tent, with his breast bared. The doctor then stood over him, shaking his gourd-seed rattle, and uttering the most horrible sounds of which the human voice is capable. These utterances were accompanied with stamping and violent contortions of his body. From time to time, the conjurer applied his mouth to the body of the patient, and with much ado and a great deal of noise pretended to draw out the disease by suction, spitting frequently into a dish and examining carefully the color of the saliva, which was commonly tinged with red or blue. This tinge must have been caused by some coloring substance held in the mouth, but he represented that it was caused by the disease and varied according to the nature of the malady. The sounds emitted by the operator were the most disagreeable that I ever heard, and his whole appearance the most revolting of anything to be seen among the Dakotas. If the patient lived, the physician had the credit of curing him; and if, on the other hand, he died, there were ways enough to account for his death, without ascribing it to the unskillfulness of the doctor.

There were many of these conjurers, some of them women, but much the larger number were men. They were a brazen-faced set of impostors, who practiced deception because they found it profitable to do so, for they did not work without good pay. We wonder sometimes how the Indians could have been deceived by them, and yet I have lately known some of my intelligent white neighbors to employ a spiritualist physician, who claimed to have learned how to treat diseases from the ghost of one of these old Indian doctors. If white men can believe in a dead Indian, why should not Dakotas believe in a live one? If a living dog is better than a dead lion, surely a live Indian should be better than a dead one.

Burial Customs and Mourning.

As soon as a person had died, or while he was dying, his friends dressed him in the best clothes they could procure, putting embroidered moccasins on his feet, and when he was dead they wrapped the body in a blanket made fast by bandages wound around it. Often many blankets and other cloths were wrapped around, one over another. A coffin was procured if possible, generally from some white man. We made many for them, and they were required to be very large to contain the body with all the clothing that was wrapped around it. Some were buried when they died, but most of them were placed for a time on trees or scaffolds. In the region of the upper Minnesota river, I have seen them wrapped in buffalo-skins and fastened among the branches of trees, and it is not probable that the Dakotas used coffins before they were acquainted with white men. At Lac qui Parle, I have known one or two dead bodies to be left on trees until the enwrapping buffalo-skins decayed and the bones fell to the earth. These were, however, rare cases of neglect, for it was the custom of the Dakotas to bury their dead either immediately or within a few weeks or months after death.

When a white man first saw the Dakotas' dead bodies lying on trees or scaffolds, he was shocked at such a barbarous practice, and, if he was a superficial observer, could see no reason to justify it and attributed the practice to the degraded, brutish nature of the Indians. But if he was an observing, thoughtful man, and examined the matter attentively, the custom would soon appear to him in a new light. In forming an opinion of the habits and practices of the Dakotas, we should bear in mind what we know of their past history and former condition, before they had any acquaintance with civilized people or any tools excepting those of their own manufacture. We should also remember that the customs of a people, once adopted from necessity, are likely to be continued after the necessity for them ceases to exist. Practices that are now out of place might have been proper a hundred years ago, but it would have been strange if the Dakotas had not retained some of the customs of their ancestors longer than there was any real necessity for their observance.

We are to remember that the Dakotas have always inhabited a cold country, and that they had no tools for digging except what they made for themselves. Under such circumstances, it would have been an utter impossibility for them to dig graves in the winter, and they could preserve the bodies of their dead from wild beasts only by placing them on trees or scaffolds. It was not laziness nor indifference that prevented their digging graves, for when their friends died during hunting expeditions, far from home, they would carry their dead bodies a hundred miles or more to lay them beside their kindred. They did not carry them in wagons or cars, but with their own hands, making biers like the litters for the wounded which have been described. On these rude biers they brought home their dead, often wading with them through deep snows several days' journey. They would be the last people in the world to treat the dead bodies of their friends with neglect or disrespect, but during nearly half the year they were under the absolute necessity of putting their dead on scaffolds or abandoning them to wild beasts. Even after they became acquainted with the white men, they had no tools fit to dig graves with. It requires the best steel tools and men accustomed to use them, to dig graves in Minnesota in the depth of winter.

In the winter of 1834-5, a girl died at Lake Calhoun, and her friends, when leaving in March for the fur hunt, requested my brother and myself to bury her as soon as the ground should be thawed. We attempted to dig the grave in the beginning of April, but found the ground still frozen. As we had nothing better than a spade to dig with, we had to wait for the ground to thaw. Probably the Indians thought it impossible for them to dig graves in winter, and it certainly must have been so until they had iron tools. They would have needed graves themselves before they would have got through the frozen ground with their tools of wood or stone, either in Minnesota or British America.

Having once placed the bodies on the scaffolds, they were apt to leave them there too long. Sometimes they buried them as soon as they could, but most of the men, or frequently all, were absent from their villages, hunting furs or making sugar, until late in May, and then the burying was a disagreeable undertaking. Many who died in summer were buried when they died, while others were placed on scaffolds. Some, when they were sick, in-

fluenced by that natural dread of being buried in the earth which is felt by some white people, requested their friends to place their bodies on scaffolds. Others wished to be buried as soon as they were dead.

Being compelled by necessity to deposit corpses on scaffolds in the winter, they were familiar with the sight of them there, and it was perhaps natural that they should learn to place some of them there in summer; yet I think we may reasonably conclude that, if the ground had never been frozen where they lived, they would have buried their dead when they died, though now, if they were removed to a tropical country, they might in some instances keep the bodies of their friends above ground before burying them.

The dead were interred without any particular ceremony, in shallow graves two or three feet deep. The graves were protected by picket fences or by setting a row of posts on each side of the grave, leaning against each other at the top over the grave, the ends of the grave being protected by upright posts. These posts were set up as a protection against wild beasts.

The Dakotas selected elevated locations for burying places, and commonly set up poles by the graves of those recently buried, with pieces of white cloth tied to the tops like flags. These streamers were left to flutter in the wind till worn out. When a man of distinction died, if they could obtain a United States flag, they left it waving over his grave.

Besides the cloths that were wrapped around the dead, other things which had belonged to them were sometimes buried with them. Once at the burial of a boy, I saw his bow and arrows buried with him, and asked his mother, who was standing by, why it was done; she replied, "Whenever I see them, my grief will be renewed, and I want them buried out of sight." I understood her at once, and did not think it necessary to ask her any other questions. Though a squaw, she was a woman and a bereaved mother, and many white mothers have felt as she did. The cradles of infants were frequently deposited on the scaffold or in the grave when the babe died.

George Catlin says: "The Dakota mother, when she loses an infant, carries its cradle around with her a year or more, treating it the same as if the babe was in it." No such custom prevailed here, and indeed Mr. Catlin, during his short sojourn among the

Indians, discovered many things that have eluded the careful research of others. One can hardly help suspecting that

"He was blest with optics keen
For seeing what can ne'er be seen."

Food was deposited on the graves or scaffolds of those who had recently died, for a considerable time after their death. No regular supply of food was furnished, but occasionally a dish of choice viands was carried to the grave. After the food had stood a little while by the grave, it was commonly eaten, but not by those who placed it there. They did not imagine that the ghosts ate the food, but some who had a metaphysical turn of mind, when asked why it was placed there, said that food itself might have a spiritual part, which nourished the soul of the departed. This was an ingenious answer to those who complained of the absurdity of the custom, but is not to be received as the opinion of the common people, who probably had no opinion about it. I never felt disposed to be inquisitive about such things, for I never expected either white people or Indians to give logical reasons for all they did for their deceased friends.

The offerings made by them at the graves of their departed friends, like the flowers planted or strewn on the graves of our loved ones, are to be regarded as offerings of affection, and not as something to be explained or justified by a course of reasoning. Neither the food given by the Dakotas, nor the flowers which we plant, can benefit the dead. They can no more smell the fragrance of the blossoms than they can taste of the food. Such offerings show, and are only intended to show, that we would do something for the loved ones who have gone from us, if it were in our power. Let us not criticise too severely a custom of the Dakotas, which is only the counterpart of a custom so much cherished among ourselves. We may think that our own way of expressing a regard for the dead is better than theirs, but they are both alike manifestations of a sentiment that is common to all and dishonorable to none, both alike useless to the dead and honorable to the living.

A white woman of my acquaintance, who had but little property, purchased a very expensive coffin for her husband, and, when some one complained of her extravagance, she said: "It is all I can do for him." When we objected to making coffins large

enough to contain all the cloths that the Dakotas wished to wrap around their dead, they looked grieved, and if they had expressed their feelings doubtless they would have said, "It is all we can do for them." Even now, while I am writing, their grieved, sad countenances come back to my remembrance, just as I saw them more than thirty years ago.

Some of the practices of the Dakotas reminded us of customs of the ancients, described or alluded to by Greek and Roman writers. The reader of Virgil knows that the custom of depositing food by graves, or of inviting ghosts to participate at feasts, was not peculiar to the Dakotas. They had also something like the funeral games of the ancients, where presents were distributed to the competitors. Sometimes when a man lost a son, he invited those who had been the boy's companions to play a game of ball in honor of their dead comrade, and at the close of the game distributed among them valuable presents.

When the Dakotas lost a near relative, they mourned with bitter and long-continued lamentations. They also blackened their faces, cut off their hair, and wounded themselves with knives or flints. There were different degrees of mourning, according as the deceased was nearly or more remotely related to the mourner, just as with us there are different degrees or grades of mourning apparel.

The most grievous mourning was that of a woman for her deceased husband. As soon as he was dead she cut off her hair to her neck, gave away her ornaments and valuable clothing, and mourned with loud lamentations. The women did not blacken their faces, but the men painted their faces black; and sometimes, but not often, the men made deep wounds in the flesh of their arms with knives. The women, with sharp pieces of flint, scarified their legs below the knees, until they were covered with blood which trickled down to the ground.

The mourning of a woman was about the same when she lost a child as when her husband died. On the death of her husband, the widow not only gave away her best clothing or exchanged it for meaner garments, but also gave away almost everything she had. If she did not give it away, some of her neighbors took it under the pretence that she was so absorbed with grief that she

would no longer value it. She might be unwilling to part with some of the articles taken from her, but did not like to refuse anything that was asked for; otherwise it might be said that she cared more for her property than for her husband. They, however, sometimes complained to us that things were taken from them which they could not well spare.

Some of them felt reckless about their property, and for a time cared little who had it. To prevent its being lost, it was sometimes taken by friends of the widow, and was restored to her when her paroxysm of grief was over. A widow, mourning for her husband, presented for months the most desolate spectacle that can be imagined. Clothed in squalid garments, with her short disheveled hair hanging over her face, she joined in no diversions and spent much of the time wailing by her husband's grave. She wept till she was almost blind, and wailed till she was so hoarse that she could hardly speak. The manifestations of grief were much the same when women mourned for their children.

The mourning of the men resembled that of the women, but their demonstrations of grief were not so violent, and they wailed less in the day time, though they sat often and long by the graves of their wives and children.

All the kindred of the dead, to a remote degree of relationship, were among the mourners; and nearly all the inhabitants of a village might be and often were mourning at one time. The wailing commenced the instant a person died; and sudden, loud lamentations announced his death.

There was also a sudden outburst of wailing when the tidings were brought of the death of a relative in some distant place. The wailing consisted in singing or chanting a tune, in a voice sometimes mournful, sometimes wild, and in notes now very loud and again so low as to be scarcely audible, the mourners often calling on the deceased.

All mourners sang the same tune, but when many were wailing together they took little pains to sing in concert so as to produce harmony. Each lamented by himself, paying little attention to others, so that the mourning seemed less artificial and affected than if there had been a harmonious agreement of the voices of the mourners.

Few words were used in these lamentations. A woman wailing for her child would repeat the words, Me choonk she! me choonk she! (My child, my child, My son, my son, or, My daughter, my daughter), a hundred times in succession, but usually said nothing more. Men would occasionally utter, in a wild rapid manner, a sentence or two, which seemed to be extemporized; but commonly little was heard from the mourners, save the notes of the same invariable tune. As there were usually a great many mourners for each of the dead, and as many of them mourned a long time, the mourners were always going about the streets. By night these lamentations had an exceedingly sad and mournful sound, and there were few nights in which they were not heard.

The mourning of the Dakotas, though so different from our own, resembles that of some oriental nations, and reminds us of that of the ancient Hebrews. The reason they gave for inflicting wounds on themselves was that the pain thus caused lessened their grief by diverting their minds from it. This practice seems to have prevailed among the Israelites in Egypt, for it was forbidden by the law of Moses. Little could be known of the real feelings of the mourners by these outward manifestations of grief, for they were no surer indications of sorrow than are the habiliments of mourning worn by us.

If a Dakota woman at the death of her husband had refused to cut off her hair and dress in rags, she would have appeared to her people in the same light as a white woman would to us, if, instead of putting on mourning garments when her husband died, she should immediately array herself in gay apparel. I have heard the conduct of Dakota women criticised, when they failed to cut their hair quite so short as the fashion required or dressed a little better than became a widow, just as we hear complaints of white women who do not seem to feel the loss of their husbands quite so much or quite so long as they should.

The wailing which has been described was not confined to mourning for the dead. It might be heard at any time from those who were sad and desponding. The tune used by those who mourned for the dead was used also to give expression to any sad or disconsolate feelings. In a large village or camp, there was scarcely a time when this melancholy tune might not be heard, es-

pecially in the night. The Dakotas were sometimes merry, but oftener sad. Though there was among them much singing and mirth, there was more wailing and lamentation.

When one died, a lock of his hair was preserved to be carried by a war party and left if possible where an enemy was killed. Their grief often had much of anger in it. Sorrow for the death of their friends was sometimes mingled with bitter, revengeful feelings and a desire to wreak vengeance on some one. As the Ojibways were always legitimate objects of vengeance, it was natural for them to wish to vent their spite on them.

The Dakota word which signifies to mourn is derived from the word anger, and it is to be feared that they were not the only ones who have a little of the bitterness of anger mixed with their grief. A half-breed of my acquaintance, who had received his education among white people and had no regard for Indian superstitions, was so provoked by the death of an only son that he sent a company of Indians against the Ojibways with a lock of the child's hair. This custom doubtless had its origin in angry, revengeful feelings, but it was universally adopted. The hair was wrapped in cloth and carefully preserved, the bundle hanging in some conspicuous place, generally with a consecrated spear, until there was an opportunity of sending it into the country of the enemy.

Traffic and Presents.

The Dakotas exchanged articles of property to a considerable extent among themselves, but this traffic differed in some respects from trade as it is carried on by white people. All trade among them consisted in the exchange of goods, but nothing had a fixed value, and in bartering they did not always have regard to the relative value of the goods exchanged. If one wanted to get possession of something of value belonging to another, he might make the owner of the desired property a present, at the same time intimating that he should like to obtain the thing sought for; or he might wait a while, after conferring the present, before making his request. The article given might be of more or of less value than the one expected in return, but that did not always prevent an exchange.

The owner of the desired property might wish to keep it or it might be of much greater value than the present and it was sometimes refused, but Dakotas did not like to disoblige those who had given them presents.

Sometimes the offer was gladly accepted, for the thing given might be much more valuable than that which was asked in return. In their dealings with each other, there was not much sharp practice, and they had a very careless way of making bargains; but in their dealings with white men they were more particular and had no scruples about taking all they could get.

Hon. Norman W. Kittson once remarked to the writer that when an Indian brought him ducks, he wanted twice their value, and then was not satisfied unless he waited till they were cooked and ate them up, with as much more food besides. He had probably just been annoyed by a visit from some of his unreasonable customers, and this statement may have been exaggerated; but it had some foundation in fact, for they thought the resources of a white man inexhaustible.

In dealing with traders, they made the best bargain they could. That was the rule in this part of the country, but I was told by one of Mr. Renville's sons that in dealing with the buffalo hunters west of Lac qui Parle he did not set a price on his goods, but gave them to the chiefs, who distributed them among his people and collected their robes for the traders. No such methods, however, were used among the Dakotas on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and probably not to any great extent farther west.

There were few or none of the Dakotas who made a practice of trading with their neighbors for the purpose of gain. The principal traffic of these Indians was with the buffalo hunters, from whom they received tents, buffalo robes, and horses, in exchange for goods purchased from the traders.

I have spoken of the presents given for the purpose of obtaining something in return for them. These are what our New England ancestors learned to call "Indian gifts." They, however, gave many valuable presents, asking nothing in return except a public acknowledgment. Whoever received a present of this kind, walked about the camp, singing a tune only used on such occasions. When he had gained the attention of the people, he proclaimed in a loud

voice the name of the donor, saying, "Such a person has given me such a present and made me glad." This was repeated often for many days. The presents thus given were often things of value, such as guns and horses. They were sometimes given to the poor, who greatly needed them, and I have known horses presented to those who were lame. Some of their gifts were bestowed upon the rich, if any of them could be called rich. When young women, who were too bashful to sing alone in public, were recipients of these presents, they made their acknowledgments, with trembling voices, after dark.

Besides this ostentatious display of generosity or ability or vanity, bona fide presents were given by friends and relatives to each other much more than among us. There was much also given to the poor, such as widows and orphans, especially of food, for none were ever suffered to starve if there were provisions in the camp.

When a woman fed her own family, she also fed all who were present; and when game was brought in, a portion was sent to those who had none. Collections were taken for those who were very destitute. Travelers also were entertained and could pass without scrip or purse from one end of the country to the other. The generosity and hospitality of savages, which have been so highly extolled, were necessities of their condition, and without them they could not exist, for there were none among them who were not sometimes dependent upon others. The best hunter may become disabled and unable to support his family; and there is no coin current that the traveler can carry with him to defray the expenses of his journey.

It was customary for two persons to enter into intimate relations of friendship. The two persons thus bound to each other by the mutual promise of friendship were expected to have a particular regard for each other's welfare; and each was bound to stand by his friend and aid him in all times of necessity. This treaty of amity was ratified by an exchange of presents, and frequently by an exchange of garments and weapons, like that mentioned of David and Jonathan, even to "the sword and the girdle and the bow." Persons united in this covenant of friendship were very generous to each other.

The traffic of the Dakotas among themselves has been mentioned, but their trade was of course chiefly with the fur traders, from whom they received many of the necessaries of life. Though their ancestors contrived to do without these things, they had now become indispensable. They understood very well their dependence on fur traders, and there was no other subject to which their chiefs so often alluded in their speeches. On all occasions, the young men were warned not to do any mischief to the whites lest the trade should be interrupted. They had once long ago suffered severely in consequence of the withdrawal of the traders, caused by the murder of one of their number, and they never forgot the lesson. When their supply of ammunition was cut off, they were not only unable to use fire-arms in hunting, but they were at the mercy of their enemies. Shakopee could hardly make a speech to his people on any occasion without reminding them of their dependence on the whites.

There is a belief, generally prevalent, that the goods furnished to the Indians were of little value, consisting chiefly of paints, beads, earrings, and other trinkets; but that has not been the case in Minnesota for a long time, if ever. They received annually from the traders large quantities of valuable goods. Their blankets and other clothing were strong and durable, made expressly for them, and just such as they needed. The same is true of all the weapons and tools which were furnished to them. Their guns, kettles, axes, hoes, etc., were well adapted to their wants. Most of their peltries went to pay for such articles as have been mentioned, and but a small portion for ornaments.

With regard to the prices paid for these goods, the fur merchants doubtless made what profits they could, but there was no monopoly of the trade. On the contrary, there was spirited competition, and no such combination of the merchants to keep up or keep down prices as is so common among us at the present day. The trader was as anxious to buy a great many furs as to buy them cheap, and the Indians knew enough to carry their peltries where they could get the most for them.

As a class the men engaged in the fur trade were as honorable and fair in their dealings as the generality of men engaged in mercantile business; and, if there were rogues among them, there were also rogues among the Indians, who were quite a match for them.

Indians are not so easily cheated as some imagine. Whiskey-sellers could circumvent and rob their drunken customers, but there was no whiskey used in the legitimate trade, and sober Dakotas were generally quite competent to take care of themselves. They obtained most of their goods in advance, and a majority of them were tolerably honest and paid their debts if they could; but some were sharp enough, or roguish enough, to take goods from one trader and sell their furs to another.

In what is here said of the characters of the traders the writer has no reference to that class of persons who commenced their dealings with the Indians by selling them whiskey, and who took out licenses for trade only that they might share with the legitimate traders in the money appropriation for the payment of debts incurred by the Indians.

With regard to the money given by the government to the traders in the treaties of 1851, to cancel the unpaid debts of the Indians, the private opinion of the writer is that many of them got a little too much of it, but it is also his opinion that there are few who would not have taken it under the same circumstances.

Traditions.

Considerable traditionary information might have been obtained from the Indians in 1834, but probably no one has taken the pains to collect or preserve it, and now it is too late. During the ensuing thirty years, the Dakotas of Minnesota have experienced strange vicissitudes of fortune, such as were calculated to turn their thoughts from the things that formerly engaged their attention. In the midst of the exciting scenes attending and following the Sioux Outbreak, and harassed with anxiety about the future, they have had no time to think of the past or give much heed to the traditions of their fathers. The young men have had their minds occupied with things new and strange, and the old men who had treasured up in their memories things of the past are all gone.

I always felt an interest in the fragments of their past history which had floated down to us on the tide of time, but failed to make a record of them, thinking it could be done at any time, for I anticipated no such changes as have taken place so rapidly. I

will, however, mention here such of their traditions as I happen to remember.

It was believed by them that they came here from the north, and they may have formerly lived very far north, as they were acquainted with some of the habits of the Esquimaux, for whom they had a name, calling them "Eaters of raw food." They might have received their knowledge of the Esquimaux from other tribes, but their knowledge of Indian tribes did not extend so far in any other direction.

When first discovered by the French, many of them were living northwest of Lake Superior, and some of the Assiniboines, who are also Dakotas, were living still farther north. Indeed, they could have come into this country from Asia only by going as far north as the Arctic circle. The Ojibways boast of having driven them down from the north; and they, of having expelled the Iowas from the country bordering on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers.

The Ojibways obtained fire-arms sooner than the Dakotas, and therefore were able to drive them out of the wooded country about the sources of the Mississippi and Rum rivers. If they had come into possession of fire-arms as early as their enemies did, it is not probable that they would have lost any of their lands.

In the year 1695 a Dakota chief, accompanying Le Sueur, was the first of his nation to visit Canada. He went to beg for weapons, and said to Frontenac, "All the nations have a father who protects them. All have iron weapons; pity me, for I have none."

The Dakotas did not like to say much about having been expelled from a portion of their land by "the thick lips," as they in derision called the Ojibways; but they often spoke of having driven the Iowas from southern Minnesota. They did not speak of this as some ancient tradition, but as a well known event of comparatively recent occurrence, though it must have taken place more than two hundred years ago. This proves that important events were not soon forgotten by them. How long it is since the Iowas were here cannot now be known. Le Sueur said they dwelt near what is now the boundary between Minnesota and Iowa, in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The small mounds, which may be seen on the left bank of the Minnesota at Eden Prairie and Bloomington, and perhaps at other places, are, the Dakotas say, the ruins of dwelling houses built by

the Iowas. These mounds are in rows or groups, on the bluff of the northwest side of the river. They are circular and of various sizes. I never measured them, and it is long since I have seen them; but I think they are three or four feet high and fifteen to twenty feet in diameter at the base. Their situation on the north side of the river, if there are none on the south side, indicates that the Iowas were more apprehensive of an attack from the south than from the north. They may have been formerly on friendly terms with the Dakotas, as they sometimes were after their removal from this section.

At Bloomington I saw one of these mounds opened, and discovered no reason why the statement of the Dakotas concerning their origin and use might not be correct. It had evidently been built of turf, supported by a wooden frame and destroyed by burning the frame. It was composed of dark soil, which could be obtained there only from the surface of the ground, for the black surface soil rested on a substratum of yellowish sand, the surface soil being so thin that most of it would be taken up with the turf. The charred remains of several sticks of timber, six inches or more in diameter, were lying parallel to each other across the bottom of the mound. If there had been smaller sticks in the frame, they had been consumed. The turf covering doubtless prevented the larger timbers from being burnt to ashes. At the bottom of the mound, on a level with the general surface of the earth, were the bones of a human body, which, on being removed, crumbled to dust except some of the teeth. These bones were deeper in the earth than the Dakotas were accustomed to bury.

The general rendezvous of the Medawakantonwan was, at no remote period, on the north bank of the Minnesota river, a little below the mouth of the Nine Mile creek. There they were secure from the attacks of their enemies, being protected on one side by the river and on the other by a lake several miles in length. It was probably only a place where they occasionally met, for, as they did not plant, they could not continue long in one place. This division of the Dakotas derived its name from Mde wakan (Spirit Lake, now called Mille Lacs); and the general name of the Dakotas of Minnesota was derived from a lake which they called Isanta-mde (Knife lake), in Kanabec county, about fifteen miles southeast of Mille Lacs. Neither of these places has been in their possession

for generations, but they are often referred to in their traditionary legends.

Warlike events made the deepest and most lasting impression on the minds of the Dakotas, and were as in other nations held in longest remembrance. They were in the habit of recounting the various vicissitudes of war, whether fortunate or adverse; and no important battle, whether successful or unsuccessful, was soon forgotten. They related with minute exactness all the particulars of their victories and defeats, and if they had been able to preserve the dates of events, they could have furnished materials for an interesting history of the wars in which their nation had been engaged. They had, however, no way of preserving dates farther back than three or four generations. Of all more ancient events they could only say, "That happened long ago."

The time which had elapsed since the occurrence of more recent events they measured not by years but by generations. So they would say of an event that it happened in the time of their father, grandfather, or great grandfather, but did not go back more than three or four generations. They used to speak of an assault made by the Ojibways on one of their camps, in which many of the Dakotas were killed or wounded, though they finally repulsed their assailants; and, when asked how long ago the affair happened, would refer to an old man, then living, and say that he was born during the fight, and that a kettle was put over him as a shield. This was more exact than most of their dates; when we saw the old man we could only guess at his age, but we knew how old he was when the fight took place.

They did not pretend to keep a record of time for any great number of years, and few of the older ones knew exactly their own ages; but long after the dates were lost, the facts themselves might be carefully preserved in memory. I have heard all the vicissitudes of a battle, with the names and exploits of the chief actors, minutely and graphically described, when the narrator could neither tell nor guess within hundreds of years of the time when the battle was fought. Sometimes the kinds of weapons used by the combatants determined the question whether the fight took place before or after they were furnished with fire-arms.

These stories were doubtless true accounts of real events, for they were careful to relate them to their children just as they received them from their fathers. If any narrator happened to differ a little from the common version, his account was scrutinized as closely as an unusual reading of Virgil or Homer is by the classical critics. I have heard many of these legends, but have no such distinct remembrance of them as would justify me in attempting to relate them to others.

It has been already mentioned that the Dakotas had a great store of anecdotes, short accounts of anything which they thought worth remembering. Some of these are serious, some humorous; and they were used by them, as similar tales are used by us, for amusement, illustration, or instruction.

One of these tales gives an example of remarkable presence of mind in a female. As a woman was one night standing by a kettle of oil, with a torch shining upon it, she saw, as in a mirror, one of their enemies' scouts peeping through an aperture in the tent. Without changing her position or manifesting any alarm she told her husband in a low voice what she saw, who seized his weapon and killed the dangerous visitor before he suspected that he was discovered. The reader can receive this as a fact or a fable. It either shows wonderful self-possession in a woman, or a genius for invention on the part of the narrator not much less remarkable. Some of these anecdotes were witty, exciting mirth; and others were grave, designed to convey instruction.

They had proverbs, current sayings, some of which were quite apt; for instances, "The elbow is the bravest part of the body, the eye the most cowardly," and "No man who is absent from a battle would not have been brave if he had been there, and no man who is not present at a council would not have been wise had he been there."

They were in the habit of often speaking of the things manufactured by their ancestors before the arrival of traders with implements of iron. Indeed, in 1834 it was only about one hundred and eighty years since any of them first saw a white man; and it must have been much later before their stone weapons, earthen kettles, etc., were superseded and discarded, so that it would have been strange if the remembrance of them had been lost in oblivion. They

could give a minute description of the rude tools their fathers had used before they obtained iron. They knew how fire was kindled without the fire-steel. They also knew how fishhooks were made by joining together pieces of bones. They told of various ways in which spear and arrow heads were made of horn, bone, etc., and also described the pottery manufactured by their fathers, their earthen kettles as they called them, which they said were very useful and convenient, but too heavy and fragile to compete with iron ones. One of these earthen kettles was found in a cave at Shakopee.

I was surprised to learn from the Dakotas that they did not believe their ancestors had ever used stone arrowheads. They knew so well what utensils and weapons were formerly used by their people that this seeming ignorance about the arrowheads puzzled me, for I supposed of course they had all used flints for arrow points. Some of the Dakotas we know used them, but these Dakotas used bone and horn for arrow points, and perhaps did not use flint for that purpose at all. Stone points for arrows and spears could not have been much used in this section by any people, for they are very rare. I have found more of them on one farm in New England than all that I have seen in Minnesota.

According to their own testimony, a usage formerly prevailed among the Dakotas, which, though not much to their credit, was characteristic of this people, namely, their singular way of disposing of those who were superannuated and unable to keep along with hunting parties. They were unable or unwilling to carry them, and had some scruples about killing them without ceremony or leaving them to perish by slow degrees; so they compromised the matter, and did what they called "making enemies" of them. The old men were armed with guns or bows and arrows and were allowed to defend themselves as well as they could, while the young men killed them with clubs. They thus gave them an opportunity to die with honor on the field of battle, and satisfied their scruples of conscience about killing them. This custom has long been obsolete, but it was not discontinued in consequence of a change in the disposition of the people. Probably there were not many of the old men who would not have chosen rather to be killed as enemies than to be left to perish by starvation. The old women, I suppose, were not killed; but some of them were left to die, and I have in later times

known one or two to perish from intentional neglect. The aged were, however, generally treated kindly.

Among the traditionary tales which I have preserved in manuscript, there are two in which mention is made of old women who were left behind to die. In one case, a young man, when he discovered that an old woman was left alone at a deserted camp, took her on his back, and, walking with his burden, joined the rest of the company. The young people, male and female, all made sport of him, and his father and uncle entreated him not to disgrace himself and them by carrying an old woman on his back. To this he replied: "I see no disgrace in having compassion on the wretched; I think the disgrace belongs to those who left this old woman to die; and though she is a wrinkled, shriveled old thing, I will not desert her, even if we be attacked by an enemy on the way." He soon had an opportunity to make his promise good, for they were attacked the same day, during their march; but while the rest of the party took to flight, he laid the old woman down on the ground, and, standing over her, killed some of the assailants and put the rest to flight. The people now proposed to make him chief, as a reward for his valor; but he declined the offer, and told them that whatever honors they designed for him, they might bestow upon the old woman. She was accordingly treated with the greatest respect as long as she lived.

The story about the other old woman is that she was left in the fall of the year to die, and when those who deserted her returned in the spring, as they passed near the place where she was left, some of the young men said, "Let us go and look at the old woman's bones." Instead of finding her bones gnawed by the wolves, they found her alive and abundantly supplied with provisions; for, during the whole winter, a compassionate hunter had made long journeys to supply her wants. I am sorry that, in order to tell the whole story, I am compelled to add that the scoundrels killed her and took her provisions.

Such stories as these prove that there were some Dakotas who knew how to show compassion, or else that there were some who knew how to describe it. I have made mention in this work of many things that are in themselves trivial and unworthy of notice except as they help to illustrate the character of the Indians.

Most persons who know anything about the Dakotas, have heard of the girl who leaped from the precipice now called Maiden Rock, to avoid marrying a man whom she disliked. The story is credible, for others have committed suicide for the same reason.

All have heard of the Dakota woman who went in a canoe with her child over the Falls of St. Anthony. A poem penned by the present writer in the year 1850 tells the story of An-pe-tu-sa-pa-win, substantially as it was related by the Dakotas. The efforts of the mother to encourage her child, as they drew near the cataract, which I consider an incident of touching interest, is part of the original story, as is that which relates to the paint and other adornings of herself and child, and also the death song.*

Concluding Remarks.

The author of this work does not imagine that he has succeeded in giving a perfect description of the Dakotas, for no one who was not himself bred an Indian from childhood knows just what they are. He has been particular to notice such things as he thought would most clearly illustrate the Indian character, and many of their practices have been described which exhibit them in a very unfavorable light.

The reader should not conclude that they were fools because they had foolish notions or foolish practices, for the wisest of pagans had notions and customs as foolish. Does not Xenophon tell us that he rejoiced at the good omen when one of his soldiers happened to sneeze at the right time? And did not the old Romans watch the flight of birds, and carefully inspect the entrails of calves and pigs, to discover whether an army should march or halt, whether it should fight or avoid a battle? Yet Xenophon was a great general and a great writer, and the founders of the Roman Empire were not fools. Rousseau says, "The most contemptible divinities were served by the greatest men."

It would be easy, by making prominent one class of facts and suppressing another, to exhibit the Dakotas as worthy of admiration, or as little better than incarnate fiends. Their traits of

*This poem, "An-pe-tu-sa-pa-win, a Legend of the Dakotas," was published in an article entitled "Saint Paul and its Environs," by Rev. Edward D. Neill, in Graham's Magazine (Vol XLVI, pp. 3-17, January, 1855), and in "Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas," by S. W. Pond, Jr. (1893, pp. 273-278).

character, both good and bad, were strongly marked; and their appearance at different times was so different that they could hardly be recognized as the same persons. The appearance of a conjurer howling over a sick person was so hateful and revolting that one shrank from him, as from the presence of a demon; and yet, an hour after, you might find the same man an intelligent, good-natured companion.

One day, a woman might be seen trotting around the circle in the wakan dance, and throwing herself on the ground like one demented; and the next day she was at home assiduously engaged in the discharge of her duties as a wife and mother, and kindly attentive to the wants of herself and family.

There was a dark side to this people, exceedingly dark. They were not so amiable as to render it desirable for a white person of a timid and yielding disposition to reside among them, and those who were easily circumvented and imposed upon should never take up their abode with wild Dakotas. Being quick to discover all the weak points of those with whom they had to deal, they knew how to approach, whether with flatteries, menaces, or falsehoods. They flattered the vain and proud, frightened the timid, and deceived the simple. Many of them were neither too proud to beg nor too good to steal, and he was a shrewd man whom they did not sometimes deceive.

Unable to appreciate the benevolent motives of those who treated them kindly, they retained no grateful remembrance of benefits received and often returned evil for good. Hard and stoical in their tempers, they felt little sympathy for the sufferings of others, were more ready to laugh at mistakes than to pity misfortunes, and often, in an object deserving pity, could see only a source of mirth. What are tragedies with us, were comedies with them. They did not seem to know that beasts and birds had any feelings, and they could make sport of the dying agonies of their fellow men.

Their religious beliefs, as taught them by their prophets, were a strange medley of silly whims and abominable falsehoods; and their superstitious practices were a compound of ludicrous follies and disgusting absurdities. And still, in the midst of this degradation, they were, in their own conceit, too wise to be taught, and

too nearly perfect to need improvement. Their religion was deemed superior to all others, and their prophets the wisest of mortals. This is the dark side of the picture, and it might be made still darker without exaggeration; but there was a brighter side which should not be left out.

The longer we lived among them, the more we were made to feel that Indians and squaws are men and women, possessing many redeeming traits of character, and by no means sunk to the lowest depths of degradation. When these rude barbarians are tried by a faultless standard, or are compared with those who have attained to a high degree of civilization, they appear to disadvantage; but they lose nothing by comparison with any other savage people, ancient or modern, not excepting our own pagan ancestors. Compared with the naked, lascivious natives of Africa and the islands of the Pacific, their character was noble and their manners decent and becoming.

It is true that they were savage hunters, but what else could they be? There was not an animal in all America that has been found worth taming, except the dog and the little llama of Peru, not one that could be made to draw a plow or cart, or to carry a burden on its back. Some of the animals of America have strength enough, but their spirits are indomitable. Men do not plow with the elk, the bison or buffalo, or the grizzly bear. A civilized people without domestic animals would be something new in the history of our race. We can hardly blame Indians for not doing what has never been done by any other people.

Though the Indians did not themselves extensively cultivate the soil, they prepared the way for those who do. If America had been without human inhabitants, every acre of fertile soil in the valley of the Mississippi would have been covered with dense forests. There would be no present demand for reaping machines in Minnesota. In denuding the land of timber, by setting fires, to give pasturage for the buffalo, elk, and deer, the Indians did their work too thoroughly in some places; but they saved the civilized settlers of the country the work of generations. The world has no reason to regret that they were ignorant of that kind of civilization which increases the numbers without improving the morals of a people.

It is not strange that the Indians do not at once adopt the habits and conform to the customs of civilized people. The process of civilization is always a slow one. It has taken the white man thirty generations to attain to his present position, and we can hardly expect that the Indian will overtake him at once. It is the misfortune of the Dakota, not his fault, that he is so far behind in the race of civilization.

While for many generations we have been walking in the light, he has been wandering in darkness, and he is dazzled and bewildered by the new light which shines so suddenly around him. He finds himself unfitted for his new position, unable to cope with his white neighbor, and is discouraged. There is danger that he will give up to this feeling of despondency, as many others of his race have done, and not try to imitate those whom he cannot hope to equal; for an Indian never likes to do anything which others can do better than he, and would rather have the reputation of being indolent than that of being awkward. The Dakota has capabilities and he knows it, but they are not of the kind to fit him for his new situation. He is as much out of place as the farmer would be, if compelled to become a hunter.

He knows that we have greatly the advantage of him, and, with all his apparent apathy, he feels it keenly. Let us be patient with him. He may be an object of pity, but not of scorn. He has in him all the elements of true manhood; let us not regard him as though he did not belong to the same race with ourselves.

There is a difference between him and us, for he is descended from a long line of hunters, and inherits the instincts and peculiarities of a hunter. While the Dakota follows the occupation of his ancestors, he has use for all those peculiar instincts and habits which he has derived from them. That hardihood of body and stoical fortitude of mind, which enable him to encounter hardships with resolution and endure suffering without repining, that watchfulness never remitted, that self-possession which never deserts him, that habit of observation which nothing can escape, and that sagacity or instinct that enables him to find his way, without chart or compass, through an unknown region,—all these things, and many more like them, are his inheritance, and they are of inestimable value to him so long as he remains a hunter, but when he

turns his attention to some other employment their value is all gone.

As a man, he is by nature equal to the white man; as a hunter, he is superior; as a farmer, he is far inferior and feels his inferiority. It would be better for him, perhaps, if he were less conscious of it or less ashamed of it. It is a defect that cannot be immediately remedied, but the Dakota is probably as promising a candidate for civilization as our European ancestors were two thousand years ago. We may hope that he will improve faster than they did, for the world will not wait for him as long and as patiently as it did for them.

Some seem to imagine that the Dakotas have obstinately resisted all attempts to civilize them, but what efforts have been made in this direction and how long have they been continued? For a long time the only white men with whom the Dakotas had anything to do were fur traders, and they did not come here to civilize Indians. They did not bring to the natives plows and hoes, nor advise them to raise corn and wheat. They brought guns and traps, and asked for the skins of wild beasts. All the advice and encouragement which the Dakotas received from white men for a long series of years tended to confirm them in their habits as hunters. No one need be told that the fur trade and agriculture are antagonistic, and we could hardly expect that men who had all their capital invested in the fur trade would advise the Indians to stop hunting. Those who were engaged in the fur trade exercised a controlling influence over the Dakotas, and, while that influence continued, they did not remain uncivilized because they refused to listen to the advice of white men.

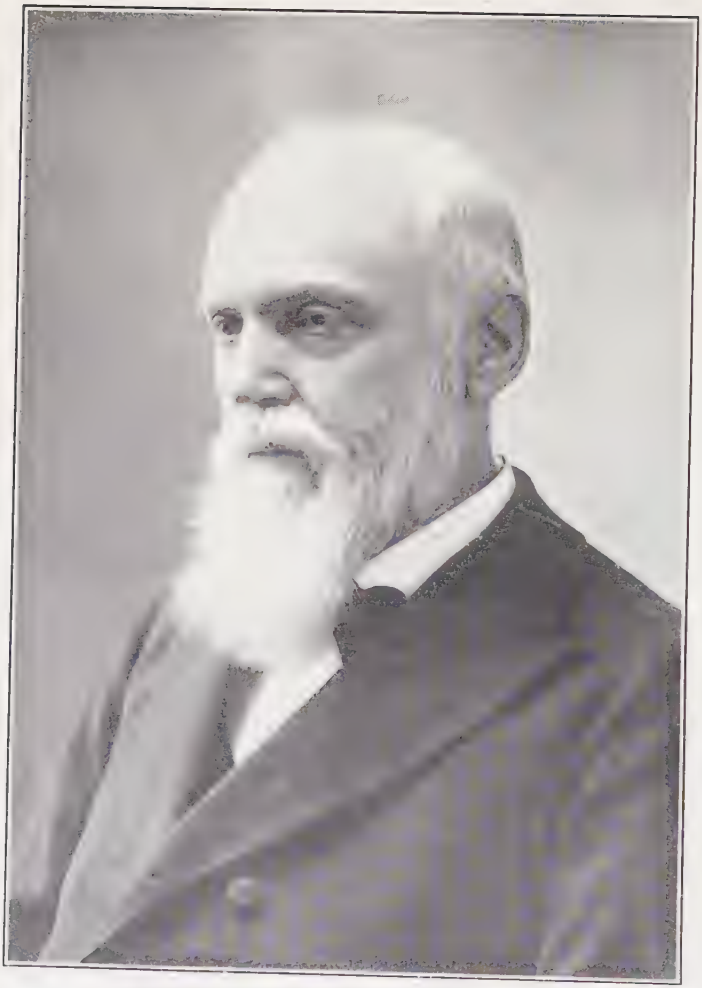
To relate what has since been done by the government for their civilization, does not come within the scope of this work. What was done for them while they were in Minnesota was badly planned and badly executed, and none could wonder that it was a failure and worse than a failure. With one hand the government presented to them plows, and with the other bestowed on them guns and ammunition. Which were they expected to use, the plows or the guns?

The plows were put in charge of white men, but the guns were put into their own hands. They were excluded from a great portion of their former hunting grounds, but were annually furnished

with a superabundance of implements for hunting. They were never before so bountifully supplied with fire-arms, as at the very time when they were advised neither to hunt nor to make war. What were they expected to do with their guns?

They were advised to turn their attention to agriculture, but, as though to prevent their being stimulated by want to cultivate the earth, they were fed like paupers in a poor-house. If the Dakotas had been what they are not, the most docile people in the world, it would have been difficult for them to know just what our government wanted of them.

Let us not decide that the Dakota is incapable of being civilized till he has been fairly tried. During a manful struggle, continued through many generations, he has proved himself a match for all other enemies, and let us hope that civilization will not destroy him. There are many of these Dakotas left yet, some of them in all their native wildness; and, if they can be tamed, the race is one well worth preserving.



Chas. E. Wilson

THE SUCCESSIVE CHIEFS NAMED WABASHA.*

BY HON. CHARLES C. WILLSON.

It is probable that Groseilliers and Radisson, French fur traders, were the first white men who saw a Dakota Indian. They left Three Rivers and Montreal in the summer of 1654 and went to Green bay on Lake Michigan, and thence probably to the upper Mississippi river and to Prairie island in Minnesota. In 1656 they went back to sell their furs and obtain more goods. During their second western expedition, starting in 1659, they came by the way of Lake Superior to the vicinity of Knife lake in Kanabec county of this state, and thence visited the Sioux or Dakotas of the great buffalo prairies, probably adjoining the Minnesota river, in the spring of 1660. In the late summer of that year they returned to Montreal with a large quantity of valuable furs. Their success induced other traders to send out expeditions to this northwestern country to trade with the Indians.

Father Hennepin was the first priest to see Minnesota, coming here in the spring of 1680. He was a Recollect. The Jesuits came later, after the fur traders had opened the way, and built a chapel in 1727 at Fort Beauharnois on the Minnesota shore of Lake Pepin near the present village of Frontenac. Hennepin met Duluth and five French soldiers on the Mississippi, who went with him to the Sioux villages near Mille Lacs.

In 1683, Nicolas Perrot and other traders and voyageurs, including Le Sueur, came to this region with goods to trade for furs. The winters were then, as now, practically more than four months long. It was the season in which furs were taken, and the Wisconsin and Minnesota streams and swamps were frozen over, extended travel and transportation by land being rendered practicable.

*An address by Hon. Charles C. Willson, of Rochester, Minn., life member of this Historical Society, at a meeting of the Old Settlers of Southeastern Minnesota, in Winona, February 12, 1906.

THE WABASHA OR RED LEAF COUNTRY.

The early fur traders came up the Great Lakes and usually crossed Wisconsin to the Mississippi river in the winter, either from Green bay on Lake Michigan or from Chequamegon bay on Lake Superior. The trees in the eastern forests to which they were accustomed and those around the Great Lakes were either evergreen or deciduous, shedding their leaves in the fall. They were surprised to see the red leaves remaining on our scrub oaks throughout the winter, and because of it called this region the red leaf country.

These oaks (Quercus tinctoria and Q. rubra) maintain a stubborn contest with the prairie fires for existence. They live only on barren hillsides or along the borders of streams that stay the prairie fires, or in ravines where winter winds have piled the snows too deep to melt and disappear until the green grass of spring renders fires on the prairie no longer possible. If the fire sometimes reaches and kills the bole above the ground, the roots below send out new shoots around the dead stump, which shoots grow until they in turn fall as did the parent stem. The rugged scrub oak bushes or small trees thus persist and show their red winter foliage over a large portion of the broken land along the river bluffs and up the tributary streams.

For the interests of trade, the early French *coureurs de bois* soon learned a good part of the Dakota words. "Wapa" or "waba" was leaf, and "sha" was red. In the structure of the Dakota language the qualifying adjective follows the substantive. Hence red leaf in the Dakota tongue became Wabasha.

THE WABASHA DYNASTY AND DOMINION.

In Europe at that time (1660-1700) provincial France was held under feudal tenures and titles. The nobleman who held a big estate and ruled over the province was called after the name of his province. Following the French example, the fur traders called the Indian chief of this red leaf country Wabasha. Thus arose the name of the Dakota dynasty of successive hereditary chiefs that ruled the southeastern part of Minnesota for near two hundred years.

The southern boundary of their dominion was determined by a treaty made at Prairie du Chien, August 19, 1825, to prevent disputes and war between them and the confederated Sacs and

Foxes on the south. William Clark and Lewis Cass acted on behalf of the United States; the second Wabasha, Little Crow, Sleepy Eyes, and others, for the Dakotas; Keokuk, Waukauche, and others, for the Sacs; and Tiamah, Misowin, and others, for the Foxes. The line agreed upon commenced at the mouth of the Upper Iowa river (near the southeast corner of Minnesota) and ascended that river to its left fork, thence up that fork to its source, thence running in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river, and thence to the lower fork of the Calumet (now the Big Sioux river). This line was near what is now the southern boundary of Minnesota.

It was not a new line between these warring tribes, but an official delimitation of the old boundary between them. It did not stay the strife, however, and on July 15, 1830, at Prairie du Chien, Wabasha and his principal councilors made a further treaty with the United States and the Sacs and Foxes, by which each Indian party ceded to the United States their lands within twenty miles on either side of this line. But it was stipulated therein that this strip of land forty miles wide was to be assigned and allotted, under the direction of the President, to such other tribes of Indians as he might see fit to locate thereon for hunting and other purposes.

By the ninth article of the same treaty the Dakota half-breeds were given a reservation fifteen miles wide on the west bank of Lake Pepin, commencing at Barn bluff, Red Wing, and running thence southerly about thirty-two miles to a point opposite Beef slough.

The Wabasha dynasty claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the eastern bank of the Mississippi opposite Winona, for at least twenty-five miles either way, up and down the stream, and over the islands therein. But on September 29, 1837, by a treaty executed at Washington, D. C., the Dakotas relinquished all their rights and claims to the east bank and to the islands.

On the north and west the Dakotas held the country under other chiefs, but whenever a Wabasha was present at a council he took precedence. The exclusive domain of the Wabashas did not extend beyond the Cannon river on the north or the Straight river on the west. Their sway was unquestioned over the district

that comprises now the counties of Houston, Fillmore, Mower, Winona, Olmsted, Dodge, Wabasha, and a large part of Goodhue, Rice, and Steele counties, an area of more than five thousand square miles. Within that territory the reigning Wabasha was in older times the lord of all. On the lands drained by the Root river or the Zumbro, no Indian could camp or hunt without his consent. On the rising land south of Root river the confederated Sacs and Foxes sometimes appeared with hostile intent, but on the Zumbro never.

The broad expanding branches and short trunk of the Zumbro river resemble in form an ancient English oak, growing in the open field. The Dakotas called this river the Wazi Oju, that is, place of the pine tree. A few lordly white pines are found now and then on islands or sheltered places on its higher tributaries. Their green tops are in winter seen long distances away. No other pines are found west of these on this side of the Missouri.

By the French this river was called Des Embarras (Difficulties), because of its numerous shallow rapids and rocky falls. After they left the country the Englishman came in due time and asked the Indians the name of the river. They gave him the white man's name for it, as near as they could speak it. The Englishman understood it to be Zumbro, and so wrote it in his journal. The name thus created has adhered, and it is not found elsewhere in any part of the world. The Indian name Wazi Oju was anglicised into Wasioja, and is now held by a township in Dodge county, on the south fork of the middle branch of our Zumbro.

The Territory of Minnesota was established by the Federal Act of March 3, 1849. Hon. Alexander Ramsey of Pennsylvania was appointed governor. A Legislative Council and House of Assembly were elected. They convened September 3, 1849, and subdivided the territory into nine counties. All south of a line running due west from a point on the Mississippi river opposite the mouth of the St. Croix river, was erected into a county and appropriately named Wabasha. In 1852 it was attached for judicial purposes to the county of Washington, and terms of courts were appointed to be held at Stillwater. By subsequent acts this vast area was subdivided into numerous counties as now shown on the map, and this vicinity of the present cities of Winona and Rochester lost

the name of Wabasha, to which it seems to me it was justly entitled.

The prairie here at Winona between the river and the western bluff was the principal abiding place of the Wabashas. It was called Wing Prairie, and the Indian village was called Keoxa or Kiuksa and here was their council ground.

THE ELDER WABASHA.

Wabasha the First, whom the French fur traders found ruler in this country of the red leaf, during his youth entered into alliance with the agents of Louis XIV, surnamed Le Grand, King of France. All Canada was then a French province, and that nation then and for a generation afterward controlled the Great Lakes and the Indians on the adjacent shores. The merchants of Quebec and Montreal monopolized the fur trade of the Northwest then just developing.

Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham in September, 1759, with the consequent fall of Quebec, was the death blow to French dominion in North America. In the year 1762 France ceded Louisiana to Spain; and in 1763, by the Treaty of Versailles, she ceded Canada to the English and withdrew altogether from this continent. Most of the French traders left the red leaf country, and their places were taken by British subjects.

So long as the French held the Great Lakes and the northwestern fur trade, Wabasha and the Dakotas generally assisted them in the struggle against the English. Time will permit me to mention only a few of the known incidents in the lives of the three successive heads of the dynasty of the Wabashas. For four years after the fall of Quebec, up to the Treaty of Versailles, the supplies of goods to the Indian traders in the Dakota country were scant and irregular. Often the Indians could not get ammunition for the chase and suffered great privation. They had become accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and could now rarely kill a buffalo with the old bow and arrow.

Ixkatapay, a Dakota Indian, quarreled at this time with the trader they called the Mallard Duck, located near Mendota, and, watching his opportunity, shot the trader as he sat smoking in his cabin. This and the fall of Quebec alarmed the traders, and they mostly withdrew with their goods from the Dakota country.

Winter coming on, the Indians suffered many hardships. In the spring they held a council and resolved to surrender Ixkatapay to justice and implore the traders to return. They selected a delegation of nearly a hundred to go to Quebec on this mission, with Ixkatapay as prisoner. Wabasha the elder was the leader of the party. They went by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, but before they reached Green bay one after another deserted. There all but six turned back, taking Ixkatapay with them. The aged chief Wabasha and five others, true to their trust, kept on their way.

Reaching Quebec, he explained the situation and the necessitous condition of his people, and offered himself for execution for the murder of the trader, in the place and stead of Ixkatapay, but implored the merchants to send ammunition and goods at once to his suffering people to exchange for their peltry. Struck with his noble character, the English gave him a medal instead of death; but the smallpox broke out among them, and all but Wabasha perished by that disease. He returned with the traders, and resumed his residence where this city of Winona now stands.

But he did not end his days in peace. His brothers rose against him; he was expelled; and soon afterward he died at a winter lodge which he had on the bank of the Root river twenty-five miles away to the southwest. He was the son of an Ojibway woman taken as a prisoner of war by his father and made a wife.

THE SECOND WABASHA.

His son, Wabasha the Second, succeeded to the office of chief. He was not a warrior, as he had in youth lost one eye while playing the game of lacrosse. But he was shrewd and politic. He at once made an alliance with the British, which he maintained throughout our war of the Revolution, and covertly up to, and openly during, our second war of 1812.

He was with other Indians at the unsuccessful siege by the British, in 1813, of Fort Meigs on the Maumee river in northwestern Ohio. The fort was then held by the Americans under William Henry Harrison, later elected President. The Winnebagoes, having killed an American soldier, appointed a feast at which each guest was to eat a morsel of the soldier's body. One of the Dakotas, on being invited, said, "We came here, not to eat the Amer-

icans, but to wage war against them." Then Wabasha said to the Winnebagoes, "We thought that you who live near to white men were wiser than we are who live at a distance; but it must indeed be otherwise, if you do such deeds." The result was that the feast was not held.

After the treaty of peace made at Ghent, December 24, 1814, the British agents in Canada sent invitations to the Dakota chiefs to come to a council to be held on Drummond Island, about fifty miles east of the Strait of Mackinaw. Wabasha, Little Crow, and others went. The agents explained to them that the King across the ocean had made peace with the Americans, and that hostilities must cease. After lauding the valor of the Indians, the British offered them blankets, knives, and others goods as presents, but they were rejected. Wabasha said, "You told us that you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven out, that your King would never make peace without consulting us. You now say that this peace was made by your King without the knowledge of his war chiefs. What is this to us? Will these presents pay for the men we have lost, or make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man, I have lived long and have always found means of support, and can do so still." Thereupon Little Crow gave the goods a kick, and they all went back home in fit frame of mind to make an alliance with the Americans.

On July 19, 1815, at Portage des Sioux, between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers about ten miles above their confluence, these Indians made a treaty of peace and amity with the United States. It provides that every injury and act of hostility committed by either party against the other shall be mutually forgiven and forgot, and that perpetual peace and friendship shall be renewed. Commissioned officers of the American Army, wearing their sidearms, often visited the Indians; but the earlier French and British visitors were rarely of a rank to bear a sword. Hence, to distinguish the Americans from the others, the Indian populace called the Americans "the Long Knives."

Wabasha's name is not on this treaty of July, 1815. Major Thomas Forsyth visited him here at Winona August 13, 1819, and reported of him, "This man is no beggar, nor does he drink." The date of his death I have been unable to ascertain.

THE THIRD WABASHA.

His son, Wabasha the Third, succeeded him. In 1832 the Sacs and Foxes revolted under Black Hawk and crossed over the Mississippi into northwestern Illinois, massacring every white person they could find. When troops were gathered and moved against them, they retreated north through southwestern Wisconsin but were overtaken July 21, 1832, by General Dodge on the banks of the Wisconsin river, and were defeated. Black Hawk then retreated northwest to the Bad Axe river, in what is now Vernon county, Wisconsin. On its north bank the Winnebagoes assembled and disputed his further progress in that direction. He and his followers then turned down the Bad Axe to the Mississippi, near the southeast corner of Minnesota, and occupied an island, now known as Battle island. News of these events was carried up the river to Wabasha. He at once assembled his available warriors and went down the west bank of the river to have a hand in the fray. Such an opportunity for the scalps of his hereditary enemy was not to be lost. Before he could reach the scene of action, Captain Zach. Taylor (afterward President) came up the river with regulars by steamer, and, landing on the island, routed Black Hawk out and drove those who survived across the river onto the Neutral Land. Then Wabasha and his band arrived and took bloody vengeance on the surviving Sacs and Foxes who reached the shore. This occasion was the most gratifying to his tribe, among all that occurred in his career.

On September 15, following this battle, the United States made a treaty with the Winnebagoes and gave them the Neutral Ground on Little Iowa river, in exchange for their lands east of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin. But they did not occupy it until the summer of 1838. They became dissatisfied, and on October 13, 1846, made another treaty at Washington, D. C., whereby they relinquished all rights to the Neutral Ground and agreed to remove to a reservation on the west bank of the Mississippi, north of St. Cloud, selected for them by Hon. Henry M. Rice. A large portion of the Winnebagoes soon afterward became desirous of going to the Missouri instead. But in June, 1848, a start was made north, a part going by land up the west bank of the Mississippi and the rest by steamboat.

When they reached Wabasha's village, where this city now stands, they refused to go further. Wabasha united with them in their remonstrances, and promised to give them a home on this prairie between the river and the bluffs. They made threatening speeches and prepared for battle. Rice sent the steamboat on with the news to Fort Snelling. Captain Seth Eastman, with a company of infantry and two six-pounders, came back on her. These troops, with the dragoons from Fort Atkinson and sixty armed teamsters, overawed the Indians, and most of the Winnebagoes went on north; but some, deserting, returned to Wisconsin or to the Neutral Ground. Rice, with a lieutenant and two soldiers, then went to Wabasha's lodge, arrested him, and took him prisoner to Fort Snelling. He was soon after released with admonition, and he returned with a better appreciation of the white man's power.

He was always averse to missionaries of the gospel, and repeatedly refused to allow them to abide in his territory. When told the story of the resurrection, he said he did not believe it and did not want it preached to his people.

On June 30, 1851, negotiations were opened at Traverse des Sioux (near the present city of St. Peter) with the western Dakotas, which resulted in the treaty with them of July 23 of that year. The United States Senate objected to one of the articles of this treaty, and on July 26, 1852, proposed an amendment, which was accepted by the Indians at St. Paul on September 6, 1852.

After the commissioners had concluded their labors at Traverse des Sioux, they came down the Minnesota on a flatboat, and on July 29, 1851, met Wabasha and all the eastern Dakotas at Mendota, with whom they made a similar treaty on August 5, 1851. This treaty was signed by Luke Lea and Alexander Ramsey on behalf of the United States, and by Wabasha, Little Crow, Shakopee, and over sixty headmen on behalf of the Medawakantonwan and Wahpekuta bands. Like the preceding treaty with the western bands, this was also amended by the Senate, and the amendment was ratified by the eastern chiefs at St. Paul on September 4, 1852.

By these treaties all the lands of the Dakotas east of lakes Traverse and Kampeska, and east of the Calumet or Big Sioux river, were ceded to the United States, save a Reservation ten miles wide

on either side of the Minnesota river above New Ulm. Wabasha and his people agreed to remove to the Reservation within two years thereafter, or sooner if required by the President.

Wabasha opposed these treaties, well foreseeing that they ended his rule and dominion over his people. But the traders and all the inhabitants of St. Paul and vicinity were eager for them, and the Indian warriors and young men were persuaded in their favor and really compelled Wabasha to yield a reluctant assent. In 1853, Wabasha and his bands went to the Reservation, on which they lived until the outbreak of 1862.

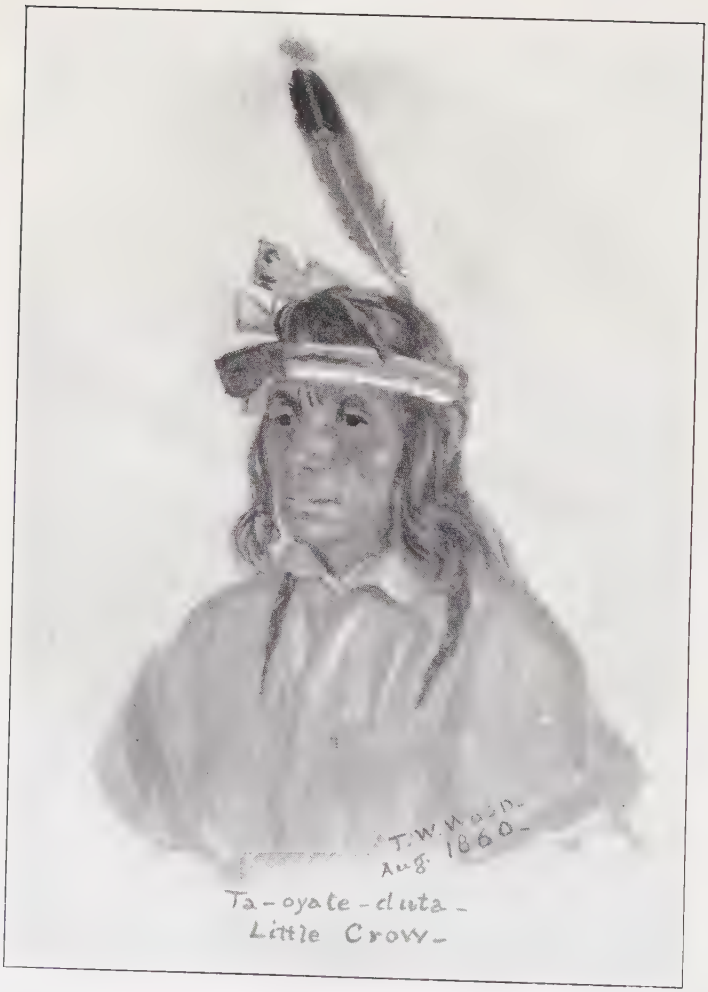
He also opposed this outbreak and did all he could to prevent it, and when overruled he refused to take part in it. These events are well known history, and need not be here reviewed. He hated the whites for inducing his young men to overthrow his counsel at Mendota and compel him to sell his province. But he had too much sense to believe for a moment that he could regain his land by massacre and war. He died April 23, 1876, at Santee Agency, Nebraska, when his second son, Napoleon, succeeded him as Wabasha the Fourth.

This last representative of the hereditary line of chiefs was born at Shakopee in 1844. He is still living at the Santee Agency, and is recognized as chief by the remnant of Medawakantonwan Dakotas still in existence.

Only a few of the incidents in the lives of these chiefs have been narrated, but enough to show something of the character of each. Sufficient is known to make a volume. Will not some young man here today undertake the task of writing a history of this dynasty? It ought to appeal to the local pride of us all.

One of the counties of this state, in the northern part of the district formerly under the Wabashas' dominion, the city which is its county seat, and one of the principal streets of St. Paul, bear this name.

When another fifty years shall have passed over Winona, the stranger coming here will no doubt see in your Public Park a bronze statue of heroic size, representing the elder Wabasha with bowed head offering himself a sacrifice for his people in the place of the murderer, Ixkatapay. I venture to predict that when I and most of us here shall be utterly forgotten, the deeds of the Wabashas will fill a memorable page in history, and their names will be celebrated in song.



LITTLE CROW, CHIEF OF THE SIOUX.

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REMINISCENCES OF LITTLE CROW.*

BY DR. ASA W. DANIELS.

SERVICE AMONG THE SIOUX AS A PHYSICIAN.

Little has been written concerning Little Crow, the renowned chief of the Dakotas or Sioux, other than as a leader in the barbarous massacre of 1862. A more intimate knowledge of the man before that event may serve to give us a more intelligent understanding of his true character, and perhaps may modify somewhat existing impressions.

The following paper does not assume to give more than an imperfect sketch of some of the most conspicuous events of his life, and the impressions of the writer, who sustained a long and intimate relation with this interesting character, which terminated only a year prior to the outbreak.

The writer was appointed physician to the Medawakantonwan and Wahpekuta bands of Dakota Indians in July, 1854. At this time they were located on their reservation, on the south bank of the Minnesota river, twelve miles west of Fort Ridgely, and one hundred and thirty miles southwest of St. Paul. They were divided into bands, each with its chief, and were located in villages within a radius of fifteen miles of their agency, which was known as the Lower Sioux Agency. The government had plowed for each village a hundred or more acres which was cultivated in common. They numbered at this time nearly 3,300. Thirty miles west was the agency of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, known as the Upper Sioux Agency.

Annual payments took place, each head of a family receiving about fifty dollars, with clothing and provisions. They had also monthly or quarterly distributions of provisions. At the agency resided their agent, physician, teachers, carpenter, blacksmith, and other employees. One-half mile west were the three trading

*An address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 21, 1907. In the absence of the author, Dr. Daniels, of St. Peter, Minn., at his winter home in Pomona, California, this paper was read for him by Gov. John A. Johnson.

houses. Three years later Bishop Whipple established a mission here, with a clergyman and two teachers.

During the writer's term of service, the agents were Major R. G. Murphy, Charles E. Flandrau, and Joseph R. Brown. The superintendents were Gov. Willis A. Gorman and Major William J. Cullen.

When at Fort Ridgely the writer amputated the arm of a half-breed under the influence of chloroform, in the presence of several Indians in the room and many at the windows. It was the first time it had been given in that part of the state, and it was entirely unknown to the Indians. The effect was most profound. They invested the physician and medicine with supernatural powers, greatly magnifying the effect, and within a short time it became the talk and wonder of every tribe westward. There was still among them a general belief in conjuration in the treatment of disease, but they were disposed to combine with it the use of medicine. They expected their physician to protect them from smallpox by vaccination, to bleed, to scarify, to cup, to supply cough mixtures, anodynes, liniments, and cathartics, and to visit them when called.

From what has already been stated and what follows, it will be seen that the writer entered upon his duties at the Agency under favorable circumstances. From the first and during my long service among them, their treatment of me and my family was of the most generous and kindly character; and when I recall to mind the loving devotion of a few of the Indian women to my wife during her illness, I am moved with feelings of deepest gratitude.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF LITTLE CROW.

As my recollection serves, at the time of our first meeting, in 1854, Little Crow was a man of about forty years of age, five feet and ten inches in height, and weighed about one hundred and sixty pounds, with marked features of the Indian type. He was of a nervous temperament, restless and active, intelligent, of strong personality, of great physical vigor, and vainly confident of his own superiority and that of his people. He was affable and always self-possessed. Both wrists were badly deformed from fracture of the bones by gunshot wounds, but he had good use of

both hands. His head was decorated with three eagle feathers, notched and dyed, indicating his early exploits on the war-path.

THE FATHER OF LITTLE CROW.

My earliest knowledge of the father of Little Crow dates back to May, 1834, and comes from Mr. Samuel W. Pond, a lifelong missionary among the Dakotas. In a letter of his from Fort Snelling, dated May 25, 1834, he wrote: "I stayed last night with the famous chief, Little Crow, at Kaposia, where I went to help break up planting ground. I slept in his house and ate with him. He has two wives and a house full of children. He and his chief soldier, Big Thunder, held the plow alternately, while I drove the oxen, and these two men were doubtless the first Dakotas who ever plowed a furrow. He is a man of fair intelligence, a warm friend of the whites, loved by his people, and not hostile to the approach of civilization."

By invitation of this elder chief, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson in 1835 commenced his work as missionary at his village, where he remained for some years. Two of our Presidents, in recognition of his friendly services, had bestowed silver medals upon him. These he had preserved with the greatest care, and they were only worn on occasions of meeting government officials in council. They descended with the chieftainship to the later Little Crow.

CONFLICT FOR THE CHIEFTAINSHIP.

The accession of Little Crow as chief of his band was of a most tragical character, the particulars of which were given me by Dr. Williamson, who was a missionary at Kaposia at the time.

The father of Little Crow had four sons, two of whom were killed while leading a war party against the Ojibways. Little Crow was the elder of the surviving sons, and the heir apparent to the chieftainship. This honor he felt assured of, but he was ambitious to be chief of a western band as well. Therefore he went among the Wahpekutas, living a year or two among them, and married during the time a daughter of the chief of the band, hoping through his personal efforts and the influence of his father-in-law to accomplish this object. While he was away among the Wahpekutas, his father was accidentally killed, and before his death

had placed his medals upon his younger son and proclaimed him his legitimate successor.*

News of this occurrence soon reached Little Crow, when he immediately set about securing a party of followers. This done, he left for Kaposia, determined to assert his right to the chieftainship. The brother learned of this hostile movement, and organized a considerable party of warriors for his support. When Little Crow reached Kaposia he was met by his brother, and an engagement followed in which this brother was killed, and Little Crow had the bones of both wrists shattered by a musket ball passing through them. The right to the chieftainship was duly acknowledged, but his wounds were of such a serious nature as to render him totally helpless.

It was decided to take him to Fort Snelling, for the advice and aid of the army surgeon. When they reached the fort with their wounded chief and the examination was made, the surgeon pronounced that to save his life both arms should be amputated. A council of the head men followed, who determined that a chief without hands would be helpless, and that they would return with him and treat him as best they could; that if the Great Spirit looked with favor upon him and desired he should be chief, he would recover, and if not, another could be selected. After months of careful nursing, he recovered, with two useful hands, though a marked deformity remained during life.

THE CROW TOTEM.

His totem, or sacred animal, was a crow, the skin of which was carefully prepared to represent the bird in repose, and was worn back of and below the right shoulder. It was in some mysterious sense regarded as the ancestral spirit or soul of the family. He led his soldiers in the attack upon New Ulm, in August, 1862, and during that long, all-day fight ten of the defenders were killed, and among them was Jerry Quane, who fell far out toward the enemy's line. On gathering up the dead the following morning, the totem of Little Crow was found attached to his breast,—a silent but significant message.

*Compare the account of the death of the elder Little Crow, with his appointment of his successor, as narrated by Hon. H. H. Sibley in Volume III, pages 251-254, of this Society's Historical Collections. The successor then appointed may probably have been the brother who was killed by the second Little Crow's followers in the ensuing strife.

ELOQUENCE, DOMESTIC LIFE, AND LEADERSHIP.

Little Crow was a gifted, ready and eloquent speaker, and in council was always ready to answer any demand made by the government. Of his gift in this direction he seemed very proud, and made the most of opportunities that afforded such a display. His appeals in these addresses to the government and to the Great Spirit that justice be done to his people, with his rugged eloquence, the lighting up of his countenance, the graceful pose of his person, and the expressive gestures, presented a scene wonderfully dramatic. He was possessed of a remarkably retentive memory, enabling him to state accurately promises made years before to these Indians by government officials and to give the exact amount of money owing them, to the dollar and cent.

Before removing to the reservation, he was promised a frame house as his residence at that place, and this was found ready and to his satisfaction. During the writer's service he saw much of his domestic life, having attended one of his wives during an attack of typhoid fever, and frequently visited his family professionally. He had at that time three wives, the daughters of a Sisseton chief; they seemed obedient, modest and faithful, and the children were well cared for and all seemed happy. Alluding to his wives, he boasted of his wisdom in marrying three sisters, as their close relationship prevented domestic quarrels.

He was devoted to his children. His oldest son, fourteen years of age and the heir apparent, was his great pride. When government officials were to be present at an important council, this son, dressed in the most elaborate manner, with embroidered garments, ribbon decorations, and two silver medals on his neck, was led into the assemblage and presented as his son and successor.

The writer's oldest daughter was born at the Agency, the first white child. Soon after the event Little Crow called to pay his respects, bringing game and wild rice, and from that time to the termination of the writer's service he manifested a continued and affectionate interest in her. This was manifested by his frequent visits, giving her a favorite name, and bearing her in his arms,—the writer mentions this as indicating his natural love for children.

Little Crow was a man of good habits; the writer never knew of his using intoxicating liquors. He was truthful and strictly honorable in his dealings with the government and traders. Occasionally he would be called to St. Paul to consult the Superintendent, and would be without funds to make the trip, and would apply to me for a loan. These obligations were always faithfully paid. There was no drunkenness and little crime among these Indians during this time.

A delegation of Indians who participated in the treaties of 1851 visited Washington that year or the year following. Among them was Little Crow, who observed everything and instructed himself as fully as possible in matters that most interested him. His retentive memory and great descriptive powers enabled him to entertain his people with the wonders he had seen. Describing to them the speed of a railroad train, he declared that it was much faster than the horse. To many of them this statement was beyond belief, and it was agreed that it should be left to their physician to decide. A selected three waited upon the writer and asked my decision. Of course the veracity of their chief was vindicated.

The writer had a panoramic view taken from Bunker Hill monument, showing Charlestown, part of Boston, and a large scope of the surrounding country. This interested him greatly, and when a council among them took place he would borrow it for exhibition, as evidence of the strength and great numbers of our people. These councils of chiefs and head men of the different bands were frequent, and Little Crow was always the leading spirit among them.

He was the most active and influential of the different chiefs of the Lower Sioux, assuming a general supervision of all the bands, overseeing their annual payments, the monthly distribution of supplies, and the labor of the farmers, and was in frequent consultation with the agent and superintendent, giving and receiving advice in matters concerning the management of his people. Wabasha was a chief highly esteemed, but he lacked the energy and gift of speech that gave Little Crow such controlling influence.

THE INKPADUTA MASSACRE IN 1857.

Minnesota suffered her first Indian outbreak at Springfield and Spirit Lake, in March, 1857, when a band of lawless Sisseton Indians, under the leadership of Inkpaduta, massacred forty-two set-

tlers and carried into captivity four women. They were not treaty Indians, but a band of vagabonds who had infested the northwest part of Iowa for years, seldom mingling with the agency Indians. News of the outbreak was received at the agency at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th, from two men coming on foot from Spirit Lake. There was no road or trail, and they were obliged to make the distance over a trackless prairie, covered by a recent deep fall of snow. It was with the greatest difficulty they reached the agency, and they were so exhausted from exposure and fatigue that it was necessary to confine them to bed for days. Colonel Alexander, the commanding officer at Fort Ridgely, was at once notified, and the following morning a company of infantry left for the scene of the massacre. The snow was deep, and, though all possible haste was enforced, the march was slow and tedious, and on reaching their destination it was found that the Indians had gone westward days before, so that a pursuit was thought useless. They buried the dead and returned.

This event created a panic throughout the state, the settlers fearing it was the commencement of a general Indian war. Volunteer companies were hastily formed in the larger villages of the frontier, some of which marched to the scene of the outbreak.

Urgent demand was made for immediate punishment to follow, but no further action was taken by the commanding officer at the fort. The whites were disposed to make no distinction, but to hold all Indians equally responsible. The situation seemed so urgent that Superintendent Cullen and Agent Flandrau, thinking not only to punish the Indians guilty of the outrage, but to vindicate the treaty Indians, appealed to Little Crow to call together one hundred of his best warriors and follow up and exterminate the whole band.

In explanation of the condition existing at the time, Superintendent Cullen reported to the Interior Department: "For the present it is equally important to protect the Indians from the whites as the whites from the Indians." He stated that Little Crow labored with him night and day in organizing the party, riding continually between the Lower and Upper agencies; that they scarcely slept till the war party had set out on the track of the murderers; and that, in spite of all this, they (the innocent In-

dians) were in continual danger of being shot at sight by the terrified and unreasoning settlers.

This movement, so actively and loyally prosecuted by Little Crow, resulted in the killing of a part of Inkpaduta's band, and on his return Little Crow offered, if assisted by a company of soldiers, to return and exterminate the rest.

Except the killing of a son of Inkpaduta by a company of soldiers under command of Agent Flandrau, no further action was taken, thus suffering the escape of the larger part of a band of the most dangerous characters the frontier had known. This undoubtedly was one of the causes that operated to bring about the outbreak of 1862.

LITTLE CROW'S BAND ATTACKED BY OJIBWAYS IN 1854.

The writer's first meeting with Little Crow occurred at Fort Ridgely early in June, 1854, while medical officer at that post. His band had been moving from their old home at Kaposia to their reservation in divisions. The last division, consisting largely of the old men, women, and children of the band, numbering a hundred and fifty or two hundred, was in charge of Little Crow in person, with a half dozen of his soldiers.

Their removal came to the knowledge of the Ojibways, who determined that it would be a favorable time to ambush them somewhere along the route. A war party of eight was made up, who selected a point a short distance north of the fort and in plain sight from it. The government road along which the Sioux must pass was just beyond the edge of the ravine, and at the farther edge of the road was a thicket of small trees and brush, which formed a good cover for an ambuscade.

The Ojibways lay there concealed for three days, awaiting the coming of the Sioux, living on a scanty supply of parched corn they had brought with them, and stealing down at night to a creek in the ravine for water. Their patience was finally rewarded. It was toward the middle of a bright afternoon that the Sioux came in sight.

Little Crow and his braves marched ahead with their guns, followed by the rest of the band with their families and household possessions. They were scattered along in the easy disorder of a long march. There were a few carts and wagons loaded with bag-

gage, on which the women might ride by turns. The ponies, with their loads of baggage and children, placed on the primitive Indian conveyance, formed by two trailing lodge poles fastened to their sides, were plodding sleepily along. Here and there in the train were women bending wearily forward under a burden held on their backs by straps passing across the forehead and over and around the shoulders. Occasionally there was a bright blanket or a gaudy piece of calico that gave some color to the caravan, but it was a listless, tired-looking party. They trudged peacefully along in utter unconsciousness of the enemy lying in wait, lulled into a feeling of perfect security by the proximity of the fort.

A group of officers, sitting in the shade of the buildings, watching the approach of the Sioux, were startled to hear a volley ring out from the Ojibways in ambush and to see one Sioux warrior fall. Though badly disconcerted, the Sioux returned the fire and did what they could to repulse the attack, but were held at bay until the enemy had taken the scalp of the fallen Indian and left the field in triumph. The women and children fled to the ravine, toward the fort, and were soon safe from the enemy, whose numbers, in their fright, were estimated at hundreds. This all occured in a very short space of time,—the brief struggle over, all that was to been seen was the demure ponies with their burdens, quietly nipping the grass, undisturbed by the stirring event.

Only one of the Sioux was killed. Several were slightly wounded, and among them was Little Crow, who was hit with several buckshot in the shoulder and arm. He came to the writer to have his injuries dressed. Thus occurred the writer's introduction to this strenuous character.

A squad of cavalry was immediately sent in pursuit of the fleeing Ojibways, and finally came upon four of them, about three miles from the scene of the fight. Three of the party were uninjured and were supporting the fourth, who had been shot through the right breast. Encumbered as they were by their wounded comrade, they could make but slow progress. The three made no effort to escape, but remained with their comrade. All were taken prisoners and brought to the fort.

The wounded man was placed on a white horse and supported on either side by a soldier. The spectacle of that horse all bedabbled with blood, surmounted by the bleeding and drooping fig-

ure, naked except for breech-clout, leggings and moccasins, and all in their war paint, made a sight not soon to be forgotten. The three were placed in the guard house, and the wounded man was turned over to the writer at the hospital. Although a large scope of country was ridden over in the search, the other four of this war party escaped.

The Sioux, after being satisfied that the enemy had left, placed the body of their dead warrior upon a cart and proceeded on the way to their village, amid the mournful wailing of the women.

ENDEAVORS OF THE SIOUX FOR REVENGE.

The fertile brain of Little Crow was at once active in devising plans for avenging this outrage. He arranged for two hundred well mounted men from the different bands to meet at a specified time and place and then proceed under cover to near the fort, when, at a given signal, they would rush upon it, and in the confusion would carry off or kill the prisoners. Orders were given that no guns should be fired and no soldier injured, if possible, relying upon overriding all opposition by force of numbers. The fort was not stockaded and was illy prepared to resist such an attack, and the soldiers were scattered in various directions on extra duty, so that there was only the guard of a dozen men for immediate defense.

Three days after the previous event, and in the middle of the afternoon, riding rapidly toward the post, the Indians came in full sight. They had a full half mile to cover, which gave a short time to prepare for their reception. The long roll was sounded and the men hastily fell in, headed by Major Armstead, who seized the bridle of the foremost Indian's horse, beating down the guns levelled at him. The soldiers supported him with fixed bayonets and arrested the onrush for a moment, the brief time being sufficient for the soldiers to form an opposing front which was rapidly growing stronger. The distance that the Indians had to cover after coming in sight was fatal to their plans.

Realizing their failure, they hardly stopped, but turning swept out on the prairie about half a mile, halted, and held a council. After a short deliberation, a messenger came riding forward under a flag of truce. He said that Little Crow had made this raid upon the fort hoping to take the prisoners without much opposition,

and that he now demanded that they be given up to him for punishment; that their chief had charged them not to fire a gun or hurt a soldier, but to take the Ojibways, and now he hoped they would be permitted to do so.

The demand was refused, and, after further consultation, Little Crow sent another messenger, saying, in substance, that he had many warriors and could spare some of them, and that he would take the captives by force if they were not given up. The Major replied that if they thought it wise to take the prisoners against his will they might come and try it, but that he would not give them up. Convinced at last of the futility of their demands, the Indians concluded to compromise, and a third messenger was sent, promising that if an ox was given them they would return peacefully to their reservation. This request was also denied, and after a long time spent in council, disappointed and sullen, they turned their ponies westward and disappeared.

Under the restraint of ball and chain, the three Ojibways were kept in the guard house for about a month, and then one moonlight night they were allowed to escape. I think the Major was in a quandary to decide just what to do with them and considered this the easiest solution.

The wounded Ojibway remained in the hospital for some months, when, having so far recovered that it was thought safe, he was allowed to return to his people. We afterward learned that he reached them safely.

PROGRESS TOWARD CIVILIZATION.

From the time the Dakota or Sioux Indians located upon their reservation, the policy of the government was to encourage in every way their becoming self-supporting. Large fields were plowed for each village, a farmer was provided to assist and instruct, and a few frame buildings were erected for such as proved most willing to work. This policy met with favor by most of the Indians, the fields being all cultivated, the work being mostly done by the women, but the men who were most forward in the movement joined their wives and worked faithfully.

A frame house and later a brick house were built for Little Crow, and other influences were brought to bear, but he persisted in maintaining a negative attitude toward the movement. His

wives were industrious workers in the field, but he proudly held himself above such menial calling.

Major Joseph R. Brown, on assuming the duties of agent, inaugurated a more radical policy, and urged upon all who were willing to go forward in the civilizing movement, to have their hair cut and adopt the costume of the whites. This was received by the progressive party favorably, but with open hostility by the others. Little Crow was one of the most pronounced opponents, declaring that early death would be visited upon them if they forsook the ways of their fathers.

Within a short time some one hundred and fifty came forward, had their hair cut, and put on citizens' clothing. Quite a number of them were from the band of Little Crow, who viewed this transformation with sullen contempt.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, visiting these Indians in 1861, reported as follows:

> I was surprised to find so many of the Sioux Indians wearing the garb of civilization, many of them living in frame or brick houses, some of them with stables or out-houses, and their fields indicating a considerable knowledge of agriculture. Their condition affords abundant evidence of what may be accomplished among the Sioux Indians by steadily adhering to a uniform, undeviating policy. Their condition is so much better than that of the wild Indians, that they, too, are becoming convinced that it is the better way to live, and many are coming in, asking to have their hair cut, and for a suit of clothes, and to be located on a piece of land where they can build a house and fence their fields.

After some months, although still opposed to this policy, Little Crow ceased all active opposition, as did also most of the other Indians, hoping it might result in good for his people. This was the condition up to July, 1861, which certainly encouraged the hope and expectation that their progress toward a condition of civilization would be more rapid in the years to come.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE SIOUX OUTBREAK IN 1862.

Little Crow watched the war between the North and the South with the deepest solicitude. His runners were always early at the office waiting the arrival of the mail, and, after gathering the news concerning the war, hastened away to their chief. Our early defeats, losses in battle, and the enlisting of men at the Agency,

no doubt shook his confidence in our strength, and perhaps encouraged the hopes of success in an uprising against the whites. His statement to Mrs. Brown, a few days after the outbreak, that he had opposed it with all his might, and had joined them in their madness against his better judgment, the writer believes was truthful. His visits to Washington and other large cities of the East impressed him profoundly of our great strength, and must have influenced him against such a doubtful undertaking; but the ambitious, bloodthirsty young warriors were in the majority and determined the result.

LITTLE CROW'S TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

The following is from a historic sketch written by Samuel J. Brown (a son of Hon. Joseph R. Brown). He and his mother who was a mixed-blood Indian woman, and his sisters and brothers, were prisoners with the hostile Indians from the beginning of the massacre, and he gives us a correct understanding of the treatment accorded to the prisoners, and also the expectations of Little Crow at the commencement of the outbreak.

When mother entered, the chief [Little Crow] arose from his couch and stepped up and greeted her very cordially, and then handed her a cup of cold water and told her to drink, saying that she was his prisoner now. We were all hurried upstairs and told to remain quiet. The chief gave us robes and blankets and told us to lie down and go to sleep. He would sneak up stairs and ask mother (in a whisper) if she was comfortable, how the children were, etc. He was anxious to get into conversation with her, and finally said to her that he wanted her to know all about the troubles that have so suddenly come upon his people, and he wanted to tell her about it. He said, in substance, that his young men had started to massacre; that he at first opposed the movement with all his might, but when he saw he could not stop it, he joined them in their madness against his better judgment, but now did not regret it and was never more in earnest in his life; that the plan was for the Winnebago Indians to sweep down the Minnesota river from Mankato to St. Paul, the Chippewa Indians down the Mississippi from Crow Wing to St. Paul, and the Lower Sioux down between the two rivers, from the Lower Agency through the Big Woods to St. Paul; that all would meet in the neighborhood of the confluence of the two rivers, and make a grand charge on Fort Snelling; that this was a stone fort and might take a day or two to batter the walls down.

The chief was very kind to us and assured us that we would not be harmed, that he would take as good care of us as he would if we were members of his own family.

Mr. Brown regarded the kindness shown to their family as an effort to gain the support of the Upper Sioux; but the captives taken after this and held by Little Crow do not seem to justify such a conclusion. The Brown family were among the first prisoners taken, at which time there was a bitter hostility to any being held, but before their surrender Little Crow had succeeded in overcoming this opposition, and was caring for two hundred and sixty captives, of whom one hundred and four were white women and children.

The treatment of Mr. Blair by Little Crow is deeply interesting, and the writer quotes again from Mr. Brown's statement:

He was afraid, he said once, that he could not keep Blair alive until morning; that the young men outside were bloodthirsty and desperate, and should they learn that a white man was in camp there was no telling what might happen. The chief got some vermilion and daubed Blair's face with the red paint, and gave him a new red Mackinac blanket and a pair of red leggings, and pulled off his own moccasins and put them on Blair's feet, and then cautioned us to remain quiet, as bad Indians were near by, and then went back down stairs.

About midnight some one came to see Little Crow. He told the chief that it was rumored about camp that a white man and some strangers were in the house; that the warriors were very angry about it, and he wanted to know if there was any foundation to the rumor. When told that there was and that we were Sisseton mixed-bloods and his friends, the man got very angry and insisted that we should all be killed at once. He said that no prisoners ought to be taken; that the Sissetons were a different people and had no claim whatever on the Lower Sioux, and the mixed-bloods of that tribe are no better than white people, and should be treated the same as the whites.

He wanted Little Crow to call a council at once, but the chief told the man that we were his friends.....and he would protect us; that it was too late for a council that night, and then compelled the man to leave.

As soon as the man had gone away, Little Crow came quietly upstairs and told mother that he had just had a stormy interview with his (Little Crow's) private secretary, and that he had just left the house in a very angry mood.....Mother and Little Crow talked over the matter, and they both agreed that not only was Blair's life in danger, but the lives of all of us, including that of Little Crow himself. The only hope was to get Blair away,—send him off in the dark.

My mother and Mrs. Blair resolved to do this. They at once went to work to get him ready. They gave him what crackers they had, and Little Crow gave him a shawl to wrap around his head, and then summoned his head warrior and instructed him to lead Blair down stairs and out through the camp, and down through the woods to the river bank, a few hundred yards back of the house, and leave him there to make his escape as best he could. Little Crow said to Mrs. Blair: "I have known your mother for many years. She is a good woman, and in sending your husband away I am risking my life for her and for you all tonight. Be brave, your husband shall live.

After a sad farewell, Blair was taken away. He was dressed in full Indian costume.

Fort Ridgely was but about fifteen miles away, and yet the poor fellow was seven days getting to it.

CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK.

On considering the causes that led to the outbreak, in August, 1862, the writer is convinced that the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, in 1851, were the most prominent. The Dakota Indians were in possession of an empire that the whites urgently demanded, and in possessing ourselves of it we took from them their means of subsistence, giving them no adequate return. The area ceded by these treaties consisted of nearly twenty-four million acres of the most fertile lands of the Mississippi and Minnesota valleys. Governor Ramsey, in his report, thus speaks of the territory acquired:

> It is so diversified in natural advantages that its productive powers may be considered almost inexhaustible. Probably no tract upon the face of the globe is equally well watered.....A large part is rich, arable land; portions are of unsurpassed fertility, and eminently adapted to the production in incalculable quantities of the cereal grains. The boundless plains present inexhaustible fields of pasturage, and the river bottoms are richer than the banks of the Nile.

For this immense territory the government agreed to pay nominally $3,075,000, which would be about twelve cents an acre. But $2,520,000 of that amount was to be held in trust, and only the interest at five per cent yearly to be paid to the Indians, and this only for the term of fifty years, at which time the principal was to revert to the Government.

The sums stipulated by these treaties to be paid immediately to the Dakota bands amounted to $555,000; and the successive interest payments provided for them during fifty years amounted

to $126,000 yearly, to be paid partly in goods and provisions, partly for agricultural and educational purposes, and the remainder ($70,000 yearly) in money.

For the immediate payments, wholly due in money, the Commission allowed about $300,000 to the Indian traders, through whose influence the treaties were effected, as payments of their excessive claims for debts of the Indians; and it was alleged that $60,000 besides went to Hugh Tyler in payment of a fictitious claim for securing the ratification of the treaty by the Senate.

The Indians protested against the payment of such exorbitant claims, declaring they did not owe so much. Red Iron, a Sisseton chief, proposed leaving it to three disinterested whites, and what they determined to be justly owing to the traders they would willingly pay; but this proposition was rejected, and for refusing to comply with the demands of the Commission he was put in irons and confined for days.

By intimidation, and by promises that the amount the Dakotas would receive would abundantly provide for their future wants, the treaties were finally consummated. As years passed and they came to more fully realize the great value of the country they had parted with, their sense of the injustice done them was ever becoming more intense. At every council, up to the outbreak, their unvarying cry was, that the treaties had been forced upon them, that their money had been unjustly paid to the traders, and that they had been robbed of their country.

It was expected that the monthly issue of provisions would be sufficient to mostly supply their necessities, but the Government had to do with an improvident race, and they were often destitute and in urgent want. This condition became more acute as the game on their reservations decreased and their income from that source became less; and, at times, the issue of flour and pork was unfit for human consumption, which added to their grievance.

During these times of destitution the Indians would appeal to the agent for greater supplies. When they were on hand and the condition seemed to warrant, they were granted; but in case of refusal, on some occasions, the Indians raided the warehouse, taking by force what they required. This condition continued for years, and sometimes they became so threatening that troops from Fort Ridgely were necessary to stay their turbulence.

The delay in making payments, after the time fixed upon by the Superintendent, was a source of great suffering and was another prominent cause of the outbreak. There was usually a delay of a month or two, and generally during the cold weather of autumn, when there would be assembled seven thousand men, women, and children, some of whom came from long distances, and all with small stores of provisions, which would soon be exhausted. Then would follow begging dances, appeals to the agent and traders, who could only give temporary relief, so that for a month or more these poor people would be scarcely half supplied with the necessaries of life, and some of the time in a state of actual starvation.

This condition would be followed by sickness and many deaths. During the long delay of the payment of 1854, smallpox broke out, and one entire band of the Upper Sioux, who had not been vaccinated, perished from the disease. The traders gave credit during such conditions of suffering to the amount of their money annuity, and when the payment finally took place, the traders were generally faithfully paid, and the poor wards of the Government would return to their homes famished, destitute, and sullen.

Thus the sense of wrong was ever deepening, and, the future giving no promise of improvement, in their exasperated condition an event of minor importance led to open hostilities and the massacre.

ESTIMATE OF LITTLE CROW'S CHARACTER.

Every race of human beings in its progress has passed through the stage of barbarism. The Indians, like ourselves, represent a stage of human progress; and in trying to estimate the character of Little Crow, he must be judged as a somewhat advanced type of a barbarous people.

He believed in the right of refusing to submit to injustice, and of resenting injustice by force if necessary. Every important battle in the Sioux war of 1862 was led by Little Crow in person, but it is not known that he participated in any raid upon the settlements, or was guilty of murdering women and children. His taking prisoners, and their humane treatment, evidenced a spirit superior to the inherited custom of the Indian tribes.

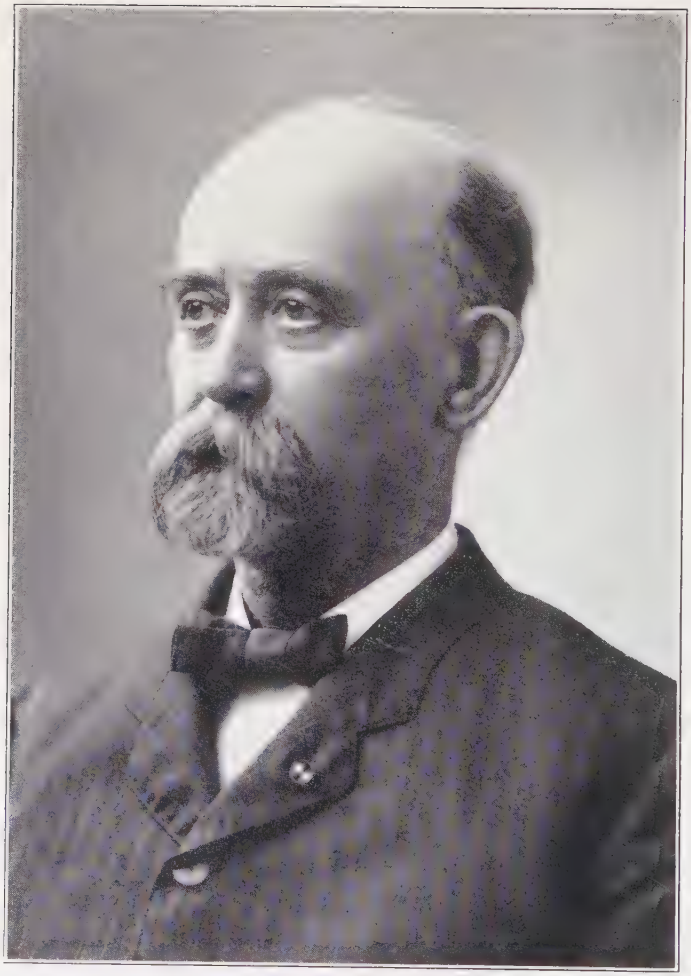
The final event of his life, near Hutchinson, Minnesota, in July, 1863, must ever remain a mystery. Why did he flee to a settlement of whites? It has been often stated that it was for the purpose of stealing horses; but to such as knew him intimately it is difficult to believe his proud spirit could so humiliate itself. It seems more probable that, knowing all had been lost, home, friends, and country, he sought his enemies, expecting, and perhaps seeking, the death that followed.

During the Indian war and the bitter feeling that attended it, there was some excuse for our people resorting to the extreme retaliation that was adopted, but that condition no longer exists. Other states have suffered from their Indian wars, but none have thought proper to desecrate their State Capitol with the scalp of a fallen foe. Such a spectacle reflects sadly upon the humanity of a Christian people, and all citizens who prize the good name of our state should desire its removal.

The writer's resignation took place in July, 1861. Learning of my contemplated leaving, Little Crow appealed to me to remain with his people, urging that my long residence with them and knowledge of their language had made my service acceptable; that he feared the coming of a stranger, ignorant of the ways of the Indians and their wants.

Dr. Philander P. Humphrey was appointed as my successor. He was a homeopathic physician of fair abilities and a gentleman, and he should have succeeded in a community of whites, but his system of medical practice failed to satisfy the Indians, who had always been accustomed to a more heroic treatment. The doctor and his wife and two children were victims of the massacre that occurred a little more than twelve months later. A son, John A. Humphrey, a lad of twelve years, escaped.

In conclusion, it seems to the writer that when we consider the conditions existing among these Indians for years, there is good reason to believe that had their treatment been just, humane and generous, the outbreak of 1862 would never have occurred.



L. F. Hubbard

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CIVIL WAR PAPERS.

BY GEN. LUCIUS F. HUBBARD.

I.

MINNESOTA IN THE BATTLES OF CORINTH, MAY TO OCTOBER, 1862.*

The campaigns in the lower valley of the Tennessee river that culminated in the battle of Corinth October 3rd and 4th, 1862, mark an epoch in the progress of the Civil War.

The occupation of western Tennessee and northern Mississippi and Alabama was vigorously disputed with varying fortunes by the contending forces of Union and Confederate armies for many months during the early period of the great conflict; and, while the general tendency of events was to give the Union cause a firmer footing in the territory named, and to cause a gradual recession southward of the Confederate line of defense, yet many points of strategic importance were alternately occupied by Union and Confederate forces as the fortunes of war seemed to favor one side or the other. When the Confederates finally chose the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad as the limit beyond which they seemed disposed to dispute to the utmost the farther progress south of the Union armies, it seemed that the scene of a decisive conflict between the contending forces in the West was clearly presented.

The concentration of men and material by both contestants in the vicinity of Corinth, Mississippi, was of a magnitude to impress the country with the importance of the impending crisis. The bloody and somewhat indecisive battle of Shiloh, April 6th and 7th, 1862, though claimed as a victory for the Union arms, intensified the interest and anxiety of the country respecting the

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, January 14, 1907.

ability of the Union army to penetrate the barriers that now confronted it.

The spirit of both armies was somewhat subdued and their morale correspondingly lessened by mutual disappointment and damaging results suffered at Shiloh, and they required, in about equal measure, time for recuperation and repairs. When finally seven weeks later Gen. H. W. Halleck, on May 28th, 1862, felt that conditions warranted aggressive action, and he ordered an advance on Corinth, and on the 30th occupied it unopposed, the enemy under Beauregard retiring in good order southward, he realized that he had been slow to avail himself of an opportunity not likely to be again presented. With a compact and thoroughly equipped army of 120,000 men, he had allowed the 70,000 of the enemy, with unclipped wings, to cleverly elude his elaborate combinations. To be sure he had gained a strategic position of much advantage, but his main objective, as that of all warfare, the destruction of the armed forces of the enemy, he had altogether failed to accomplish, a condition that was but in slight degree relieved by the much proclaimed but ineffective pursuit of the enemy. The campaign upon the whole, however, was regarded as a success for the Union cause, and the country felt relief and encouragement in the assurance that some progress was being made by the armies of the Union in the Middle West.

The months that followed the occupation of Corinth throughout the summer of 1862 were characterized more by inactivity and apparent indecision upon the part of both contestants, than by any definite purpose on the part of either to inaugurate a further campaign. An occasional conflict between expeditionary columns sent out to forage the country, or to obtain information of the enemy, slightly relieved the monotony of the situation, but did not materially change prevailing conditions.

To some of us it seemed quite probable before the summer ended, that the Confederates concluded the malarial poisons of the country we occupied would prove a more potent agency in the decimation of our army than could result from any possible activity upon their part. The deaths and disability from disease resulting from the cause referred to formed a more formidable

and gruesome record than the casualty lists of many battles, and reduced the morale of the army to a degree that would hardly have been exceeded by a serious defeat. Typhoid and its kindred scourges became a far greater terror than Rebel guns, in the camps along the line on which the army was now distributed, in the duty assigned it of occupying the country acquired by the withdrawal of the enemy from northern Mississippi. In recalling their varied experiences of the war, I venture to assert that the Minnesota soldiers participating in the campaigns under consideration will characterize their recollections of Camp Clear Creek, near Corinth, as the most depressing, unrelieved by mitigating conditions, of the entire period of their service. The mournful cadence of the muffled drum as the burying squads bore some comrade to his grave, almost continuously oppressed the senses for many weeks, and suggested portentous forebodings, in the imagination of those even in reasonable health, of the probable doom awaiting them. We do not fail to generously applaud the courage and patriotism of the soldier who faces his fate without flinching as he gallantly charges the enemy's lines, baring his breast to the deadly volleys he knows he must encounter, but a sublimer courage is required to face the approach of the grim messenger through the gloom pervading an environment such as is here indicated. No compensation of possible glory to be achieved for notable service to the cause for which he risks his life, is here offered the soldier to inspire and console him. The emotions are slow to respond to a recital of the sacrifice a soldier makes while he combats and finally succumbs to the dread disease, to whose insidious attacks he is vulnerable at every point. His name is not mentioned in the dispatches, nor is it found in the casualty list that illumines the achievements of some great engagement, but none the less his life is given to his country, and his patriotic service is as great, if not so distinguished, as that of the foremost hero of the battlefield.

A notable stimulus was experienced by the army when early in September, 1862, the rumors of activity upon the part of the Confederates drifted through the camps, which were soon confirmed by several minor conflicts in the vicinity of our advanced outposts. The lethargy and depression that had dominated the camps for so long a time were shaken off, and a spirit of cheer-

fulness and almost of enthusiasm, greeted the orders that now came, for the concentration of the army and its rehabilitation upon a basis of greater mobility. The prospect of an opportunity to render essential service to the cause of the Union seemed to clear the atmosphere of the dreaded dangers with which it had been so heavily burdened, and inspired a hope in every heart of achieving something that would redeem the conditions that had too long prevailed; a hope that was destined to be soon realized in large volume by the decisive battles of Iuka and Corinth.

It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt to give a comprehensive description of, or to go into much detail respecting any of the battles to which it makes reference, but rather to seek to give an intelligent recital of the service of Minnesota troops therein. Minnesota, as is well known, furnished more soldiers for the War of the Rebellion in proportion to her population than any of her sister states,* yet inasmuch as she was a frontier and sparsely settled community at the time, the number of organizations she sent to the front were comparatively few. It was, however, her good fortune to have been represented in a distinguished manner in several of the notable and decisive actions of the war. The First regiment at Gettysburg, the Second at Chickamauga, the Fourth at Vicksburg, the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth at Nashville, the Eighth at Murfreesboro, and on many other historic fields of the great war, her regiments and batteries were among those that at decisive moments contributed to the achievement of important results. This narrative will seek to illumine somewhat the official record of the fact that at Corinth Minnesota soldiers aided in a conspicuous manner at a critical moment in "snatching victory from defeat."

It was at Corinth, and in the campaigns under consideration, that the Fourth and Fifth regiments of infantry and the First Minnesota Battery of Artillery received their first concrete impressions of the stern realities of war.

The First battery fired the first gun at Shiloh, and was conspicuously effective in checking the first onslaught of the Confederates in their almost successful surprise of the Union army on the morning of April 6th, 1862. Throughout the fighting of the

*Including those enlisted for service on our frontier in the Sioux outbreak of 1862.

first day's battle this battery gave evidence of remarkable discipline and efficiency, in maintaining its organization during most difficult maneuvers in repeated changing of positions, as the pressure of the enemy compelled the recession of the Union lines; and in the final conflict of the day when it seemed more than an even chance that Beauregard would make good his boast, that he would that night "water his horses in the Tennessee river," the First Minnesota battery, posted at the key point of the most vital position of the Union line, five guns in battery, one disabled, its commander, the gallant Munch, severely wounded, never ceased its fire until the last cartridge in its ammunition chests was expended, and the final assault of the enemy was repulsed.*

The service performed by this battery in the battle of Shiloh was not properly recognized in the official reports, for the reason that in the confusion and disorder that largely characterized the operation of the first day's fight, it served under several different brigade or division commanders, being repeatedly sent, in some instances in separate sections, to the most exposed or threatened positions, independent of the organization to which it properly belonged. This neglect was afterwards recognized by Gen. B. M. Prentiss, to whose command it was attached early in the action, by a public declaration made by him since the war, that "The First Minnesota battery never received the credit it deserved at Shiloh; that it was mainly due to the excellent work done by this battery that the 'hornet's nest,' with its comparatively small force of men, held out so long against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy."

The State of Minnesota has also made slight, though tardy, amends for this neglect, by making provision for a memorial on the field of Shiloh, commemorating the service of the First Minnesota battery.

During the siege of Corinth that followed the battle of Shiloh, the Fourth and Fifth regiments and First battery were with the advanced line of investment, where they became proficient in the application of the spade and pick to the demonstration of problems in military engineering. The Second Minnesota Infantry and the Second battery were also prominent in the operations of

*The First Minnesota Battery lost three killed and eight wounded at Shiloh. A large percentage of its horses were also killed or disabled.

the siege, and in expeditionary movements subsequent thereto in the vicinity of Corinth; but both were detached early in the summer, with the commands to which they belonged, for service on another field.

In the action at Farmington on the 28th of May, the Fifth regiment was given a taste of the "real thing" in warfare. It here encountered a column of the enemy, pushed to the front for the purpose, as it subsequently appeared, to cover the evacuating movements from the besieged town. For the moment it looked like a determined effort to dispute our farther advance in pressing the siege, and the Old Eagle brigade of Stanley's division, of which the Fifth regiment was a part, had a spirited encounter of twenty minutes' duration with the enemy, in which the advantage was not decisive to either side, except that the enemy fell back after sensibly checking our advance movement; this doubtless being the purpose of the enemy, that more time might be gained to move their stores and munitions from the town. It being our first fight, however, and having caused the retirement of the enemy, after a really sharp encounter in which numerous casualties were suffered on either side, we thought we were warranted in claiming it as a notable victory, and wondered if its announcement would not send a thrill throughout the country. We became wiser in that regard later in our experience, as we learned that events of that magnitude often failed to receive much public notice, although we were ourselves, perhaps, impressed with the consciousness, at the time, that we had done much towards saving the country.*

The lapse of the summer months of 1862 had witnessed material changes in the organization and position of both the Union and Confederate armies. Halleck had retired with a dim and disappearing halo for his achievements at Corinth, and was succeeded by Gen. U. S. Grant, who for a time had been somewhat obscured from the public eye by a cloud that lowered upon his horizon, created by criticism, largely, if not altogether, unjust, of his management of the campaign that preceded the battle of Shiloh. The Union army, now greatly depleted by large withdrawals detached to other fields, held an attenuated line along

*The casualties of the Fifth Regiment at Farmington were three killed and twelve wounded.

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CAMPAIGNS OF CORINTH.

the railroad stretching from the Mississippi river at Memphis to Decatur on the Tennessee and beyond. There was now remaining but about 50,000 Union troops in the district comprising Gen. Grant's command. It was possible to concentrate but a part of this force in time to confront the Confederate movement which now threatened our lines in the vicinity of Corinth. Beauregard, with a considerable part of the army with which he retired from Corinth the preceding May, had also been detached for operations elsewhere. The reorganized force of the enemy that we had now to encounter consisted of about 35,000* men commanded by Generals Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price, each of whom held a sort of independent command, who had combined their forces in the vicinity of Ripley, Mississippi.

While the Union forces were concentrating on Corinth, Price made a sudden dash on our left and entered Iuka with the division comprising his immediate command, just as the rear guard of our forces hurriedly evacuated the place on their way westward towards Corinth. Here the Fifth regiment had a unique though trying experience. It held the rear of the retiring force, and was charged with the customary duty imposed in such circumstances, of repelling or "standing off" the enemy in any dash he might make in pursuit. There are sometimes exciting incidents attending such service, and in this case they were especially of that nature; indeed, the situation became seriously involved. The large negro population of that locality, seeing the army under whose protection they had for a brief period enjoyed "freedom" beyond their wildest dreams, leaving the country, proposed to stay with their friends, and therefore proceeded, like the army, to "concentrate." In their efforts to keep up with the movement, the rear and flanks of the column were encumbered by a mass of five thousand or more contrabands, with such of their worldly effects as they could move on their persons or with the aid of an ancestral mule. Such an aggregation was, of course, under the circumstances, liable to be thrown into panic on slight provocation, and hence, whenever a squad of Confederate cavalry would appear and deliver a random shot at our

*Gen. Grant, on page 395, Vol. I, of his Memoirs, says: "Van Dorn had a sufficient force to organize a movable army of 35,000 to 40,000 men after being reinforced by Price from Missouri."

retiring column, the pressure upon the troops became a test of endurance that at times seemed to pass the limit. It finally became necessary, for the protection of the poor fugitives, to post a section of artillery at a commanding point on the road, and throw shells to the rear, while our troublesome friends were passed along towards the front.

General Grant's headquarters had been established at Jackson, Tenn., a railway junction point, from whence he could more readily remain in touch with the several detachments of his army, posted at different points throughout his district. The left wing of the Army of the Mississippi was under command of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, whose headquarters were at Corinth. Price's movement on Iuka seemed to present an opportunity to give his part of the Confederate force a crushing blow, while separated from the larger force under Van Dorn, who remained at Ripley, maintaining a threatening attitude towards Corinth. The blow was delivered by Gen. Rosecrans September 19th, 1862, and, though vigorous in its character, it proved less crushing than had been hoped for, by reason of the failure of a part of the army to co-operate fully in the combinations that had been formed for the destruction of the enemy. Price got away after receiving substantial punishment, and rejoined Van Dorn at Ripley. In this battle the Fourth Minnesota of Buford's Brigade, Hamilton's Division, was actively engaged, holding for a time an important position in the advance line of attack. At the cost of three killed and forty-four wounded, the Fourth Regiment in this its first engagement performed its full duty under circumstances of a peculiarly trying character. It was required to make important movements and confront an attack after darkness had enveloped the field, and while much confusion prevailed on a part of the Union line, during which it received a severe volley intended for the enemy; a combination of conditions that would put to the supremest test the discipline and nerve of the most seasoned veterans. Under the command of Capt. E. LeGrow, Col. Sanborn being in temporary command of the brigade, the Fourth Regiment maneuvered and fought like regulars, and received high encomiums from its superior commanders for its notable discipline and efficiency in the battle.

The Fifth Regiment and First Battery, though on the field, were held in reserve and not brought into action.

Rosecrans retired towards his base at Corinth, which was soon seriously threatened by Van Dorn, who, after being rejoined by Price, started northward September 30th with a force, as stated by himself, of 22,000 men.

The defenses of Corinth had been much contracted and greatly strengthened during the summer, thus enabling a comparatively small force to defend the place. The maneuvers of Van Dorn, in his advance north, created a doubt as to the point where he would first strike, especially as the belief prevailed that he would hesitate to attack a position so strongly fortified as Corinth. General Grant therefore held a considerable force some distance west and north of Corinth, at points from which it could be readily moved in such direction as the developed intentions of the enemy might suggest. Van Dorn made a strong feint on Bolivar, Tennessee, leaving Corinth to his right and rear, but suddenly made a wheel masking the movement with his cavalry, and advanced rapidly on Corinth from the northwest, hoping to surprise Rosecrans before he could fully concentrate his command at that point. There was clever strategy in this move also, as it isolated a considerable part of Grant's forces, effectually cutting off their communication with Rosecrans. The latter, however, succeeded in bringing to Corinth about 17,500 men, with which the decisive battle of October 3rd and 4th was subsequently fought.

Rosecrans' lines had been formed facing west and north, considerably in advance of the main defenses of the town, where he received Van Dorn's attack on the morning of the 3rd, and from whence he was steadily driven in during the operations that followed. The fighting was desperately contested over the rough and heavily timbered country that characterized most of the field on which the contest waged, but night found Rosecrans forced back into his defensive works, and the enemy in possession of the field over which the conflict had waged.

During this day's work and the movements of the following morning, the Fourth Regiment and the First Battery, operating with their proper commands, gave further evidence, so distinctly noted in their service at Iuka and Shiloh respectively, of the high

efficiency and discipline which ever distinguished those organizations throughout the war. Occupying with its division the right of the Union line, the various maneuvers required to maintain the line of battle, as it was retired towards Corinth, involved complicated changes of formation, and in one instance a spirited charge to hold the enemy in check, in which the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Sanborn, was especially conspicuous.*

The Fifth Regiment, a part of Mower's Brigade of Stanley's Division, was detached from its proper command on the morning of the 3rd, being detailed to guard a bridge across Tuscumbia river, about four miles southwest of Corinth. Here it remained throughout the day, seeing no enemy, though within sound of his guns. We could correctly judge of the course of the conflict as the sounds of the battle became nearer and more distinct, and I recall that the thought was suggested that the use of the bridge we were guarding might prove of advantage to our own army in its possible retreat from Corinth. When just at night an order was received to retire into the town, it had become a serious question as to how we were to get there. The enveloping movements of the enemy had brought his right dangerously near the road on which we must retire. The darkness of the night, intensified by the dense growth of timber through which lay our route, proved an essential aid, and saved us, perhaps, from serious trouble. As we moved across the point intersecting a prolongation of the enemy's line, we could distinctly hear commands given for the formations in progress, and doubtless our movement would have attracted serious attention had it not been assumed by the enemy, as seems probable, that we were a part of their own troops moving into position. The enemy undoubtedly extended his line across this road soon after we passed. Late in the evening the regiment reached Corinth, and bivouacked in a reserve position near the Mobile and Ohio railroad depot.

We were apprised at early dawn on the 4th of the purpose of Van Dorn to press to the utmost the advantage he had won the previous day, by heavy discharges from several batteries of artillery he had placed in position during the night. The enemy here confronted a more difficult problem than the one he solved

*The Fourth Regiment lost two killed and ten wounded at Corinth. The First Battery was attached to McKean's division on the left.

the previous day, as he found Rosecrans' army occupying strong defensive works, consisting of a series of bastions connected with rifle pits, the approaches to which for the most part were protected by abatis of fallen timber. The forces occupying these works were C. S. Hamilton's, T. A. Davies', D. S. Stanley's and T. J. McKean's divisions, formed from right to left in the order named; about 17,500 men, including seventeen batteries of field artillery, and a number of guns of large caliber mounted in the bastions.* Van Dorn's army somewhat outnumbered Rosecrans', but the latter's advantage in position probably equalized the difference in numerical strength.

The position of the Fifth Minnesota was in reserve about four hundred yards in rear of the right of Stanley's Division, which brought it nearly in rear of the center of the occupied line of the army; here it was held in reserve until called into action.

The early artillery practice of the enemy had the effect to weaken but slightly the defenses behind which the army stood ready to receive the expected assault of the enemy. The guns of the bastions and the Union batteries made a more or less effective response to the artillery of the enemy, a portion charged with canister withholding their fire for the expected assault of the infantry masses. Under the fire of his artillery Van Dorn had worked his infantry to within assaulting distance of Rosecrans' defensive works, and about 9 A. M., the stentorian yell of the Rebel infantry caused us to take notice of a probable approaching crisis. With Price's force in the advance, the enemy made a determined assault upon the Union position. It was firmly withstood at all points except at the right center of the Union line occupied by the left of Davies' division. Opposite this point the enemy had formed a strong column in mass, which, by the sheer force of the momentum it acquired as it charged, crushed and overwhelmed the troops in their front, capturing the defensive works they occupied, with the artillery in position, and passing onward were making alarming progress towards the rear of Rosecrans' defenses that were yet intact. In a confused mass the eager Confederates were already entering the streets

*Stanley's and Hamilton's divisions of the Army of the Mississippi; Davies' and McKean's of the Army of West Tennessee.

of Corinth, driving themselves like a human wedge through the opening they had made. If this force was not checked and that gap closed, the mass of Van Dorn's army would pour into Corinth, and the advantage of its strong defensive works would be practically nullified by a flank and rear attack.

The Fifth Minnesota, which had now changed front from west to north, and advanced its line about two hundred yards, was in a position to act instantly and decisively at the point of greatest danger. Just as the enemy broke through the Union line an aide of Gen. Stanley's delivered an order to the regiment to support a battery located at a point to the front and right. The order was hardly delivered before the battery was in the hands of the enemy, and its captors rushing onward towards the town. Further orders for the regiment were not required however, as every man in its ranks could see clearly what it ought to do. From the position it occupied, the right flank of the penetrating force of the enemy was presented in easy and unobstructed range of our guns, and as it passed across the front of the regiment it was given a volley under deadly aim that seemed to cut a swath through the Confederate mass. As rapidly as the guns could be reloaded this was repeated with like destructive effect, notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy to form line and return our fire. This condition could not long prevail, and the check in the progress of the enemy caused by this fire of the regiment, to which was now added an attack upon his opposite flank by the troops that had been dispersed in the assault, now rallied and moving against him, caused a marked reflex movement of the disordered and bewildered mass.

As the Confederates fell back, their progress to the rear was considerably accelerated by a vigorous charge by the Fifth Minnesota, which pursued the now flying enemy, halting only when we had reached the line of our works where the break occurred, and where we regained the battery, almost intact, that Gen. Stanley had ordered us to support. The gap was soon closed and our lines re-established, the enemy disappearing in the thick timber from whence the assault had come. This practically ended the battle on the greater part of the line, though another threatening movement against our immediate front was made in connection

with a desperate assault upon Battery Robinett, a bastion to the left of our position, but which wholly failed of its purpose.*

Van Dorn, gathering the wreck of his army as best he could, retreated from the field. His movement to the rear was so effectually obscured by the wooded character of the country that immediate pursuit was not made, but early on the morning of the 5th, Rosecrans' army was upon the trail of the enemy, who now found himself between two fires. The detachments of Grant's army that Van Dorn had isolated in his maneuvers prior to the attack on Corinth, now concentrated under Gen. E. O. C. Ord, met the enemy at the crossing of the Hatchie river, where a sharp fight occurred and Van Dorn's proposed line of retreat was effectually barred. With Rosecrans pressing on his rear, Van Dorn now found himself almost *in extremis*, but he extricated his broken columns by a bold and dexterous move, in which he reached another road that afforded the only remaining chance of escape. Van Dorn retired to Holly Springs, Mississippi, with the remnants of his army, where he was given leisure to view the wreck and to inventory the results of his late enterprise.

While the claim that the Fifth Minnesota "saved the day" at Corinth may perhaps be questioned, it will surely be conceded that it was conspicuously prominent in aiding to turn the tide at a vital crisis in the battle. It did no more, perhaps, than any other regiment of the army would have done in the same circumstances and conditions, but it fell to the fortune of the regiment to be in a position to act most effectively in an emergency where seconds of time were vital for success or failure. In the official reports of the battle the regiment received recognition for its work. General Stanley, commanding the division to which the regiment belonged, said: "The columns of the enemy pushed on and the fate of the day hung in the balance. * * * At this instant I sent the Fifth Minnesota to attack the flank of the second column of the enemy, * * * and I am happy to bear testimony to the gallant fight of this little regiment commanded by Col. Hubbard. Few regiments on the field did more effective killing than they." Later General Rosecrans, commanding the army, wrote: "Col. Mower had ordered the Fifth Minne-

*The Fifth Regiment suffered a loss of seven killed and sixteen wounded at Corinth.

sota to guard the bridge across the Tuscumbia on the 3rd, when with the remainder of the brigade he went to help Davies. Late in the evening Col. Hubbard brought up his regiment, and formed facing westward on the Mobile and Ohio Railway, with its left near the depot, where they bivouacked for the night. On the next morning, when the enemy from the north assaulted our line and forced it back a few hundred yards, into the edge of town, Col. Hubbard, moving by his right flank, faced the coming storm from that quarter, and by his promptitude anticipated Gen. Stanley's order from me, to use the reserves of his division in meeting the enemy's charge. He drove back the fragments of the enemy's columns, overtaking and bringing back some pieces without horses of our reserve artillery, which the enemy had seized, and covered the retiring of a battery that had gone too far to the front. Veterans could hardly have acted more opportunely and effectively than did the gallant Fifth Minnesota on that occasion."*

In the aggregate of casualties suffered by both armies, the battle of Corinth proved to be one of the most bloody for the numbers engaged of the entire war. The final official record of losses of Rosecrans' army were 355 killed, 1,841 wounded, and 324 missing. There seems to be no complete official record of Confederate losses, but Gen. Rosecrans, in his report, stated them to be 1,423 killed, 5,692 wounded and 2,268 captured, making a total of 1,778 killed and 7,533 wounded, or nearly 25 per cent of the combined forces of less than 40,000 men. The larger loss of the Confederates indicates the determined character of the attack, and also the advantage of the defensive position held by the Union army.

*Gen. U. S. Grant, in his Memoirs, referring to the Battle of Corinth, said: "This battle was recognized by me as being a decided victory. * * * Since the war it is known that the result was a crushing blow to the enemy, and felt by him much more than it was appreciated at the North. The battle relieved me from any further anxiety for the safety of the territory within my jurisdiction, and soon after receiving reinforcements I suggested to the general-in-chief a forward movement against Vicksburg." (Page 420, Vol. I.)

Jefferson Davis, in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," wrote as follows in respect to this battle: "The center and left pushed forward and planted their colors on the last stronghold of the enemy; his heavy guns were silenced, and all seemed about to be ended, when a heavy fire from fresh troops * * * was poured into our thin ranks, and, with this combined assault on Price's exhausted corps, which had sustained the whole conflict, those gallant troops were driven back. The day was lost. * * * Our loss was very heavy of gallant men and officers," (Page 389, Vol. II.)

Except to those who may have studied the conditions that at this juncture characterized the general field of operations in the West, the full import of the Union victory at Corinth may not appear. A large Confederate army under General Bragg, moving from Chattanooga as its base, had forced its way northward through Tennessee and Kentucky almost to the Ohio river. At about the date of the battle of Corinth, Bragg was in a position to seriously threaten Louisville, Kentucky, and much apprehension prevailed that the Union army opposing him, under Gen. D. C. Buell, might fail to thwart the ambitious enterprises of the enemy. Van Dorn's campaign had a more far reaching purpose than the capture of Corinth. It was an important factor in the combination of the Confederate authorities to recover their grip on Tennessee and to establish their cause in Kentucky. Van Dorn's success at Corinth would have been followed by his effective co-operation with Bragg, and probably would have so strengthened the latter's position as to enable him to gain a foothold on the banks of the Ohio river. Directly succeeding the Confederate defeat at Corinth, indecision and irresolution became manifest in Bragg's attitude and movements, and when Rosecrans, superseding Buell, was placed in command of the Army of the Cumberland, Bragg thereafter no longer entertained the hope that had inspired his late campaign. Subsequent operations in which Rosecrans drove Bragg back through Stone River, Murfreesboro and Tullahome to the Tennessee river at Chattanooga, constitute one of the most interesting and important chapters in the history of the war.

Gen. W. S. Rosecrans is one of the most soldierly characters in the military history of the country. A master of strategy, unfaltering in determination in pressing his combinations to an issue, he gave evidence on many fields of skill, sagacity, and courage, not excelled by any of his contemporaries of the Civil War.

Archbishop John Ireland, who was the chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota regiment at the time of the Battle of Corinth, spoke as follows, in comment on the foregoing paper:

General Hubbard has read to us an instructive and interesting paper on the battle of Corinth, in which the Fifth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers took a prominent part. As one privileged to be with the Fifth on the memorable days of October 3rd and 4th, 1862, I beg leave to offer a criticism on General Hubbard's paper. The criticism is this: In narrating the exploits of the Fifth, General Hubbard, who was then the colonel of that regiment, is altogether too modest, unbearably so, as to himself and his part in the battle.

I will rehearse such incidents as came under my own notice. On the morning of October 3rd the Fifth Regiment was sent some four miles outside Corinth to guard a bridge across the Tuscumbia river. Why the bridge was deemed a strategic point, how or whence it was in danger from the enemy, no one in the regiment knew; but there the men stood the whole day, ready for duty at a moment's warning. As evening approached, the rumblings of rifle and of cannon sounded louder and more distinct. Clearly the enemy were driving our troops, and danger was nearing. Night was approaching, yet no word was coming from headquarters as to what was expected from the Fifth. Colonel Hubbard suspected that in the excitement of maneuvers at more important points his command was lost sight of,—his assignment to the bridge forgotten. He dispatched Quartermaster William B. McGrorty to obtain information. The Fifth, it was discovered, had been actually forgotten. McGrorty received orders from General Rosecrans for the regiment to return to Corinth. The regiment took at once to the road, arriving in the public square of Corinth shortly before midnight, escaping capture simply because the Confederate regiments, marching at a short distance from us, thought we were a part of their own army getting into position, as they themselves were doing, for the attack at daybreak upon the Union entrenchments. Had not the thoughtfulness of Colonel Hubbard led him to solicit information from headquarters, had he quietly remained on duty at the bridge, the Fifth would have been made prisoners, and could not have taken part in the engagement of the following day.

Before daybreak on the 4th, the guns of the Confederates opened on Corinth. The Tishomingo Hotel, with its lighted windows, and a smouldering camp fire in a corner of the square, where the Fifth was encamped, were inviting targets and received the first fire of the enemy. A few bucketfuls of water quickly put out the camp fire. The regiment remained undisturbed for several hours, with the exception of Company A, Captain Dartt, which was detached as a reconnoissance party. The men of the other companies had full opportunity to watch the Texan Rangers under Colonel Rogers charging valiantly upon Fort Robinett. Suddenly orders came to General Hubbard to support a battery on his right front, and as suddenly the battery was seen to be captured, and the whole line of Union soldiers at right and left of it was broken and scattered under a terrific charge from the enemy. A scene there was never to be forgotten, rising as vividly now before my mind as on the historic morning of October 4th, 1862.—Union soldiers from battery and from infantry rushing wildly across the square, at the opposite side from the railroad track along which was deployed the Fifth, and the Confederates soon appearing in hot pursuit. We were no more than three hundred feet from the enemy, who, seemingly not noticing us, continued to thicken their line and hasten across the square, with the apparent intent of reaching at once the center of the town. Colonel Hubbard had no orders, but his cool-headedness and quick intelligence were equal to the emergency. He ordered his men into line. I see them now, a straight line, reaching across the square, parallel to the railroad tracks, facing the onrushing enemy at the upper end of the square, rifles clinched in firm hands awaiting anxiously the order to fire. Nor did the order come in a hurry. Colonel Hubbard, under perfect self-control, waited until the line of the enemy had strung itself fully across the square, until opposite every rifle of the Fifth there were Confederates to be stricken down. Then rang out the order,—aim, fire! And the Fifth aimed and fired. The effect was tremendous, instantaneous. The Confederates fell, staggered, turned back. The Fifth, the brandishing sword of Colonel Hubbard leading the way, hastened in pursuit. Chased and chasers disappeared from the square. Beyond, other Union regiments, rallying from the confusion into which the Confederate charge had at first thrown them, fell in

with the Fifth. The rout of the enemy was complete. The victory was ours.

The Fifth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers saved the day. It hurled back the enemy, who otherwise would have occupied the town and given battle from the rear to the Union forces engaged in the defense of its outer posts, and would certainly have made the victory their own. Had not the Fifth been so admirably handled, the enemy was triumphant, the Union forces were made prisoners or were scattered in the flight, and Corinth was lost to the Stars and Stripes.

One day in the nineties, in Washington, I was with General Rosecrans. The battle of Corinth was the theme of our conversation. "Tell me, General," I said, "do you recall the Fifth Minnesota Regiment?" He replied: "How could I forget it? It saved the day at Corinth." General Rosecrans' memory of the part taken by the Fifth was as mine, that, without the Fifth, Corinth was lost.

In his official report of the battle, General Stanley said, so far as I now recall his words, "Few regiments engaged on the 4th did so much effective killing as the gallant Fifth Minnesota."

In his paper General Hubbard is right when he tells of what most likely would have happened if we had lost Corinth. Van Dorn from the southwest and Bragg from the northeast would have joined their forces, and the Middle West, so important as a strategic ground to both armies, so warmly disputed by both, was lost to the Union.

Now what gave to the Fifth the victory was, apart from the never-to-be-doubted bravery of the soldiers, the cool-headedness of Colonel Hubbard, his alertness of calculation, his splendid military grasp of the situation in all its bearings, his personal pluck and daring. Those elements in the victory are not mentioned in his paper; they are veiled beyond transparency in his description of the action of the Fifth. Am I not right in criticising my old-time colonel? General Hubbard is too modest, too unwilling to tell facts when they bear on his personal record.

Modesty in telling of his personal merits and achievements was always a fault with Gen. Lucius F. Hubbard. It was his fault during the war; it has been his fault since the war. Were it not for this fault, the rewards meted out during his career should have been proportioned to his deserts.

General Mark D. Flower, also commenting on this paper, said:

Mr. President: Before the Council of this Society votes on Mr. Fairchild's motion to make General Hubbard's paper a matter of record, I crave its indulgence for a few minutes, that I may bear testimony to the conspicuous services of General Hubbard and his gallant regiment at a critical moment during this great battle when the tide was going against the Federal army, and when defeat seemed imminent.

It is a happy circumstance that Archbishop Ireland is here tonight, and, as an eye-witness of that sanguinary struggle, is able to bear testimony to the gallantry and timely effort of General Hubbard, who, seeing the Union lines waver and break under the fierce assault of an overwhelming force of the enemy, promptly and vigorously attacked and repulsed him, and enabled the severely pressed Union lines to be restored, and a glorious victory to be secured where defeat seemed certain.

Like the Archbishop, I, too, was an eye-witness. During this battle and the battle of Iuka, and for months prior, I was the personal orderly of General Rosecrans, the Commanding General, and in a position to see not only every movement of our own forces, but that of the enemy as well, and I therefore claim to be a competent witness. General Hubbard in his admirable paper has correctly portrayed the importance of the battle of Corinth, and the dire results that would have followed had the Union army been defeated.

At this period the Confederate General Bragg, with a large army, was operating in Kentucky, and threatening the occupation of Louisville, while the armies of Van Dorn and Price had been consolidated under the command of Van Dorn and concentrated at Ripley, Mississippi, forty or fifty miles south of Corinth. General Grant, in command of the Union forces of the district, including the army under Rosecrans, had so placed his troops that co-operation between the Rebel forces under Bragg, in Kentucky, and Van Dorn, in Mississippi, was impracticable. General Grant with a strong garrison was holding Jackson, Tennessee, fifty miles north of Corinth. General Sherman was at Memphis, and General Ord occupied Bolivar, Tennessee.

With Rosecrans at Corinth, Grant at Jackson, Ord at Bolivar, and Sherman at Memphis, these parts of the Federal army covered a large territory and were sufficiently distant from each other to render a sudden attack upon either of them possible without ready co-operation. The most effective system of scouting possible, to watch the movements of the enemy and to permit co-operative effort by the Union generals, was inaugurated; but the Union lines were so extended that grave fears of a sudden attack upon some one of the positions could not be dispelled. Under the circumstances Van Dorn with his 40,000 veterans was a constant menace, and his maneuvers were so arranged that the Federal forces were equally threatened at Corinth, Jackson and Bolivar, while his real objective was unknown.

The situation prevented concentration of the Federal forces at any one point without abandoning the other two, at the same time giving up the line of railway upon which the army depended for its supplies. Van Dorn, crafty and able as he was, realized the situation and slowly advanced in a way to threaten equally the several Union garrisons. Such was the situation when, by a rapid movement during the previous night, he furiously attacked Rosecrans' outpost at Chewalla on the morning of October 3rd. The country between Chewalla and Corinth was so densely timbered that flank movements by the enemy were slow and difficult.

The outpost slowly retired on the main army at Corinth, but every inch of the ground was stubbornly contested. At the close of the day their retreat covered nine weary, blood-stained miles from Chewalla to Corinth. It had been a day of orderly retreat in front of a vastly superior force, with furious charges by the heavier columns and gallant and effective resistance by the weaker. Both armies rested upon their arms during the night, with here and there the shifting of forces on either side to strengthen positions. Before daylight the enemy began a fierce assault with artillery, and the shrieking of shells among our troops in the darkness was appalling.

The main and final assault of the enemy began on the 4th about 9 A. M. A desperate charge along our entire front by an overwhelming force was met by a destructive fire from our entrenchments, our batteries being especially effective. The advance of the enemy was most determined, and, while generally resisted with

the greatest courage, our right center was broken and scattered. The enemy, following up his advantage, was pushing a strong force through the opening, and would soon have struck the remaining line on flank and rear, which would have proven most disastrous, probably resulting in humiliating defeat. At this most critical moment Colonel Hubbard, whose regiment was held in reserve near the point of the great and threatening calamity, with that cool courage that has ever distinguished him, hurled his regiment into the deadly breach, and with murderous fire arrested the victorious enemy, who staggered and fell back. The Union line was again formed, with the aid of other tropps the advantage was followed up, and the enemy began a precipitate retreat from this part of the field.

Immediately following this success on our right center, our forces on the extreme left repulsed, with great slaughter, the attacks upon that part of our lines, and a disastrous rout of the enemy quickly followed.

The defeat of the Confederate army at Corinth was very disheartening to the Rebel cause. Bragg not only realized that cooperation between the Confederate forces in Mississippi and Kentucky was impossible, but that the victorious Union forces under Grant might be hurled against him, bringing a greater disaster, and he lost no time in retreating south. It is therefore apparent that the Union victory at Corinth was far reaching in importance, and that the result was largely due to the gallant conduct of our own General Hubbard and his brave and dashing Fifth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry.

Archbishop Ireland is right in his statement that General Hubbard has been too modest in giving his own peerless record in this battle and it is fortunate for this Society and the people of Minnesota that two eye-witnesses of the great event are here to give testimony that will brush away the diffidence and modesty which have characterized his reference to himself, thus helping to preserve his gallant and especially important service for future generations to revere and honor at its true value.

Following is the official report of Colonel Hubbard, commanding the regiment in the battle of Corinth:

"Headquarters, Fifth Regiment Minnesota Volunteers,
"Near Ripley, Miss., October 9, 1862.

"COLONEL: I have the honor to submit the following report of the part sustained by the Fifth Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the engagements at Corinth, Miss., on the 3rd and 4th instant:

"On the morning of the 3rd instant the regiment moved with the brigade from camp near Kossuth toward Corinth, but by order of Colonel Mower, commanding brigade, was halted at the bridge across the Tuscumbia river, on the Corinth road, with orders to hold the bridge and guard its approaches until further notice. I occupied this position until dark of that day, when I received an order, through Lieutenant McGrorty, acting aide to Colonel Mower, to move my command into Corinth. I arrived about 8 P. M., having seen no enemy during the day. That night the regiment was assigned a position by Brigadier General Stanley near and parallel to the Mobile and Ohio railroad, fronting toward the west, the left resting near the depot. The night was passed in the latter position, the men lying on their arms.

"We were aroused before dawn on the morning of the 4th by the discharges of the enemy's guns and the bursting of his shells in the immediate vicinity of where we lay. One man of my regiment was quite severely wounded here by a fragment of a shell. At about 9 A. M., I was ordered by General Stanley to deploy one company as skirmishers into the edge of the timber toward the front and right, in obedience to which Company A was sent forward, under command of Capt. J. R. Dartt. A few moments later the advance of the enemy along our entire line was made. I soon observed that the part of our lines running from near my right toward the rear was giving way and that the enemy was rapidly gaining ground toward the town. I immediately changed front, moving by the right flank by file right, and took position at right angles to my former one. The movement was but just completed when I was ordered by General Stanley, through Major Colman, to support a battery, which had been in position about 400 yards toward the front and right,

but which was being driven from the field. I moved by the right flank at double-quick a distance of perhaps 200 yards. By this time the battery mentioned had retired from the field entirely. Captain Dee's Michigan battery, occupying the crest of a ridge near the Mobile and Ohio railroad toward the left, had been abandoned and had fallen into the hands of the enemy, our line for the distance of several hundred yards had been repulsed, became scattered, and was rapidly retreating. The enemy in considerable numbers had already entered the streets of the town from the north and was pushing vigorously forward. His flank was presented to the line I had formed, which exposed him to a most destructive fire, and which the Fifth Minnesota delivered with deadly effect. After receiving and returning a number of volleys the enemy began to fall back. I then moved forward in line at a run, pressing hard upon the enemy, who was now flying in great confusion. I moved on outside the town and halted on the crest of a ridge to the left of and on a line with the fomer position of the battery I was ordered to support, regaining meantime possession of the abandoned guns of the Michigan battery. The enemy continued his retreat under a galling fire from our guns and the artillery of the forts on the left until lost sight of in the woods in our front, where he re-formed and again advanced in considerable force. I at once opened upon him a hot fire, which with the fire from along the line upon my right, which had now rallied and was re-forming, arrested his progress and soon drove him back under cover of the timber.

"About forty prisoners fell into our hands, and large numbers of killed and wounded marked the line of the enemy's retreat.

"The regiment expended near fifty rounds of ammunition per man.

"I feel authorized in referring especially to the coolness and courage of the officers and men of my command and their general good conduct during the action.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"L. F. HUBBARD,

"Colonel, Commanding Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry."

II.

MINNESOTA IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF VICKSBURG, NOVEMBER, 1862, TO JULY, 1863.*

The recent dedication, on May 24th, 1907, of the imposing memorial erected by the State of Minnesota in the National Military Park at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in commemoration of the valor of her sons who participated in that notable campaign of the Civil War, seems a fitting occasion to recall to mind in some detail the events of that campaign in which our Minnesota soldiers bore a more or less conspicuous part.

The highly interesting and important as well as the unique and thrilling features of the campaign that culminated in the capture of Vicksburg by its surrender July 4th, 1863, and the consequent release from embargo of the Mississippi river, have been many times related in the volumes of literature that have had Vicksburg for their subject. It would therefore be difficult to offer anything fresh in a general treatment of the campaign; hence it is the purpose, as indicated, of this sketch rather to seek to illumine somewhat the special incidents and events in which Minnesota organizations became important factors. A hasty outline of the more important movements, however, is necessary to give to the special events herein narrated a proper and intelligible relation to the campaign as a whole.

The capture of Vicksburg and the Union victory at Gettysburg, occurring on the same date, mark the turning point in the progress of the great war. In the one case the Confederates experienced an utter extinguishment of their hope to ever gain a substantial footing on Union territory, and in the other they suffered an irreparable disaster in the permanent severance of their own.

In substantial and tangible results, as also in its moral effect, the capture of Vicksburg, viewed from a military standpoint, was probably the most important single event of the war, occurring

*Read by Gen. L. F. Hubbard at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 9, 1907.

MINNESOTA STATE MONUMENT,
VICKSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

prior to the final surrender of the Confederate armies. The immediate material gain to the Union cause, in the acquisition of Vicksburg, was the elimination of a large Confederate army as a factor in the fighting force of the enemy, with its loss of a mass of valuable army material, and the release of large Union forces for service elsewhere; but aside from this, and perhaps more important in its influence on subsequent operations, it immensely strengthened the strategic position of the Union cause in the valley of the Mississippi. It gave to the country undisputed control of the navigation of the Mississippi river throughout its course, thus cutting the territory of the Confederacy in two, and practically isolating a vast area from whence the enemy had drawn, in men and supplies, a large proportion of their sinews of war. Many victories on other fields could not have compensated the Confederates for the loss they sustained and the disadvantages they suffered by the capture of Vicksburg. It was a stunning blow delivered in a vital part, its weakening effect being manifest in the subsequent desperate efforts of the Confederacy to save its cause from early collapse.

The moral force this event added to the cause of the Union cannot, of course, be estimated or stated in terms, but the consciousness of every patriot in the North was made to realize the substantial stride towards final success achieved by this great victory of the Union arms. It stimulated the heart and heightened the morale of every army battling for the preservation of the Union. Where it did not silence it smothered for a time the croakings of the disloyal element in the North, and, by the consequent more cheerful acquiescence in the measures of the government, added materially to its resources for the further prosecution of the war.

Like most substantial achievements in warfare, the great success won at Vicksburg cost heavily in the lives of our soldiers, in prolonged and persistent effort, and in the expenditure of military resources. The successive failures of the several efforts in the early stages of the campaign, to effect a lodgment from whence effective offensive operations could be inaugurated against the fortifications of Vicksburg, created the belief in many minds that the practical isolation of the position on the frowning crests of its inaccessible bluffs was an assurance of its immunity from suc-

cessful attack; and when the genius of General Grant, by means of his bold and original strategy, secured such a lodgment and the position still failed to yield after successive assaults made with a valor and determination unexcelled, it became apparent to every one that Vicksburg was a veritable Gibraltar that could only be reduced by the exhaustion of its garrison.

The Fourth and Fifth Minnesota regiments of infantry and the First Minnesota battery of light artillery participated in all the general movements, and in most of the expeditionary affairs covered by operations from the initial advance of the Union army under General U. S. Grant, through central Mississippi in November, 1862, to the surrender of the place, July 4th, 1863. As the army was finally organized the Fourth regiment, Colonel J. B. Sanborn, became a part of the First Brigade, Seventh Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, commanded by General J. B. McPherson. The First Battery, Captain W. Z. Clayton, was attached to the Third Brigade, Sixth Division of the same corps; and the Fifth Regiment, Colonel L. F. Hubbard, was a part of the Second Brigade, Third Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, commanded by General W. T. Sherman. The Third Minnesota Infantry, Colonel C. W. Griggs, participated in the siege of Vicksburg, reinforcing the lines of investment June 8th, 1863, as a part of Kimball's provisional division of the Sixteenth Army Corps.

Following the battle of Corinth in October, 1862, General Grant's army occupied the country it had recently so successfully defended in northern Mississippi and west Tennessee, being stationed at various points along the Memphis and Charleston, Mobile and Ohio and Mississippi Central railways. Since the close of the Corinth campaign, General Grant had in view a movement against Vicksburg through central Mississippi, and pursuant to well-considered plans had organized a movable column of 30,000 men, which were ordered to converge on the Mississippi Central railroad, along the line of which he proposed to penetrate the country southward towards his objective point. The movement began early in November, 1862, but its progress was delayed by the necessity of reconstructing the destroyed railroad along which the army was moving. Although the Confederates had a considerable

BRONZE STATUE OF PEACE,
MINNESOTA STATE MONUMENT.

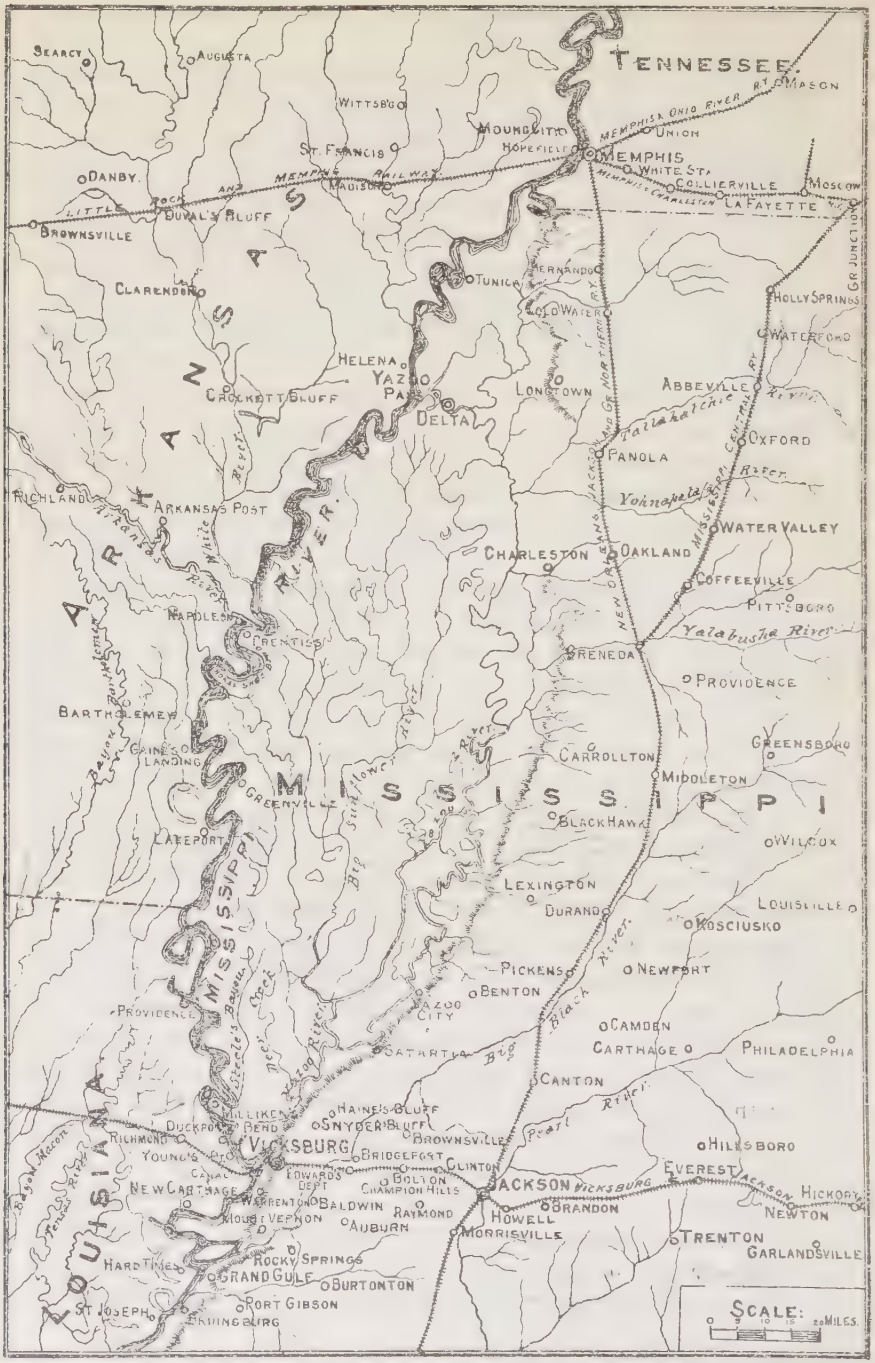
force in his front, composed largely of troops drawn from the Vicksburg garrison, under command of General J. C. Pemberton, General Grant's advance was not seriously disputed, except at the crossing of the Tallahatchie river, until he reached a point about twenty miles south of Oxford, Mississippi.

In the meantime General Sherman had been placed in command of a force about equal to that under the immediate command of General Grant, which left Memphis, December 19th, 1862, by way of the Mississippi river, under orders to operate against the immediate defenses of Vicksburg, it being assumed that the place would be found weakly garrisoned while General Grant held Pemberton's forces in his front. The fleet conveying Sherman's force had hardly passed beyond hail from its port of departure, before General Grant met with a distaster that so changed conditions as to stamp inevitable failure upon the combinations that seemed to have borne such promise of success. On the 20th of December a large column of Confederate cavalry under General Earl Van Dorn appeared in Grant's rear, captured Holly Springs, his depot of supplies, and after destroying the large accumulation of munitions and stores upon which the Union army depended for maintenance in its farther advance southward, moved north, destroying as it went the railroad and its equipment, which constituted General Grant's means of communication with his base. The dilemma thus created was solved by the suspension of further offensive operations and the gradual retirement of Grant's army to the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad. Meanwhile General Sherman, wholly ignorant of Grant's reverse, arrived in the vicinity of Vicksburg, and after reconnoitering the position moved to the Yazoo river and made a spirited assault upon the fortifications fronting Chickasaw bayou, near Haines Bluff, December 29th, 1862. He found, of course, the defenses strongly held, Pemberton's army having returned from confronting General Grant, and in consequence the assault wholly failed of its purpose, General Sherman retiring with a loss of 1,105 men killed and wounded and 743 prisoners.

The Minnesota troops in this campaign were with General Grant's column and as a rule with the advance command, but were required to perform but little serious work beyond the skirmish duty to which nearly all encounters with the enemy were limited.

At this period of the war there was a considerable element in the North that entertained serious doubts of the ability of the government to suppress the rebellion. Many sincere patriots had become discouraged, and the essentially disloyal, of whom there were not a few, were boldly predicting ultimate failure, and by their open treason greatly embarrassed the government and seriously added to its difficulties in dealing with the mighty problem before it. The complete failure of this movement gave added emphasis to the doubts of our friends, and to the doleful predictions of our enemies in the rear. Grant was much criticised for his failure, the administration was assailed, volunteering for the army was checked, and organized movements were promoted for giving aid and comfort to the enemy. The Army of the Tennessee, however, maintained its *esprit de corps,* and its commander his indomitable determination to prosecute the campaign until Vicksburg should be taken.

General Grant now assembled his force along the Mississippi river, initiating various schemes to obtain a foothold from whence he could effectively operate against his defiant enemy. One that gave promise of substantial result was an expedition sent through Yazoo Pass, an old channel much navigated in early days, connecting the Mississippi near Helena with the higher ground east of the river. The building of levees along the river had closed this channel, and since its disuse its bed had shallowed and become obstructed, and its shores to the water's edge had acquired a growth of timber and dense underbrush. The levee was cut and a fleet of light draft steamers conveying a bridge of troops, escorted by a detail of gunboats, was sent on the 24th of February, 1863, through Yazoo Pass on a sort of exploring expedition. Its progress was greatly impeded by the obstructions it met, yet it forced its way to the point where the Tallahatchie and Yallabusha rivers unite and form the Yazoo. Here was encountered a formidable Confederate earthwork mounting heavy guns. This work, named Fort Pemberton, being surrounded by water, could not be assailed by land and was too formidable to be reduced by the gunboats. The expedition was on its return when it was met by a reinforcement under General Quinby, who conducted the combined command back to the vicinity of Fort Pemberton. The conditions there revealed discouraged Quinby, and the fleet worked



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CAMPAIGNS OF VICKSBURG, 1862-63.

its way back with much difficulty and in a crippled condition to the Mississippi river.

The Fourth Minnesota was with this expedition, and the members of that regiment often recall and relate with great interest their thrilling experience in working their way through the intricate maze in which they became involved, and where at times they felt that they would become utterly lost. General Sanborn in referring to it said: "The force that went into the Yazoo Pass was in great peril, and the enemy ought to have captured it. It could not have been landed anywhere to operate, and there were many points where batteries might have been stationed by the enemy within their reach that would have rendered it impossible for the transports to pass."

Nothing daunted by the failure of the Yazoo Pass expedition, General Grant sought another route via the numerous waterways that traverse the country along the Yazoo bottoms, to a point that would give him a footing on the Mississippi mainland. With a considerable fleet of gunboats under Admiral Porter and sufficient transports to carry a division of troops, the latter under command of General Sherman, an effort was made about the 15th of March, by traversing parts of Steel and Black bayous, Deer creek, the Rolling Fork and Big Sunflower rivers, to reach a point some ten miles above Haines Bluff. This expedition became worse involved in the intricacies of its route and the dispositions made by the enemy to obstruct its progress than the one that failed via Yazoo Pass. At a critical period in its experience Porter had resolved to destroy his boats, as he feared they would become stranded and captured, but with the aid of the troops they were extricated, and the entire outfit went limping back to a point of safety.

While these efforts were in progress to reach a base east of the river similar efforts were put forth to utilize the bayous and rivers west of the Mississippi for a water route that would convey the army and its supplies to a point below Vicksburg on the Louisiana shore. The levees were cut at Lake Providence, seventy miles above Vicksburg, and some progress was made in opening a route through Bayous Baxter and Macon and the Tensas and Washita rivers. The impracticability of this project was soon demonstrated, and it may be referred to simply as an incident of the campaign.

But the enterprise that for a time gave the greatest promise of them all, and that is ever quoted as one of the features of the Vicksburg campaign, was the canal projected and nearly completed across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg. This work was prosecuted to a point where its utility would soon have become demonstrated by its practical use as a means of easy communication by water past the river fortifications of Vicksburg, when a sudden and almost unprecedented rise in the river caused the dam that had been constructed at the entrance for the protection of the work as it progressed, to give way and prematurely flood the canal. It was hoped notwithstanding this accident that the action of the water as it flowed through the excavated work might aid in securing a navigable channel, but the elements consistently maintained their unfriendly attitude in this case as in those of like efforts previously employed. The enemy had also by this time constructed a battery that commanded the outlet and a part of the southern course of the proposed canal, which no doubt hastened the determination to abandon the project.

There seemed to be a final alternative for a water route presented in the possibility of connecting the river, in its then high stage, with a succession of bayous that led to the river below, by the construction of a canal a few hundred rods in length from near Duckport, just above Young's Point, west via Willow or Walnut bayou, to New Carthage. This was undertaken with a somewhat subdued enthusiasm, though with a determination to exhaust all resources that offered a moiety of promise to evade a close contact with the formidable batteries or heavy guns that frowned along the river front of Vicksburg. This canal had almost reached a completed state, when the waters of the Mississippi began to recede and soon seemed to shrink with a rapidity that had characterized their previous propensity to swell, a condition that in a few days left the bed of this new canal above the level of the river. Many of the men engaged in this work were from states to the northward bordering the Mississippi, and were therefore familiar with the erratic habits and sometimes capricious conduct of the old Father of Waters. These men at the inception of the work had generally joined in the prediction that the very thing would happen that really came to pass, and the echo of

their unanimous "I told you so's" lingered long in the atmosphere of that locality.

The Fifth Minnesota furnished a large detail for daily service in excavating these canals. While the men performed this duty with a somewhat simulated cheerfulness, they exercised to some extent the great American prerogative that they had not yet surrendered, of expressing in trenchant terms their criticism of prevailing tactics in the prosecution of the war. Standing in the water up to one's knees and delving in the mud with a spade did not appeal to them as ideal soldierly duty, and the probable results, which seemed to them so clearly apparent, as hardly commensurate with the effort and sacrifice imposed upon them.

General Grant says in his Memoirs that he at no time entertained much hope that these several projects would result in substantial advantage in promoting the general objects of the campaign, but that they served the purpose of impressing the country with the idea that there was something doing at the front, and kept the army in a state of semi-activity which helped to maintain its morale. If the exact truth could be stated, I doubt if either of these objects were served to any appreciable degree by these operations. The health of the army was seriously impaired by the exposures to which the men were subjected. The locality generated all known species of malarial poisons. The camps, being on low ground, became thoroughly saturated by the heavy rains that for a time occurred almost daily, and as a consequence all the scourges to human life that accompany such conditions were an ever present enemy to be met. Even smallpox contributed its quota of horror with which the army had to deal. The death rate was excessive, and the floating hospitals along the river banks constituted a large percentage of the fleet that was held in the vicinity for army use. The levees, affording the only solid ground in which a grave could be dug, became thickly dotted with the simple wooden slab on which the name constituting the final record of some soldier was inscribed. Such conditions could not contribute to the hopefulness and cheer of men who were compelled to constantly confront them, and whose significance grew upon them day by day.

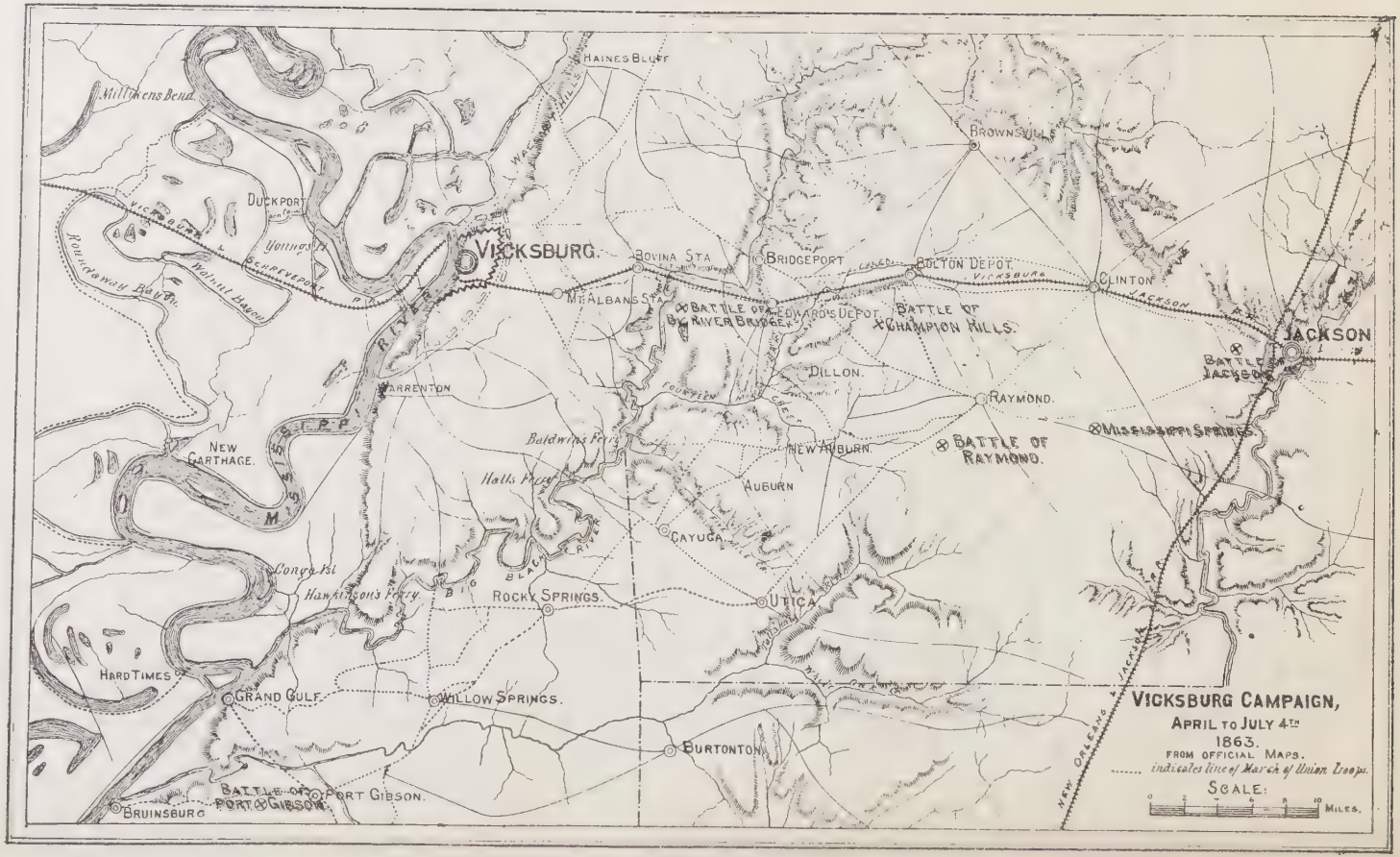
The gloom that has been noted as pervading the atmosphere throughout the North, following the failure of Grant's advance into central Mississippi, was in no degree dispelled by these added

failures of the campaign; indeed, at this period, the early spring of 1863, the depression throughout the loyal portion of the country was rapidly nearing a portentous climax. There seemed to be no silver lining to the clouds that hung heavy upon the horizon, and much sentiment prevailed in quarters where such thoughts could not have found lodgment earlier in the war, that peace should be made, even upon the basis, if necessary, of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

The familiar proverb, "It is always darkest just before the dawn," could hardly have been more fully exemplified than in the case presented by the conditions prevailing at this period. The dawn was at hand, and the premonitions of coming day possessed the consciousness of Union hearts throughout the country, when it was announced that the perilous and spectacular feat of running the gauntlet of the river batteries on Vicksburg's front had been successfully performed by a fleet of gunboats and transports on the 16th of April, 1863. A most perplexing feature of the unique problem confronting the Army of the Tennessee was thus solved. The means for supplying the army, and for its transfer between the banks of the river below Vicksburg, and for the protection of such operations, were thus provided, and were further in full measure assured by a second passage of a laden supply fleet a few days later. As was expected, these fleets were much damaged and some of the vessels composing them lost while in contact with the enemy's batteries, but a much larger proportion of them passed in a serviceable condition than seemed possible under the circumstances.

In this auspicious manner was inaugurated the movement that comprehended so much, that was to successively electrify the country by the rapid movements and bold strategy with which the enemy was bewildered, his army beaten in detail, isolated in detachments, and within a month its remnants sealed up as in a bottle within the intrenchments of Vicksburg.

In anticipation of the possible success of the effort to turn the flank of the river batteries, the Thirteenth Army Corps, commanded by General J. A. McClernand, had moved by land from Milliken's Bend, in an effort to penetrate the labyrinth of swamps, bayous, and dense thickets that lay across its path, in opening a route by which the army could reach the higher ground on the



MAP OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN, APRIL TO JULY, 1863.

river bank below. Its progress was exceedingly slow, as most of the distance made was at the cost of great labor in the construction of bridges and corduroy roadway. It was not until the 27th of April that McClernand had assembled his corps at Hard Times Landing, about forty miles below Vicksburg, and nearly abreast of Grand Gulf on the opposite bank, the latter point being occupied by an entrenched Confederate battery of heavy guns. It was assumed that this obstruction could be overcome without much delay, and on the 29th of April Admiral Porter attacked the work with his fleet of eight ironclads; but after a hot encounter of some hours duration, he was compelled to retire with his fleet considerably damaged and a loss of 18 killed and 56 wounded. Under this protection, however, the transport passed the battery, and the next day the men of the Thirteenth and a part of the Seventeenth Corps were transfered from the west to the east bank of the Mississippi at Bruinsburg, a few miles below Grand Gulf. These troops were at once pushed to the interior and on May 1st defeated a detachment of 8,000 Confederates at Port Gibson, Mississippi.

On the 29th of April, General Sherman with the Fifteenth Army Corps, still at Milliken's Bend, made a demonstration via the Yazoo river on Haines Bluff, which had the intended effect of holding a considerable part of Pemberton's army in the vicinity of Vicksburg, while Grant secured a foothold on the mainland fifty miles below. Sherman retired after executing his successful feint, and, following the route of the troops that had preceded him, joined Grant on the 7th of May.

The capture of Port Gibson made Grand Gulf untenable to the enemy. It was hurriedly evacuated, its guns and stores abandoned, and the position was immediately occupied as a temporary base for the Union forces.

General Grant was now on firm ground on the enemy's side of the river, and though as yet by no means near his goal, he could confidently hope to meet his antagonist under more nearly equal conditions than he had recently been compelled to confront. The advantage of position was still, however, plainly in favor of the Confederates. Pemberton had an army nearly equal to that under Grant's command, with ample supplies at his hand, and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was on his way from the east with considerable reinforcements, arriving at Jackson, Mississippi, a

few days following the fight at Port Gibson. The advantages of the enemy were, however, soon neutralized by the celerity of Grant's movements and the rapidity with which he dealt the enemy one crushing blow after another.

At Raymond on the 12th he met a force of 5,000 Confederates, sent out to obstruct and delay his movements. This he defeated and scattered. On the 14th he drove Johnston out of Jackson, beating his force of 10,000 men and capturing much of his artillery. On the 16th he met Pemberton in person with 25,000 men at Champion Hills, and, after inflicting upon him a loss of 3,000 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners and much of his artillery, sent him flying in confusion over the hills toward Vicksburg; and finally on the 17th, at the crossing of the Big Black river, he routed Pemberton's rear guard of 4,000 men, capturing a large part of the force with practically all its outfit. Following swiftly the line of the enemy's retreat, Grant was the next day in sight of Vicksburg, and immediately began an investment of the place.

During the period from the fight at Raymond on the 12th to the investment of Vicksburg on the 18th of May, so much depended on rapidity of movement and quickly executed maneuvers, that no time could be given to or thought expended upon efforts to maintain communication with his base, which Grant had established at Grand Gulf; nor was it desirable that his swiftly moving columns be encumbered with impedimenta that could be dispensed with. Ammunition the army must have, of course, but beyond provision for this first essential and a few ambulances to care for the wounded all wagons were cut out of the trains, communication with its base abandoned, and the army left to subsist on the country, aside from the two days' rations provided in the haversacks of the men. Thus the army found itself in the interior of the enemy's country, with its rear in the air, hostile forces on all sides of it, a battle occurring every day, and the last certain assurance of a full ration easily in sight. Though parts of the army may have suffered somewhat for lack of food, generally it was fairly supplied by what the country afforded, but in places along its line of march a crow would have starved following in its wake. It was this campaign in which it was said that General Grant's baggage consisted only of a toothbrush.

The Minnesota troops participated in these operations without suffering many casualties, though in all other respects bearing the burdens common to the army as a whole. The Fourth Regiment and First Battery were on the field at Port Gibson and Raymond, though not in action. At Champion Hills both were present, and the Fourth Regiment, as a part of the brigade commanded by Col. Sanborn, performed important duty under fire in carrying a difficult position on which a large body of prisoners were captured. At Jackson also these commands were present, but in reserve.

In the advance on Jackson the Fifth Regiment held the advance of the Fifteenth Army Corps, the entire regiment being deployed as skirmishers on the 13th and 14th of May. At Mississippi Springs, just at night of the 13th, it had a spirited encounter with the rear guard of the enemy that was retiring on Jackson. The regiment maintained its formation as skirmishers in advance of the column, until the entrenchments of the enemy were reached in front of Jackson, about 3 P. M. on the 14th. The Fifteenth Army Corps was here deployed in line of battle, and the Fifth Regiment with its proper command participated in the charge and capture of the enemy's line that followed. In the occupation of the town the Fifth Regiment was assigned to provost duty, having its bivouac on the grounds of the capitol square, and placing its regimental flag for a day on the dome of the capitol building of the capital city of Jefferson Davis' own state. During its brief occupation of Jackson the Fifteenth Corps destroyed railroads and their equipment, manufactories, and every species of property that could have value to the enemy; and on the morning of the 16th started on a hurried march towards Vicksburg, where it was assigned to the right of the line of investment.

The investment of Vicksburg had compelled the evacuation of the fortified positions of the enemy at Haines Bluff and along the Yazoo river, thus opening to Grant's army free communication with the Mississippi river above Vicksburg. This, of course, settled the question of his base and brought to the army all needed supplies.

Presuming that Pemberton's forces were considerably demoralized by their recent successive defeats, General Grant felt warranted in making an early attempt to carry Vicksburg by assault. This he did on the 19th of May, before a considerable part of his

army had come up. Here he encountered his first real failure in his recent operations. His repulse did not deter him from a second trial of like character. On the 22nd, his entire army being in position, the Fifteenth Army Corps on the right, the Seventeenth in the center, and the Thirteenth on the left, he ordered an assault all along the line. It wholly failed, the almost superhuman efforts of the army meeting a bloody repulse at all points.

The topography of the locality rendered Vicksburg naturally very strong as a defensive position, and to this advantage were added the most complete artificial works that experienced and accomplished military engineers could devise. Monster forts, connected by elaborate earthworks, crowned the heights of Walnut Hills, and impenetrable abatis of fallen timber guarded all approaches. General Sherman in his Memoirs says that he has since the war seen the fortified position at Sevastopol, and that, in his opinion, Vicksburg was much the stronger position of the two. Against such an impregnable position the devoted Army of the Tennessee was hurled with mighty force, only to find the task impossible and to recoil bleeding at every pore.

The Minnesota troops participated in this assault of May 22nd, and the Fourth Regiment especially suffered heavily in the loss of officers and men. After reaching a position near the hostile works the Fourth Regiment was ordered to move to the left, away from its proper front, to support other hard pressed troops, the latter then withdrawing, leaving the Fourth Regiment in an especially exposed position. Lieut. Colonel Tourtelotte in his official report said: "No sooner had we taken such position than General Burbridge withdrew his brigade from action under a direct fire from the fort in front and a heavy cross fire from a fort on our right. The regiment pressed forward up to and even on the enemy's works. In this position, contending for the possession of the rebel earthworks before us, the regiment remained for two hours, when it became dark and I was ordered by Col. Sanborn to withdraw the regiment." This work was done at a cost of 12 men killed and 44 wounded, many of the wounded remaining where they fell, suffering untold agony, until two days later, when the dead were buried and those yet alive were removed under a flag of truce.

The Fifth Regiment made its assault under circumstances that saved it from very serious loss. The broken nature of the ground in its front, with its entanglement of fallen timber and dense thicket, made it impossible to move in line of battle. The graveyard road, one of the main thoroughfares connecting Vicksburg with the adjacent country, passed through the position occupied on the line of investment by the brigade to which the Fifth Regiment belonged. It was determined to make the assault along this road, though it was commanded by a formidable earthwork and obstructed by *chevaux de frise*. The assault, therefore, must be made in column by the flank, the same formation as presented by troops in line of march. The Fifth Regiment was upon the left of the brigade, which brought it in the rear, or the fourth regiment in line. In this formation the old Eagle Brigade charged at a run along the graveyard road. As the leading regiment, the Eleventh Missouri, with General Mower at its head, emerged from the protected position behind which the formation had been made and became exposed to the enemy's view, it was met, and as it moved forward was as if melted down, by the fire in front and on both flanks that was concentrated upon it. Scarcely a man from the right of the regiment to its colors but fell, either killed or wounded. The heaps of dead and wounded men of themselves formed an obstruction difficult to surmount. Though a corporal's guard reached the ditch of the fort,—among them the color bearer, who placed his flag on the slope of the work,—it was evident that no considerable number could pass the deadly spot, and hence the order came to desist and seek cover, which was found among the ravines and behind the felled timber on either side of the road. There the men awaited the darkness of night to retire from their dangerous situation. The soldiers fittingly characterized this manner of assault as "charging endways," a most unusual evolution in battle.

The First Battery occupied an advanced position on the line of investment, where the effective operation of its guns was especially noted in the artillery practice preceding the assault, and subsequently during the arduous service of the siege.

The siege of Vicksburg followed these ineffectual efforts to capture the city. Pemberton with his army of 30,000 men was safely corralled within the defences of the city, where he could

easily be held, if left to his fate, until starved into surrender. A portentous danger, however, loomed up on Grant's rear. General Joe Johnston was on the line of the Big Black river with the force Grant had whipped at Jackson May 14th, considerably augmented by reinforcements which the Confederate authorities had hurried forward, and was soon likely to become as formidable as the Vicksburg garrison itself by the daily accessions it was receiving. Grant detached such force as he could spare and sent it under command of General Sherman to confront this danger that threatened his rear, in the meantime ordering forward such troops as were within his district in the north and calling on the government for reinforcements. From these resources Grant's army was soon increased to over 70,000 men, which placed him in a position to await events with reasonable equanimity. As has been noted, the Third Minnesota accompanied these reinforcements, and thereafter until the surrender performed efficient duty with the army confronting General Joe Johnston.

The Fourth and Fifth Regiments, with their brigades, were detached early in June for duty with an expedition sent up the Yazoo river, and at Satartia, Mississippi, on the 4th, and Mechanicsburg on the 5th, participated in actions of some importance which had for their purpose and secured the result of clearing that locality of a troublesome detachment of the enemy. The Fourth Regiment returned to the lines of investment, but the Fifth Regiment was sent with its brigade to Young's Point for duty in guarding the approach to Vicksburg from the Louisiana side of the river.

Apprehension was felt that an attempt might be made by the besieged enemy, aided by a force of Confederates that were assembling in the vicinity of Richmond, La., to escape by crossing to the peninsula opposite the city. In the performance of this new duty assigned it, the Fifth Regiment had a varied experience. On the 14th of June a movement was made against the enemy at Richmond, in which there was a spirited encounter, almost the entire action being limited to the operations of the Fifth Minnesota. The whole regiment was deployed as skirmishers covering a large part of the front of the advancing force. The enemy's skirmish line was encountered strongly posted a mile or more from Richmond. The regiment had become quite proficient in skirmish

duty, having had rather more than the average experience in that line of service, and in this instance, when ordered to charge while in this formation, made such a precipitate and vigorous onslaught that the entire skirmish line of the enemy was captured, uncovering the main force of the enemy, which had not yet made proper dispositions to receive our threatened attack. Our line of battle advancing rapidly caused the enemy to retire in much confusion, leaving evidence in our hands in prisoners, baggage, and munitions, of the almost complete surprise of our rapid advance.

As an aid in repelling an attempt by the enemy to escape from Vicksburg by way of the river it was determined, if possible, to erect some protected batteries behind the levee along the river front of the peninsula opposite the city. For obvious reasons this work had to be prosecuted at night, and a large detail was each night required to aid in these operations. The enemy soon "caught on," and one night when the Fifth Regiment was performing this duty the enemy opened fire with all his heavy guns that fringed the river front, concentrated upon the position held by the Fifth Regiment. The men crouched behind the levee, which at that point was high and wide, thinking, or at least hoping, that the rebels would soon tire of their somewhat random practice. But the enemy was evidently determined there should be no work done upon the batteries that night. The monstrous shot and shell from ponderous siege pieces plowed into the levee, covering us with earth, or screeched over our heads, cutting the trees in twain in our rear. The minutes grew into hours, and the hours lengthened interminably as the continuous fire was kept up, and during that whole mortal night, which it seemed would never end, the men lay there flattened out upon the ground behind that levee, none of them daring to hope they would be spared to see another dawn. Strange to say, but few men were injured. Most of the deadly missiles passed to the rear or buried themselves in the solid earth of the levee. Occasionally a shell would explode at a point from whence its fragments would wound some of the men, but the percentage of casualties to the amount of ammunition expended by the enemy was small. The horrors of that night, however, were sufficient to have made its victims prematurely gray, and I do not doubt that the thrills they experienced during its continuance remain in the consciousness of many of the men even to this day.

Further work upon these batteries was abandoned, but if they could have been completed they would have proven of but little use, as the garrison of Vicksburg was now starved and exhausted and ready to capitulate.

The survivors of Vicksburg have doubtless participated in many celebrations of our great national holiday since the war, but none of them have ever experienced the same degree of patriotic emotion that stirred their hearts when, on the morning of July 4th, 1863, it was announced to the army that Pemberton had surrendered and that Vicksburg was ours. Early in the day the Fifth Regiment was conveyed by steamer from its camp at Young's Point to the Vicksburg wharf, where they assumed for the day the freedom of the city. At the same time the Fourth Regiment marched with its division and at its head, from its position on the line of investment, into Vicksburg, where it was assigned, as a "post of honor" in recognition of its service in the campaign, to the duty of guarding for the time being the trophies of the capture. This event is fittingly commemorated by one of the beautiful battle scenes that now embellish the walls of the governor's room in the new capitol building of our state.

General John B. Sanborn, one of Minnesota's most distinguished soldiers, was conspicuously efficient in the performance of the difficult and arduous duties imposed upon him at various stages of the campaign. Though still colonel of the Fourth Regiment, he held the command of the First Brigade, Seventh Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, and for a time, during the illness of General Quinby, as senior colonel he commanded the Seventh Division.

In the complicated and perilous duties involved in the conduct of the Yazoo Pass expedition, General Sanborn performed signal service and won recognition for coolness, sagacity, and fertility of resource, in the extrication of his command from the maze of doubt and possible disaster in which that expedition became involved. In the battle of Champion Hills he gave evidence of the tactical ability that constituted one of his prominent qualifications for command. But in the assault of the 22nd of May his soldierly instinct was exemplified in a marked degree, in the manner in which he maneuvered his brigade under difficulties of an exceptionally trying character, acting much of the time on his

FOURTH MINNESOTA INFANTRY ENTERING VICKSBURG.

Copy of Painting in Governor's Reception Room, State Capitol.

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own initiative, as he was compelled to do, and finally withdrawing his men after an almost successful assault, through a succession of perilous situations, from dangers that threatened to overwhelm him.

General Sanborn won his promotion long before it came, but a tardy sense of justice finally moved the government, that in many instances during our Civil War showed an unaccountable lack of appreciation for the patriotic service that saved its life.

The great success won at Vicksburg established General Grant's reputation upon an enduring basis. Thereafter he became the foremost military figure of the Civil War. It was an instance that notably exemplifies the saying that "nothing succeeds like success." Had the campaign failed in its later stages, it would probably have made a record of disaster that makes one shudder to contemplate, and that would undoubtedly have materially prolonged the war. In his movement to the rear of Vicksburg via Grand Gulf, General Grant accepted the possible chance of bewildering the enemy by his bold strategy, and by celerity of action beating him in detail, at the same time risking what seemed to be the more probable chance of the enemy concentrating against and defeating him, with no line of retreat open to his army and no supplies within reach on which to subsist his men. Defeat under such conditions meant the capture or destruction of his army. General Sherman advised against the movement as in violation of the established rule of war, which prescribes that an army in an enemy's territory shall always maintain a base on which to fall back in case of disaster. The General in Chief at Washington (General Halleck) did not approve it, and sent Grant a peremptory order to abandon his plan and join General Banks at Port Hudson. This order was received by Grant after he had won his series of victories and was closing in on Vicksburg. Military critics have repeatedly demonstrated as beyond doubt, in their view, that Grant ought to have been whipped to a finish and his army destroyed. In their bewilderment doubtless Pemberton and Johnston felt disgust in a degree equaled by the old Austrian general as he characterized Napoleon's tactics in Italy: "He ought to have been beaten over and over again, for who ever saw such tactics? The blockhead knows nothing of the rules of war. Today he is in our rear, tomorrow on our flanks, and

the next day again in our front. Such gross violations of the established principles of war are insufferable."

In no campaign of the Civil War did Minnesota as a community have so vital an interest as in that of Vicksburg. When the rebellion blockaded the Mississippi river, Minnesota felt that the vital current in a main artery of her being had ceased to flow. She was restive under a sense of her isolation, until the barriers of that blockade were broken down; and a feeling of conscious rehabilitation, such as the invalid experiences when the bonds of his disease are broken, possessed all our people when President Lincoln proclaimed that "the Mississippi now flows unvexed to the sea."

It is a source of much gratification and pride to all our people to know that Minnesota was represented by her sons in that campaign to the extent of three regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery, and that they performed most effective work in all its main features. Minnesota paid her full share of the price this great achievement cost the country, and in recognition of the service of her sons in that most notable campaign, and as expressive of her gratitude and appreciation in that behalf, our state has recently erected an imposing memorial in the Vicksburg National Military Park.

NOTE.—General Sherman, in his Memoirs, gives the losses in men of the Vicksburg campaign as follows:

Union.	
Killed	1,243
Wounded	7,095
Missing	535
Total	8,873
Confederate.	
Surrendered at Vicksburg	32,000
Captured at Champion Hills	3,000
Captured at Big Black Bridge	2,000
Captured at Port Gibson	2,000
Captured with Loring	4,000
Killed and wounded	10,000
Stragglers	3,000
Total	56,000

The Fourth Minnesota lost 62 and the Fifth 18 in battle casualties during the campaign. The losses by death from other causes greatly exceeded these figures, especially in case of the Fifth Regiment, owing to its continuous service in the malarial localities in which its command was assigned to duty.

III.

MINNESOTA IN THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION, 1864.*

The Red River Expedition, measured by its results, was a conspicuous failure. The judgment of history, while according to most of the active participants therein most honorable mention, must impartially record the fact that the campaign of March, April and May, 1864, along the line of the Red river in Louisiana, and the collateral movements in southern Arkansas, wholly failed to accomplish the purpose for which they were undertaken.

The evident military purpose of the expedition was to eliminate rebel occupancy, so far as its organized and armed forces were concerned, from the trans-Mississippi territory. The capture of Vicksburg and the surrender of Port Hudson in 1863 had wrested from the Confederates their last stronghold in the Mississippi valley, and had effectually cut the Confederacy in two. The Mississippi river was wholly in possession of the Union forces, though its navigation was somewhat interrupted by small raiding bodies of the enemy that would occasionally seek to establish the pretense of a temporary blockade. There was no considerable force of the enemy in an organized form west of the Mississippi, except that under command of General E. Kirby Smith, whose headquarters were at Shreveport, on the upper Red river, near the border of Texas and Arkansas. This army was somewhat scattered, occupying detached positions in various parts of Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The destruction of this army, whose strength in the aggregate was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000 men, was the objective purpose of the campaign.

General N. P. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, though ambitious to identify himself with the general movement organized early in 1864 for an advance of the principal armies of the Union against the forces of the Confederacy, did not personally favor the idea of a campaign along the Red river. Secretary Stanton, however, believing that an elaborate campaign in the trans-

*Read by Gen. L. F. Hubbard at the Monthly Meeting of the Executive Council, November 11, 1907.

Mississippi states of the Confederacy would give promise of a considerable contribution to the aggregate of results hoped for from the general movement all along the line, ordered Banks to mobilize his forces for offensive operations.

Banks had at New Orleans and along the Gulf coast an army of considerable proportions, including a large force of cavalry. General Frederick Steele, at Little Rock, Arkansas, had in that vicinity a force of several thousand men available for the field. The plan of the campaign contemplated the co-operation of these two armies, the former to move up the valley of the Red river, and the latter southwesterly, their common objective being Shreveport, Louisiana.

General Grant's active army, that had taken Vicksburg and achieved other successes in the Mississippi valley, had largely been transferred to other fields, a large part thereof under General Sherman reinforcing the army at Chattanooga, Tenn. There was yet a considerable body of troops belonging to General Sherman's command remaining at Vicksburg, but they were mostly under orders to join the army concentrating at Chattanooga. Before the last of this force had moved, Banks asked Sherman for the loan of 10,000 men for thirty days to aid in the proposed expedition. Sherman, of course, was loath to part even temporarily with any of the troops that had served with him so long, but upon Banks' promise to relieve and return them at the end of thirty days, he detached two divisions of the Sixteenth and a detachment of the Seventeenth Corps for this duty. Could he have known that he would see these troops no more during the war, he would hardly have consented to the arrangement.

On the 10th of March, 1864, this force of about 10,000 men, under command of General A. J. Smith, embarked aboard transports at Vicksburg and moved down the Mississippi river, escorted by Admiral Porter's fleet of ironclads to the mouth of the Red river; thence up that stream and into the Atchafalaya river, to Simmesport, La., where the troops were disembarked on the 12th of March.

With this command was the Fifth Minnesota Infantry, commanded by Major John C. Becht, Colonel L. F. Hubbard being in command of the brigade to which it was attached. The Fifth Regiment was the only Minnesota organization participating in

MAP
ILLUSTRATING CAMPAIGNS
INCLUDING
RED RIVER EXPEDITION,
LOUISIANA,
AND
CAMDEN EXPEDITION,
ARKANSAS.
MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY,
1864
SCALE:
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
TEXAS
AUGUSTA
WHITE
JACKSON
ST. FRANCIS
CRITTENDEN
MEMPHIS
PERRY
YELL
SCOTT
PULASKI
SALINE
LITTLE ROCK
BROWNSVILLE
PRAIRIE
MONROE
DE SOTO
MONTGOMERY
HOT SPRINGS
GRANT
JENKINS FERRY
PINE BLUFF
ARKANSAS
PHILLIPS
HELENA
TUNICA
COAHOMA
PIKE
JEFFERSON
ARKANSAS POST
CLARK
DALLAS
MARKS' MILLS
NAPOLEON
BOLIVAR
SUN FLOWER
TALLAHATCHEE
HEMPSTEAD
WASHITA
CAMDEN
POISON SPR.
CALHOUN
DREW
BRADLEY
CHICOT
PT. CHICOT
GREENVILLE
LAKE CHICOT
LA FAYETTE
COLUMBIA
UNION
ASHLEY
WASHINGTON
SWAN L.
CLAIBORNE
UNION
MOREHOUSE
CARROLL
ISSAQUENA
YAZOO
CADDO
BOSSIER
SHREVEPORT
BIENVILLE
JACKSON
WASHITA
RICHLAND
FRANKLIN
MADISON
VICKSBURG
WARREN
HINDS
LOGGY BAYOU
DE SOTO
MANSFIELD
SABINE CROSSROADS
CAMPTI
PLEASANT HILL
WINN
TENSAS
GRAND GULF
NATCHITOCHES
GRAND ECORE
CATAHOOLA
CONCORDIA
GRANT
GLOUSTERVILLE
NATCHEZ
SABINE
CANE R. CROSSING
HENDERSON HILL
COTILE
ALEXANDRIA
MOORE'S PLANTATION
BAYOU ROBERTS
AVOYELLES
MARKSVILLE
FORT RUSSY
YELLOW BAYOU
MANSURA
MOREAUVILLE
SIMMESPORT
BAYOU DE GLAISE
RED RIVER LAND
RAPIDES
WEST FELICIANA
EAST FELICIANA
POINT COUPEE
ST. HELENA
TANGIPAHO
CALCASIEU
ST. LANDRE
OPELOUSAS

what is specially denominated the Red River expedition; but in operations following the expedition, and as a natural sequel to its failure, as will appear, the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Regiments, together with the Fifth, bore an important part.

There were several detachments of rebel troops occupying points along the Red river, and in adjacent territory, the most easterly point being Fort De Russy, about forty miles from its mouth, a casemated battery that commanded and blockaded the river. This work had been constructed for the purpose of controlling navigation on the river, and especially with reference to repelling attack by the ironclads of the Union navy that dominated the waters of the lower Mississippi and its tributary streams. It was a formidable work of its class, and would doubtless have successfully resisted any probable attack upon its river front, but from its rear or land approach it proved to be quite vulnerable. The appearance of A. J. Smith's force on the Atchafalaya was in the nature of a surprise to the enemy, and though thirty miles distant, at once suggested a probable movement on De Russy from the rear. The Confederate general, J. G. Walker, was at Fort De Russy with a division of troops, and General W. R. Scurry at a point favorable for observation near Simmesport, on the road leading to the fort, with a brigade. The latter was encountered on the morning of the 13th, but hastily retired and joined the larger force under Walker, who had advanced to a point on Bayou De Glaize, where he expected Smith would attempt to cross in his advance on De Russy.

Early on the morning of the 14th Smith maneuvered as if to force a passage at the point held by the enemy, but, hastily constructing a bridge across the bayou, some five miles east, from materials taken from a cotton gin and other structures in the vicinity, crossed the bayou, thus interposing his force between Walker and the fort before the enemy realized what was going on. Holding sufficient force in his rear to "stand off" or otherwise take care of Walker, Smith pushed forward a division of his command under General J. A. Mower, which rapidly advanced on De Russy, reaching its vicinity about 6 p. m. on the 14th. As soon as the proper dispositions could be made, Smith ordered an assault on the fort, which was made with the impetuosity and dash characteristic of the Sixteenth Army Corps, by its two leading brigades,

which, overwhelming all opposition, entered the work, capturing everything it contained within twenty minutes, with but slight loss to the assaulting force. The Fifth Minnesota was well to the front in this affair. The material results of this success were highly important, for, aside from the capture of the garrison and armament of the fort, about 350 prisoners and 10 heavy guns, was the removal of a formidable obstruction to the navigation of the Red river, the control of which was regarded by the Confederates as an essential factor in the scheme devised for the defense of the country. General Dick Taylor characterized the fall of De Russy as a disaster.

General Walker rapidly retired crestfallen into the interior of the country, and General A. J. Smith, leaving a force at De Russy to complete the destruction of the casemates, bomb-proofs and magazines of the fort, moved the two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps by steamers up Red river to Alexandria, where they arrived and occupied the place on the 16th of March, just as a considerable body of the enemy evacuated the town, leaving three pieces of artillery and a quantity of stores as evidence of their unceremonious exit.

General Smith's orders contemplated his junction with General Banks at Alexandria on the 17th of March. With characteristic promptitude Smith was on the ground one day ahead of time, but Banks, whose army was marching overland, had sent word that he would not be able to reach Alexandria until the 21st. Smith would not waste time waiting for anybody, and, having a suspicion that Banks might be delayed even beyond the 21st, he began to feel for the enemy, a formidable body of which he learned was concentrating under General Dick Taylor some miles west, on the road leading to Grand Ecore. General Mower, with the First Division, encountered General Taylor's advanced outpost, consisting of a regiment of cavalry and a battery of artillery, occupying a strong position at Henderson Hill, at the crossing of a bayou, that seemed quite unassailable from any possible front approach. The broken topography of the locality and its densely wooded character discouraged any attempt to turn the position. Mower, always fertile in resource, learned from an inhabitant of the country, whom he had impressed as a guide, of a long disused trail that led by a circuitous route of several miles to the road in rear of

the point held by the enemy. The guide had not been along this trail in several years, and he felt sure that it had now become obstructed by undergrowth, fallen timber and otherwise, to an extent that would render it impracticable for present use. In the midst of a storm that had prevailed all day, Mower, just at night, led three of his regiments into the mazes of this trail, where they found conditions as forecasted by the guide. The Fifth Minnesota was ever ready to follow Mower wherever he would lead, but after emerging, about daylight, from the labyrinths they explored that night in the rain and pitchy darkness, the boys felt that the climax of confidence, as well as of endurance, had nearly been reached. A few of the men became lost in the wilderness and did not find the way out until late the next day. The success of the movement, however, justified the undertaking. The enemy was encouraged by the hesitating attitude of the force yet remaining in his front, in the feeling of assurance that his position was unassailable. He had no intimation of this turning movement until surprised from the rear at early dawn. Mower had captured a courier soon after reaching the road, with dispatches that gave him the enemy's countersign and enabled him to reach the vicinity of the rebel camp without creating alarm. The enemy's force was captured without much resistance or any loss, and the entire Confederate outfit of a regiment of cavalry and a battery of artillery was proudly escorted under guard to Alexandria on the 22nd of March.

General Banks arrived at Alexandria on the 25th of March, eight days beyond the date appointed, and thus a large fraction of the time for which Smith's troops had been loaned to him was practically lost. The "Army of the Gulf," the designation borne by Banks' command proper, was composed of the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Army Corps, a column of several thousand cavalry, and a few detachments of other troops, comprising altogether about 20,000 men. Most of these troops had been doing garrison duty at New Orleans and along the Gulf for many months. The regiments as a rule had full ranks, and all were handsomely equipped. Their arms were of the most approved pattern, and their uniforms were new. The full dress of the officers included all the elaborate adornment the regulations allowed, and altogether it was the proudest army in bearing and appearance that had graced

the valley of the Mississippi during the war. Quite in contrast was the appearance of the Sixteenth Army Corps. Since its service in the trenches at Vicksburg it had been hurried from one campaign or expedition to another so rapidly that it had been given little opportunity to exchange its soiled and much worn uniforms for fresh ones, and as a consequence its *tout ensemble* was positively shabby in comparison. Proud, however, in its *esprit de corps,* the veterans of Corinth, Vicksburg and a score of lesser campaigns did not quail under the deprecating glances of its much bedecked allies, and accepted rather as a compliment than otherwise the designation of "Smith's Guerrillas," given them by the tony fellows of Banks' command.

The advance up the valley of the Red river from Alexandria began directly after the arrival of General Banks. General Smith's command, utilizing its fleet of transports, and escorted by Porter's ironclads, was conveyed by the river to Grand Ecore, where the Sixteenth Corps debarked April 3rd, the detachment of the Seventeenth Corps continuing up the river to the mouth of Loggy bayou, a point near Springfield Landing. On the 4th Hubbard's Brigade, with a detachment of cavalry, was sent against a force of the enemy posted at Compti, on the north bank of the river, a few miles above Grand Ecore. In this action the enemy was decisively defeated and driven in confusion into the swamps of the interior.

On the 7th Banks moved from Grand Ecore toward Shreveport, the Sixteenth Corps bringing up the rear. Banks had brought with him from New Orleans an enormous baggage and supply train. The men of the Sixteenth Corps declared that it was largely loaded with paper collars and linen dusters. It so encumbered the column that the Sixteenth Corps was not within supporting distance of the head of the column in the advance from Grand Ecore. Dick Taylor, however, soon relieved him of a large part of this train, and thereafter the relations between the front and the rear of the column were not so distant, and perhaps not quite so strained.

During the after part of the day of the 8th of April, the second day's march from Grand Ecore, a vague rumor came along the line of march that General Banks was having a fight far to the front, but nothing definite was learned of its character until, as we

went into bivouac that night at Pleasant Hill, thirty-eight miles from Grand Ecore, the intelligence reached us that he had met the main body of the enemy, under General Dick Taylor, at Sabine Cross Roads, and that he had been decisively defeated, losing heavily in killed and wounded and in prisoners, artillery and transportation. Could it be possible, we thought, that the magnificent army that had so dazzled our vision as it marched past our camp at Alexandria had been so soon brought to grief, overwhelmed and defeated? But the worst reports were soon confirmed in all their disastrous details by fugitives from the front, and by Banks' routed column as it retired in broken fragments to Pleasant Hill, with Dick Taylor hard upon its heels.

The Sixteenth Corps was ordered into line of battle at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 9th to check the advance of the enemy and to perform such duty in connection therewith as events might impose. Old A. J. Smith, with his "Guerrillas" in line, presented an obstacle that Dick Taylor could not brush from his path. His pursuit was arrested, and Banks' demoralized troops, hastily reorganized so far as possible, were placed in position to co-operate in resisting a further advance of the enemy. Taylor, intoxicated by his previous success, and having been reinforced with two divisions, made his disposition for attacking our line, presuming, doubtless, that he would repeat his achievement of the preceding day. Deluded man! If he could have looked into old A. J. Smith's face as he sat astride that black charger, and into the eyes of that line of veterans that had never been whipped, he might have read his fate, and by a timely movement to the rear have saved himself a most painful experience.

There was some desultory fighting during the early part of the day without material result. About 4 p. m. the enemy advanced in force and made a vigorous attack. It was easily repulsed with considerable loss to the enemy. Taylor, evidently astonished, and perhaps indignant, now massed his troops and threw them vehemently against our lines, determined to overwhelm them. Then followed some of the hardest fighting and bloodiest work, for the numbers engaged, of any battle of the war. Our troops stood as if rooted in their tracks. They could be killed, but they could not be driven. Our losses were heavy, but the slaughter of the

enemy was appalling. Again and again did Taylor assail our lines, and again and again was he repulsed. These repeated efforts and failures greatly weakened and disorganized the enemy, and made him finally an easy prey of General Smith, who now called into action a few regiments held in reserve, and, hurling his whole force with the energy of a cyclone against the now faltering foe, broke him in pieces. Defeated and utterly demoralized, Taylor's army retired in disorder toward Shreveport, leaving dead and wounded, prisoners and artillery in our hands.

The battle had extended into the night, and our exhausted army was in no condition to immediately pursue. We lay on the field where the fight ended, and sought such rest as was possible among the harrowing cries of the wounded as they were being gathered from the field where they fell. We were aroused at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, expecting, of course, to be sent in pursuit of the fleeing enemy. To our astonishment, however, as we filed into the road, the head of the column was turned to the rear, and we commenced marching as if for dear life in the direction from whence we had come. What could this movement mean? Were we dreaming? Were we the defeated instead of the victorious army, and were we fleeing from a pursuing force? This was not the kind of strategy in which the old Sixteenth Corps had been educated, and we were dumb with amazement. All but old A. J. Smith—he was quite the reverse. His indignation could not be restrained, and his profane characterization of the cowardly business seemed to give the atmosphere a sulphurous taint all the way to Grand Ecore. We learned subsequently that although our army had achieved a great victory at Pleasant Hill, yet Banks found, upon further investigation, that his New Orleans army had become so crippled by its defeat at Sabine Cross Roads that he was persuaded it was in no condition to aid in pursuing the enemy, and he therefore determined to retire to a defensive position and reorganize it. Smith protested. He offered to conduct the pursuit with the Sixteenth Corps alone. He could not consent to the disgrace of retreating from a victorious field; but Banks ordered the retreat, and Smith's ebullition of wrath thereat seemed to prematurely illumine the horizon as we marched to the rear on that early, frosty April morning. Dick Taylor, of course, expected to be vigorously pursued, and was therefore making a

forced march in the opposite direction. The situation presented the unique spectacle of two hostile armies running away from each other.*

General Banks' disaster at Sabine Cross Roads was largely due to his wagon train. The cavalry division, under General A. L. Lee, and a detachment of the Thirteenth Corps, under General Ransom, holding the advance, encountered the enemy in force at the Cross Roads, about five miles from Mansfield, about 1 P. M., April 8th. The enemy's attitude and movements indicated a purpose to resist Banks' further advance, and about 4 P. M., General Banks having come up and assumed command, the enemy, in superior force, made a determined attack under which Banks' forces recoiled and were thrown into some disorder. In their attempt to retire to a position where a new line could be formed, and where they would meet reinforcements then on the way to the front, they found the way blocked by a confused mass of wagons and reserve artillery, which for a long distance occupied the road. This necessitated the abandonment of the artillery on its way to the rear, and presented a condition that spread demoralization throughout the entire force. Dick Taylor, of course, captured

*General A. J. Smith, in his official report, says: "About 12 o'clock on the night of the 9th I received orders from General Banks to have my command in readiness to move at 2 o'clock in the morning, and at that hour to withdraw them silently from the field and follow the Nineteenth Army Corps back to Grand Ecore, making such disposition of my troops and trains as would enable me to repel an attack on the rear of the column. I represented to him that the dead of my command were not buried, and that I had not the means of transporting my wounded; that many of the wounded had not yet been gathered in from the field; and asked of him permission to remain until noon the next day to give me an opportunity to bury my dead, and leave the wounded as well provided for as the circumstances would permit. I also urged the fact that General Thomas Kilby Smith's command, then thirty miles above us on transports in the river, would undoubtedly be captured and the transports lost if left to themselves. The permission to remain, however, was refused, and the order to move made peremptory. I therefore provided as well as possible for the wounded, left medical officers to attend them, and moved at the designated hour, following the Nineteenth Corps. We reached Grand Ecore on the evening of the 11th, no attack on the rear having been made by the enemy, and went into camp. On the evening of the 13th, nothing having been heard from a portion of our transports, save that they had been attacked with infantry and artillery on both sides of the river, I marched up with two brigades of my command on the north bank of the river to help them through if possible. We reached Compti, twelve miles above, the same night, and met a portion of the fleet there, they having by energy, good judgment and rare good fortune succeeded in running the batteries and land forces of the enemy without the loss of a boat, though some were completely riddled with shot."

everything on the road and large detachments of troops on either side of it in his vigorous and eager pursuit.*

Some five miles from the field of battle the Nineteenth Army Corps was met in position to check Taylor's advance. This corps in its turn was pressed so hard by the enemy that it retired to Pleasant Hill during the night of the 8th.

There was much controversy as to who was responsible for the presence of this wagon train so near the front. It was never settled in a satisfactory manner except to the boys of the Sixteenth Army Corps. The theory they established in the case was that Banks' tactics contemplated its use for skirmish and scouting duty.

The army retired to Grand Ecore, where it was ordered to entrench. The detachment of the Seventeenth Corps that had remained on the transports and had moved some thirty miles up the river from Grand Ecore, found itself, by reason of Banks' retreat in a perilous situation. Orders had, of course, been sent for its retirement down the river, but it was beset by the enemy in force on both its banks. General Smith, with two brigades, marched to its relief, and on the 14th the command reached Grand Ecore in good condition save the transports, which had been much damaged by the enemy's artillery.

If General Banks had at any time after his retirement to Grand Ecore entertained a determination to still pursue the purpose of the campaign, and thereby attempt to retrieve himself, the reappearance of the enemy in force in his vicinity seems to have persuaded him otherwise, for on the 22nd of April his army moved out of Grand Ecore on its farther retreat down the valley of the Red river toward Alexandria. The Sixteenth Corps, which had moved on the 20th to Natchitoches, a few miles southeast, was ordered to follow, and the duty assigned it to keep the enemy at

*General Banks, in his official report, says: "The fatal consequences of this most incautious advance of trains and artillery were apparent upon the breaking of our lines in front of the enemy's position. Upon the retreat of the advance guard the enemy instantaneously enveloped the train of wagons, and it was impossible to withdraw the artillery in consequence of the preoccupation of the ground by the wagons, and the encumbered roads impeded the movements of troops and caused many prisoners to fall into the hands of the enemy. The disasters of the day are to be attributed to the fatally incautious advance of the large cavalry train and the surplus artillery, rather than to the strength of the enemy, his unexpected resistance, or the deficient valor of our troops."

bay and protect Banks' rear. It had the rear of the column in the advance up the valley, and it held the rear in the retreat out of it; but in the latter movement it was the post of danger and of honor. Dick Taylor's army, now reorganized and largely reinforced, and its spirit revived by our retrograde movement, assumed a vigorous offensive and harassed our rear at almost every step. We were often compelled to halt, form line of battle and drive him back, and thereby gain time for Banks to make headway down the valley. Before we fairly got away from Grand Ecore we repelled a fierce attack made by the enemy in force, and again at Cloutierville, a few miles east, a like movement of the enemy was met in like manner. Some part of Smith's command was constantly in line of battle during the five days and nights occupied in the retreat to Alexandria.

Banks met no enemy in his front except at Cane River, where he found the Crossing held by the enemy in considerable force, with batteries occupying a strong position on "Monett's Bluff," which commanded the position. While maneuvering to flank this position, he sent an order for reinforcements from the Sixteenth Corps to come to his aid. General Mower with two brigades was about to be hurried to his relief, when General Smith, being himself then engaged in a spirited fight, concluded they might be needed where they were, and declined to comply with the order. In the meantime the flank movement referred to, aided by a front attack, had succeeded in dislodging the enemy. It was a sharp affair, entailing considerable loss to both sides.

We arrived at Alexandria on the 26th, nearly worn out by our continuous day and night duty in marching, skirmishing, and fighting. In all the operations herein noted, the Fifth Minnesota took an active part. From the battle at Pleasant Hill, where it held with Hubbard's Brigade the right of the line of the Sixteenth Army Corps, until it arrived at Alexandria, it was in every affair in which its division participated, and performed its full duty, as Minnesota soldiers always did throughout the war, with courage and efficiency.

General Frederick Steele's column of about 10,000 men, afterward somewhat reinforced, that moved from Little Rock, March 23rd, for the purpose of co-operating with General Banks, failed

to render any essential service in the campaigns, except to divert a considerable force of the enemy that would otherwise have confronted General Banks. Viewed from this standpoint, Steele's operations may not be regarded as wholly a failure, but from any other point of view his efforts were wholly futile in promoting the objects of the campaign. Steele's experience was in its leading features similar to that of General Banks, except that he did not lose a general engagement. As he was to traverse a country that could furnish but a limited amount of supplies, he necessarily took with him a very large supply train, and, as in the case of General Banks, this proved his undoing. The most southerly point he reached in his advance toward Shreveport was Camden, Arkansas, on the Wichita river, about one hundred miles from Little Rock, which he reached on the 15th of April. He had several minor actions in his advance southward with detachments of the enemy under the general command of General Sterling Price, in which no material advantage resulted to either side. In his efforts while at Camden to renew his depleted supplies for further operations Steele sent out a large forage train on the 17th, consisting of some 225 wagons, with an escort of 1,500 men and four pieces of artillery. Near a point known as Poison Spring, about ten miles from Camden, this detachment was attacked by a superior force of the enemy under General S. B. Maxey, and the entire train with a large part of the escort was captured after a spirited fight. Again on the 25th a train of 240 wagons with a large escort, on its way from Camden to Pine Bluff for supplies, was attacked by a considerable force of the enemy under General J. F. Fagan at Marks Mills, on the Saline river, and met with a similar fate; all the wagons, about 1,000 prisoners, and a battery of artillery, falling into the hands of the enemy. This loss of nearly 500 wagons, with their animals, left Steele in a badly crippled condition for means of transportation. He had but about 150 wagons left, and these in large part rendered useless by reason of the condition of the animals, which had been on short rations of forage for many days.

About this time General Steele received definite advices of General Banks' disaster at Sabine Cross Roads, and of his subsequent retreat down the valley of the Red river. Cummunication between Banks and Steele had been much interrupted by the cap-

ture of couriers that had been sent with dispatches, and each was in doubt much of the time as to the situation of the other in their respective fields of operation. General Steele, being persuaded that it was too late to aid Banks, even if he should be able to join him, and that his situation at Camden was becoming desperate for want of supplies, and assuming also that he would soon be confronted by much of the force that had lately opposed Banks, considerable detachments having already appeared in his rear, concluded to abandon the campaign and retire to Little Rock. On the 26th, therefore, he commenced his retrograde movement, which soon assumed the aspect of a race between his army and the enemy for Little Rock. On the 29th he reached Jenkins Ferry on the Saline river, where, delayed in his crossing by reason of a swollen river and flooded approaches, he encountered the concentrated forces of the enemy with General Kirby Smith in command. Here he had a fight which assumed the proportions of a battle, which he practically won, and succeeded in crossing his army, though he was compelled to abandon in the muddy bottoms much of his remaining wagon train and many of his wounded on the field where he had fought. Steele won the race and reached Little Rock on the 2nd of May. Thus ended what is specially designated in the records of the war as the "Camden Expedition," and which resulted in failure equal in character, if not in degree, to that of the main movement up the valley of the Red river.

Banks' army remained at Alexandria until the 13th of May, detained there by the gunboat and transport fleet, which was unable to pass the rapids in the river at that point, by reason of the recent shrinkage in the stage of water in the channel. It was feared for a time that the fleet must be destroyed as an alternative to its abandonment to the enemy, but the celebrated engineering feat conceived and superintended by Colonel Joseph Bailey, of Wisconsin, which, by means of wing dams, similar in principle to those utilized in recent years to improve the navigation of the upper Mississippi, resulted in giving a depth of water on the rapids sufficient to float the boats to the channel below. This delay gave the enemy time to concentrate in the vicinity, and opportunity to harass and attack our lines. Banks' supplies, particularly for his animals, became reduced to an extent that compelled the army to attack and drive the enemy back at several points,

for the sole purpose of occupying localities where corn and forage could be obtained with which to feed the mules. In the course of these operations we had sharp engagements at Moore's plantation and on Bayous Robert and La Mourie, besides many skirmishes of which no record was made. Indeed, hardly a day passed that we were not in some form under fire.

On the 13th of May the last boat of the fleet passed the rapids, and on the morning of the 14th the army was put in motion for its final exodus from the Red River country. But our pathway was not to be a smooth one; indeed, we found it strewn with thorns. Dick Taylor, concluding this would be his last chance at us, evidently determined to make the most of it. He had possession of the roads on which me must march. He gave us but little trouble, however, except to harass the column and delay its movement by an occasional show of force, until we reached Marksville, a little French village some twenty-five miles from Alexandria, where we bivouacked on the night of the 15th. Here he made a stand and essayed to dispute our farther progress. Banks' entire army was called to arms before daybreak of the 16th to repel a threatened attack. It did not develop into anything serious, but daylight disclosed to us Taylor with a large force, strongly posted in a body of timber that crossed at right angles the road we must take in our farther progress out of the country. Clearly he was intending to fight. That had been our daily occupation for so long a time that we accepted the duty imposed by the condition presented as quite a matter of course. The approach to the enemy's position led across cleared and level ground that gave an unobstructed view from both flanks of the army. The deployment and advance of that line of battle on that clear and balmy May morning was a most inspiriting spectacle. The flashes of fire from the enemy's artillery and the bursting of shells along our front, together with the responsive volleys from our batteries, gave life and force to the picture. Viewed from the enemy's position, it must have been a most animated and impressive scene. We did not, however, linger to give Taylor time to photograph the picture, or rather, Taylor did not linger to improve the opportunity, for his line gave way under our determined onset, and the way was made clear for our columns to pass. Taylor retired on a road that led to the right, pressed moderately by a column

of our cavalry, while Banks, with full regulation step, made remarkably good time towards the Mississippi river.

There was no more enemy in front, so the Sixteenth Corps again brought up the rear. Taylor had not been so badly whipped but that he was able to give us trouble before we had completed the day's march, and, as we bivouacked at night, he saluted our camp with shell from his artillery. Before the column got fairly started on its march on the morning of the 17th, Taylor opened upon us with several guns at long range. A detachment of Smith's command was detailed to entertain him while the column was getting stretched out upon the road. It moved back in line of battle perhaps a mile, the enemy retiring to a favorable position, where he made a stand. A few rounds from our batteries, followed by a spirited charge, resulted in the rout of the enemy. This maneuver had to be repeated twice during the day's march, but at night we reached Yellow bayou, near the Atchafalaya, across which Banks' forces were moving. We were required to remain here most of the following day, waiting for Banks, with his *impedimenta*, to get across the Atchafalaya river. About noon the irrepressible and omnipresent Dick Taylor came down upon us for a last salutation. Smith's entire command was ordered into line, and, with one of the prettiest fights of the campaign, we wound it up, if not in a "blaze of glory," certainly with infinite credit to "Smith's Guerrillas." Taylor was handsomely whipped and troubled us no more. We reached our fleet at the mouth of Red river on the 21st, and, embarking, lost no time in steaming northward. General Banks, with his army of the Gulf, marched down the bank of the Mississippi in the direction of New Orleans.

It goes without saying, that our contingent of the army was a happy lot of veterans when it realized that it was done with that expedition. We were proud of our contribution to its activities, but we felt that it was a military failure, and that all our hard campaigning, desperate fighting, and heavy losses had been for naught. We had won in fully a dozen fights and had been defeated in none, but their advantages were neutralized and their fruits wasted by mistakes made and misadventures occurring in the course of the campaign.

Much of the misfortune that Banks' army encountered was doubtless caused by delayed movements made necessary by the perils encountered by the naval contingent, in consequence of the unexpected low stage of water in the Red River. Predicating probabilities upon the experience of previous years, it was assumed that the channel of the river at that season would afford a depth of water sufficient to enable the fleet to move to Shreveport, without difficulty. Instead of meeting a rise in the water as the fleet proceeded up the river, as was expected, a reverse condition was encountered, the depth of the channel steadily shrinking from the time the boats entered the river.

One most unjust aspersion was sought to be cast upon General Banks by some of those who most severely criticised the conduct of the campaign. In some quarters it was characterized as a "cotton stealing expedition." This was doubtless suggested by the efforts of the navy to collect cotton, of which there was a large amount in the country, and which was considered "good prize" by that arm of the service. Doubtless the navy received much money reward for its activity in this respect, but the army had no hand in this species of looting. General Banks' orders were comprehensive, specific and emphatic against all appropriation of cotton or other private property in the country by the army, except such as was required for its immediate use. Agents of the Treasury Department accompanied the expedition, under whose supervision cotton identified as belonging to the Confederacy was seized and shipped to New Orleans for account of the United States Government. There was some conflict between this authority and representatives of the navy, the latter being somewhat stimulated to eagerness by the prospect of liberal prize money promised by the then very high price of that staple.

It was the consensus of the best opinion among military authorities at the time, and critics of the campaign since have generally agreed, that had the advantage secured by the decisive victory at Pleasant Hill on the 9th of April been properly pressed, and the enemy vigorously followed up, Shreveport would have been taken and the campaign made a success. A large part of Kirby Smith's army was then in Arkansas opposing General Steele's advance, and the force of the enemy with which Banks

would have had to deal was much less than that concentrated against him in his retreat out of the Red river valley. It is the firm belief of the writer that General A. J. Smith would have won the campaign if he had been in command of the expedition.

The action of Fitzhugh's Woods near Augusta, on White river, Arkansas, April 2, 1864, in which the Third Minnesota Infantry bore a principal part, may be noted as a collateral incident of General Steele's operations in Arkansas. Moving from Little Rock, on the 30th of March, by rail to Deval's Bluff, and thence by river to the vicinity of Augusta, 186 men of the Third Regiment, with a detachment of 45 men of the Eighth Missouri Cavalry, all under command of Colonel C. C. Andrews, encountered a force of 500 or more of the enemy, which they decisively defeated after a sharp and somewhat protracted action, in which the Third Regiment lost 7 killed, 16 wounded, and 4 missing. The participants in this affair were much commended for their gallant action, which resulted in an effective disposition of a troublesome detachment of the enemy that had for a time maintained a reign of terror in that locality, in its efforts to enforce conscription for the Confederate Army.

While the Sixth Minnesota did not directly participate in any of the more active operations under consideration, its presence and experience at Helena, Ark., a point contiguous to the territory in which important details of such operations transpired, may properly be referred to in this connection. The service of the Sixth Regiment was important, and its sacrifice in the performance thereof probably much greater than it would have suffered if it had been exposed to all the vicissitudes of an active campaign. Helena was a point important to be held as affecting the navigation of the Mississippi river; it was, however, perhaps the most unhealthy locality that could be found in all the swampy and malaria-infected regions on the lower Mississippi. The regiment had done valiant service in the Indian campaigns on the Northwestern frontier, and the men had become seasoned veterans. When it left Minnesota it was one of the most stalwart organizations that had gone from the state, and it reached Helena, June 23, 1864, with full ranks, 940 strong, and in all respects in splendid condition. It was retained at Helena until November 4th following,

a period of but a little over four months, during which 72 of its members died and 600 were sent to Northern hospitals, victims of the malarial poisons of the locality. On August 7th, barely six weeks after its arrival at Helena, there were but 7 officers and 178 men reported fit for duty. The regiment was engaged in an action during the summer in repelling a raiding attack on the post it occupied, and in an expedition in July up the White river. When relieved from its living tomb, the Sixth Regiment was transferred to St. Louis, where it performed provost duty for a time.

The abandonment of the Red River country by General Banks and the precipitate retreat of General Steele from Camden to Little Rock created a condition that warranted the claim, at once asserted by the Confederates, that they had won a substantial victory and expelled the Union forces from the country with discredit and loss. The enemy was now encouraged to assume the aggressive, and evidence of his activity was at once manifest by efforts to obstruct the navigation of the Mississippi river. Much trouble followed, and many transports with valuable property were either captured or destroyed. Indeed, for a time, it became the chief duty of the naval force to act as convoys for transports, patrol the river, and endeavor to dislodge from its banks detachments of the enemy engaged in this service.

In its progress up the river on its way to Memphis, where it had been ordered to rendezvous, the Sixteenth Army Corps was made to realize this condition. Near Lake Village on Lake Chicot, Arkansas, our fleet found the river successfully blockaded. The Confederate General Marmaduke, with a considerable force and some heavy guns, held a strong and protected position from which it was apparent he must be dislodged before our fleet could progress farther. Two brigades of infantry were landed and an engagement characterized by much stubbornness on the part of the enemy followed on the 6th of June, 1864. Marmaduke's position was protected from the land approach by a bayou very difficult to cross, and to effect a crossing necessitated a prolonged exposure to the enemy's fire. In the difficult operations involved in this effort Hubbard's Brigade had 63 men killed and wounded, 17 from the Fifth Minnesota; but the crossing was accomplished, and the

enemy driven with precipitation from the position. The fleet proceeded to Memphis, where it arrived on the 10th of June.

The Sixteenth Corps expected, and indeed was under orders, to join Sherman at Chattanooga; but the activity of the Confederates just at this time in northern Mississippi, and the portent of probable enterprises threatened by the Confederates in Arkansas, not only compelled the retention of Smith's Corps in the West, but made necessary the sending of reinforcements to Memphis. Among the latter were included the Seventh, Ninth, and Tenth Minnesota Infantry.

As conditions developed, the situation became more immediately pressing in northern Mississippi, where the Confederate Generals Forrest and S. D. Lee were seeking to create a diversion against Sherman, then engaged in his Atlanta campaign. Several expeditions were successively organized and sent against these enterprising Confederates, notable among which was one under General S. D. Sturgis, which came to inexpressible grief at the battle of Brice Cross Roads, near Guntown, Miss., June 10th, in which the Ninth Minnesota greatly distinguished itself, though suffering severely as the price of its prowess. The Ninth practically saved the army, as stated in the official report of its division commander, in repelling a vicious attack at the close of the battle, and while acting as rear guard in the retreat, much delaying by its persistence and gallantry the eager pursuit of the enemy.*

A second expedition under General A. J. Smith, at Tupelo, July 14th, in which the Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and a detachment of the Fifth,† participated, met a very different fate, and, by the achievement of a decided victory, largely retrieved the disaster at Guntown. In this battle the brave and soldierly Colonel Alexander Wilkin of the Ninth Minnesota, then in command of a

*Col. W. L. McMillan, commanding the division to which the Ninth Regiment was attached, in his official report of the battle of Brice Cross Roads, said: "My extreme right, after a sharp and bloody contest, was forced back, and I was obliged to throw in the only regiment I had in reserve to drive the enemy back and re-establish my line at that point. This work was gallantly performed by the Ninth Minnesota, under the heroic Marsh, and I desire here to express to him and his brave men my thanks for their firmness and bravery, which alone saved the army at that critical moment from utter defeat and probable capture."

†Non-veterans under command of Capt. T. J. Sheehan. The re-enlisted men were on their veteran furlough at this time.

brigade, was killed in the height of the action. Colonel Wilkin was peculiarly endowed with ideal personal and soldierly qualities, and was highly regarded by all to whom his great merits became known. His regiment was inconsolable at his loss, and, following so soon the disaster at Guntown, it seemed an affliction especially hard to bear.

A third attempt to clear the country of the troublesome enemy was made in August, and became known as the "Oxford raid," in which the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Regiments participated, and which had the effect of further quieting conditions in that region.*

The Confederate General E. Kirby Smith in the meantime had organized his forces in Louisiana and Arkansas for offensive operations of a formidable character. A large force under General Dick Taylor was preparing, late in August, to cross the Mississippi at a point near Gaines Landing, Arkansas, from whence it could move to the relief of Mobile, which was being threatened by General Canby from New Orleans, or to the aid of General Johnston, who was opposing Sherman in Georgia. At Camden, in Arkansas, a Confederate force of 12,000 cavalry under General Sterling Price had been concentrated for the invasion of Missouri. General Taylor met a serious obstacle to his proposed crossing of the Mississippi in the practical revolt of a large proportion of his men, who objected to being so widely separated from their home states west of the river. This condition, growing more serious as time passed, together with the increasing difficulty of effecting a crossing in the face of Admiral Porter's fleet of ironclads, resulted, after much preparation and earnest effort, in an abandonment of the project; but Price started northward from Camden, August 28th with the ambitious purpose of annexing the State of Missouri to the Southern Confederacy. This would seem upon superficial view to have been an altogether chimerical project, but there were features of the situation that warranted Price in entertaining a hope of precipitating conditions in Missouri that would bring infinite trouble to the Union cause. The pronounced

*In the battle of Brice Cross Roads the Ninth Regiment lost 9 killed, 33 wounded, and 244 captured. Of the latter, 119 died in the Andersonville (Ga.) prison.

At Tupelo the Seventh Regiment lost 10 killed and 52 wounded; the Ninth, 2 killed and 5 wounded; and the Tenth, 1 killed and 12 wounded.

failure of Banks and Steele in their campaigns in Louisiana and Arkansas had stimulated to great activity the disloyal element in Missouri, which was large, and which had prepared itself to cooperate with Price in an organized form upon his invasion of the state. Price had been assured that the mass of the people would rally to his standard; that his army would be doubled, trebled, quadrupled by enthusiastic recruits as he marched through Missouri, and that his presence upon her soil would create an enthusiasm for the cause of the Confederacy that would sweep everything before it. General Rosecrans, then in command in Missouri, had been required to send every regiment he could spare to reinforce Sherman in his Atlanta campaign; hence he was bare of disposable troops, except a few regiments of recently organized militia and a limited force of cavalry occupying widely separated posts throughout the state. Price therefore had reason to believe that by celerity of movement he could overcome any probable opposition he might encounter. His purpose was first to capture and occupy St. Louis, appropriate or destroy its arsenal and depot of supplies, then occupy Jefferson City, the capital of the state, assemble the legislature, which was largely in sympathy with his purposes, and have hurriedly passed an ordinance of secession. The Confederate pretender to the governorship of the state, Thomas C. Reynolds, traveled with Price's headquarters; hence was readily at hand for such executive action as might be required to promote the program. He had prepared proclamations appealing to the people of Missouri, which from his point of view, it seemed, could not fail to create a general revolt of the masses against their so-called "oppressors,"—an ambitious project surely, but which not only failed to materialize in most of its essential features, but reacted like a boomerang in the crushing of its enterprising projector.

The adverse conditions in northern Mississippi having become somewhat relieved, General A. J. Smith had been ordered to join Sherman with the Sixteenth Army Corps. Moving via the Mississippi to Cairo, Smith left Memphis early in September with two divisions, leaving his first division, under General Mower, to follow as transportation should be provided. While Mower was preparing to embark, Price's formidable movement from Camden

had developed, and a hurried call for help came from Arkansas. Mower's Division was diverted thence, and, sailing on the 2nd of September, moved down the Mississippi into White river and debarked at Deval's Bluff. Marching thence towards Little Rock, it was halted at Brownsville, Arkansas, on the 9th. With this command were the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Regiments. When Smith reached Cairo, on the 6th, he was there met by orders to await developments in Missouri before proceeding farther.

Price's early movements were rather deliberate and somewhat confusing, his immediate objective not having been developed, and he maneuvered in a way to create much doubt as to the route he intended to take in his movement northward. This condition detained Mower at Brownsville until the 17th of September. On that date was begun the long chase after General Price and his army, over the mountains and through the swamps of Arkansas, into and across the state of Missouri, during which the Minnesota troops marched nearly 800 miles.* This was, all things considered, the hardest campaign throughout their experience during the Civil War. I doubt if any other campaign of the war equalled it for continuously severe and exacting service. The route in Arkansas lay through almost impenetrable cypress swamps, and over obscure mountain roads, washed by continuous rains down to their rocky beds. Severe storms prevailed much of the time, and the men often lay down in the mud at night, drenched, sore, weary and hungry, feeling that they had reached the limit of endurance. It was developed, after the command had been out a few days, that its supply train was largely loaded with mouldy and decayed hard bread, refuse stores issued by the Commissary at Little Rock. In consequence of this the men were early put upon half rations, then one-third, and much of that unfit to eat. Many reached such a famished condition that they sought for nourishment in the bark of sassafras boughs and the beech leaves which the forest trees afforded. The country was largely uninhabited, and hence afforded nothing upon which an army could subsist. Occasionally a rude cabin would be seen occupied by a cadaverous native, who

*Brownsville, Arkansas, to Cape Girardeau, 335 miles; La Mine, Mo., to Kansas state line, 175 miles; Kansas line to St. Louis, Mo., 285 miles; total, 795 miles.

subsisted by trapping in the mountains, and whose wonder was aroused as the fact was revealed to him by the evidence the appearance of the troops gave, that there was a war in progress in the country. After crossing the mountains the army was turned eastward and reached Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi river, October 5th.

Meantime General A. J. Smith had landed his force below St. Louis and moved to De Soto, Missouri, thus interposing his force between Price and the City of St. Louis. This movement, in combination with other dispositions, saved St. Louis from attack, though Price's advance reached a point within one day's march of the city. Price turned to the left and moved rapidly westward, passing to the south of the capital of Missouri, after making a strong demonstration against that city. The promised rally to his standards proved disappointing to a degree that caused him to abandon as impracticable his scheme for assembling the legislature of the state.

Mower's command was conveyed by water to Jefferson City and thence by rail a few miles to La Mine, Missouri, where he rejoined General Smith and the balance of the Sixteenth Corps, and from whence the chase was taken up and continued by forced marches through Sedalia, Lexington, and Independence, to the Little Blue river near the Kansas state line. Here Price was overtaken, October 23rd, by a considerable body of cavalry, under Generals Pleasanton, Curtis, and Blunt, and given a blow which, in his exhausted condition, extinguished all remaining hope of his obtaining a foothold in Missouri. In his retreat southward two days later, at the crossing of the Little Osage, the Union cavalry again engaged and defeated Price's already broken force, the remnants of which were thereafter pursued until they passed beyond the southern boundary of the state and into the mountains of Arkansas. In this pursuit of Price, General John B. Sanborn, with a brigade of cavalry, performed important, protracted and effective service.

In this fierce chase of the enemy the infantry, while constantly gaining on their quarry, failed to quite overtake it, though making most extraordinary marches, some days exceeding forty miles. It was demonstrated many times during the war that in a long

stretch infantry could outmarch cavalry, but Price, having a long start ahead and being able to largely renew his mounts in his course through Missouri, was able to avoid a collision with the Sixteenth Army Corps; hence in this long pursuit we were deprived of the relaxation that it seemed a fight would really have afforded us. After Price's encounter with Pleasanton and Curtis, and the practical dispersal of his army, further pursuit by the infantry would, of course, be futile, and we were therefore ordered, after crossing the boundary into Kansas, to return to the Mississippi river. Another long march of nearly 300 miles was before us, on which we had but fairly started when hurry orders came for us to join Thomas in Tennessee.

The return march was without special incident, except that its forced character in much bad weather imposed an excessively severe strain upon the men. On November 3rd, in the vicinity of Sedalia, we encountered a storm of exceptional violence, during which a march of twenty miles was made through a foot of snow in a temperature below freezing with a blizzard blowing from the north. Such weather conditions were unprecedented for that latitude and the season, but the Minnesota boys accepted the situation with the philosophic reflection that this was the only kind of weather they had not previously encountered on the campaign, and was, therefore, necessary to complete their physical discomfort and fill their cup of misery to the brim. We reached St. Louis November 15th in a condition that perhaps may be imagined, but which was too discreditable in its ensemble to undertake to describe. Here we were given a fresh outfit, and, after a brief respite, were sent in haste to reinforce Thomas, where the Sixteenth Army Corps, and especially the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Regiments, won imperishable glory on the 15th and 16th of December following in the great and decisive battle of Nashville.*

*General W. S. Rosecrans, in his official report of the campaign, said: "Maj.-Gen. A. J. Smith deserves thanks for promptitude, energy and perseverance in all his movements, and for good judgment displayed in his campaign. Nor must I omit a tribute of admiration for those brave and true soldiers who, under Mower, followed Price from Arkansas, marching 300 miles in 18 days, and, after going by boat from Cape Girardeau to Jefferson City, again resumed the march after him, making another march of 462 miles before they embarked for Nashville to take part in the not doubtful contest before that city for the mastery of middle Tennessee."

IV.

MINNESOTA IN THE BATTLES OF NASHVILLE, DECEMBER 15 and 16, 1864.*

This paper has been prepared in response to the solicitation of many old veterans of our state, survivors of the regiments that participated in the battles of Nashville, Tennessee, in December, 1864, who have felt that a record somewhat more in detail than any yet furnished should be presented of the part borne by Minnesota troops in that important event of the Civil War. While I have been myself impressed in this behalf, I have hoped the service might come from hands more able to do the subject justice.

Minnesota had more of her troops represented, and gave more of her sons as a sacrifice to the country, in the battle of Nashville than in any other battle of the war. Four of her regiments were prominently identified with the notable achievements of that memorable victory of the Union arms, and all won much credit for the young commonwealth that sent them forth. It is surely fitting that these facts be commemorated in the records of this Commandery and of the Minnesota Historical Society.

It is the purpose of this paper to deal specially with the record of Minnesota organizations in the battle of Nashville, and it will not seek to present a comprehensive description of the battle itself, or of the campaign of which it was the decisive culmination; yet it will be necessary, in order to convey an intelligent understanding of the conditions under which the battle was fought, and of the highly important character of the issues immediately involved, to state briefly the military situation in the Central West during the autumn months of 1864.

The objects of General Sherman's advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta had been accomplished by his successive defeats of the Confederate forces in that memorable campaign, and by his capture and occupation of the city of Atlanta, September 2d, 1864.

*Read by Gen. L. F. Hubbard before the Minnesota Commandery of the Loyal Legion, March 14, 1905, and presented to this Society with the preceding and following papers.

While Sherman was making his arrangements preliminary to his next campaign, which contemplated the movement of his army on its celebrated march through Georgia to the sea, the confederate army that had recently opposed him, now commanded by General J. B. Hood, remained for a time somewhat inactive, while its shattered units were being reorganized and to some extent recruited. Before Sherman was ready to cut loose from his base, however, Hood resumed active operations. Sherman's long line of railroad communications presented a vulnerable feature of the situation, and Hood showed much enterprise in his efforts to make Sherman's position at Atlanta precarious, or at least uncomfortable, by frequent raids in his rear and attacks upon, and the occasional capture of, small garrisons in occupation of protecting outposts. While making these forays Hood steadily moved towards the Tennessee river, his purpose, as it developed, being to draw Sherman away from Atlanta in pursuit, hoping thus to neutralize or defeat the objects gained by Sherman in his recent great campaign.

The situation presented puzzling problems of a serious nature. If Sherman was to follow Hood with an adequate force, he must greatly weaken his position at Atlanta, secured at so great a cost, as he would doubtless be drawn away from within supporting distance of any force he might leave in occupation of that place. The alternative to this was to abandon his base and its communications and enter upon his contemplated campaign, leaving Hood to be looked after by such forces as could be hurriedly assembled by Gen. George H. Thomas, who had recently been assigned to command the Department of the Cumberland with headquarters at Nashville, Tennessee. Sherman obtained, as is well known, the reluctant consent of the authorities at army headquarters to adopt the latter plan, and after detaching the Fourth and Twenty-third Army Corps and some scattered detachments of other troops then on outpost duty to report to Thomas, he proceeded in his purpose of "smashing things to the sea."

Sherman abandoned Atlanta on the 15th of November, and General Hood, who had concentrated his army in the vicinity of Florence on the Tennessee river, commenced his advance northward two days later. Thus the two armies that had so recently contended for supremacy in Georgia were making rapid movements

in opposite directions, away from the scenes of their recent victories and defeats, Sherman bound for the Atlantic seacoast, and Hood's objective being the Ohio river. While Hood had been manneuvering to entice Sherman away from Atlanta, he had in the meantime called to his aid every resource left to the Confederates in the section of country in which he was operating. When he began his movement north from Florence, he had a compact army of about 55,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry, the latter composed principally of General Forrest's force, which for a long time had dominated a large part of the valley of the Tennessee river.

Thomas had assembled the troops assigned him by Sherman and disposed of them in a manner to watch Hood's movements and retard his advance. The Fourth and Twenty-third Corps had been seriously depleted in the Atlanta campaign, and now numbered together about 22,000 men. To this force were added some detached bodies of troops that had occupied outposts in Tennessee and Georgia, and a few new regiments that had recently been sent to Nashville from the North. The aggregate of the forces under General Thomas' command at this time was much less than those of Hood, and even a considerable part of these were not available for the immediate emergency, as outlying fortified positions, of which Murfreesboro was the most important, could not safely be abandoned.

Such reinforcements as were available in the West were being hurried to Thomas' aid, the most considerable force of this character being two divisions of the Sixteenth Army Corps under Gen. A. J. Smith, numbering about 10,000 men, which had recently concluded a hard campaign in Arkansas and Missouri. Attached to this command were the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth, and Tenth Minnesota Infantry. This force, which was designated in General Thomas' reorganized army as a detachment of the Army of the Tennessee, was hurriedly forwarded from St. Louis via the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland rivers, its vanguard arriving in Nashville on the first day of December, 1864. The Minnesota regiments were attached to the First Division of this detachment, which was commanded by Gen. John McArthur. The division consisted of three brigades. The First brigade, composed of the Tenth Minnesota, Seventy-second and Ninety-fifth Ohio, the One

hundred fourteenth Illinois and Ninety-third Indiana regiments, and an Illinois battery, was commanded by Col. W. L. McMillan of the Ninety-fifth Ohio. The Second brigade, composed of the Fifth and Ninth Minnesota, the Eleventh Missouri and Eighth Wisconsin regiments, and the Second Iowa battery, was commanded by Col. L. F. Hubbard of the Fifth Minnesota. The Third brigade, composed of the Seventh Minnesota, Twelfth and Thirty-fifth Iowa and Thirty-third Missouri regiments, and the Second Missouri battery, was commanded by Col. S. G. Hill of the Thirty-fifth Iowa. General Smith's two divisions were given positions on the right of the line of defense with which General Thomas had enveloped Nashville, and at once proceeded to entrench their front.

Pending these dispositions, Hood had steadily advanced northword without encountering serious opposition, until he reached the vicinity of Harpeth river. Gen. J. M. Schofield and Gen. D. S. Stanley, in command respectively of the Twenty-third and Fourth Army Corps, had united their forces at Pulaski, Tennessee, both now being under command of General Schofield as the senior officer. This force retired toward Nashville on roads parallel with Hood's advance, and reached Franklin on the Harpeth river, where the roads converged, ahead of Hood, where the latter evidently intended to cross that stream. General Thomas had ordered Schofield to dispute Hood's passage of the Harpeth, and accordingly dispositions were made for this purpose. Schofield hurriedly entrenched his position, which was immediately attacked by Hood. Here occurred, on the 30th of November, one of the most desperate and bloody encounters for the numbers engaged that is recorded in the history of the rebellion. Hood made several desperate assaults on Schofield's entrenched lines, and suffered much punishment in their repeated repulse. Schofield's losses were also considerable, but he accomplished the purpose of holding Hood's army at bay for the moment, and gave Thomas more time, which was most essential, to enable him to strengthen his position at Nashville and gather the reinforcements within his reach. Schofield leisurely retired to Nashville, followed by Hood, who soon recovered his wonted audacity sufficiently to present a bold and defiant front upon his arrival before Thomas' defenses, December 4th, 1864.

General Thomas had strengthened his position at Nashville and was in condition to make a successful defensive fight, but he felt that he was hardly ready, with his inferior numbers, to take the offensive, and hence awaited Hood's further movements, while he improved the time in making more effective the army he had created out of the odds and ends that had been gathered at Nashville. Thomas' army in Nashville, as has been stated, was inferior to that of the enemy in point of numbers, and he was particularly deficient in calvary. He had 5,000 men at Murfreesboro, a position it was important to hold, and considerable detachments were employed elsewhere, principally in protection of his communications to the rear.

The authorities at Washington and at the headquarters of the army became very impatient at the delay in moving against the enemy, and sent Thomas many peremptory orders to attack Hood; and in his failure to promptly respond as directed, it was determined to relieve him from his command. First Schofield was designated to supersede him; then Logan was sent west for the purpose, who got as far as Louisville, Kentucky; and finally General Grant himself started from City Point, Va., but received news in Washington that arrested his further progress west. In each case the orders were held in abeyance as advices came from Thomas in explanation of his delay. To make this condition more apparent, and also to disclose the great importance of the situation as it impressed the Government and the country at the time, I here quote some of the more important dispatches that passed between Washington and City Point and Nashville, bearing upon this phase of the situation.

Washington, Dec. 2, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. Grant, City Point:

The President feels solicitous about the disposition of Thomas to lay in fortifications for an indefinite period, "until Wilson gets his equipments." This looks like the McClellan and Rosecrans strategy of do nothing and let the enemy raid the country. The President wishes you to consider the matter. EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

City Point, Va., Dec. 2, 1864.

Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, Nashville:

If Hood is permitted to remain quietly about Nashville, we will lose all the roads back to Chattanooga and possibly have to abandon the line of the Tennessee river. Should he attack you it is all well, but if he does not you should attack him before he fortifies.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut. General.

City Point, Va., Dec. 2, 1864.

Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, Nashville:

After the repulse of Hood at Franklin, it looks to me that instead of falling back to Nashville we should have taken the offensive against the enemy, but at this distance may err as to the method of dealing with the enemy. You will suffer incalculable injury upon your railroads if Hood is not speedily disposed of. Put forth, therefore, every possible exertion to attain this end. Should you get him to retreating, give him no peace.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut. General.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 2, 1864.

Gen. U. S. Grant, City Point, Va.:

Your two telegrams of 11 A. M. and 1:30 P. M. to-day received. At the time Hood was whipped at Franklin, I had at this place but about 5,000 men of General Smith's command, which, added to the force under General Schofield, would not have given me more than 25,000 men. Besides, Gen. Schofield felt convinced that he could not hold the enemy at Franklin until the 5,000 could reach him. As Gen. Wilson's cavalry force numbered only about one-fourth that of Forrest, I thought it best to draw the troops back to Nashville and await the arrival of the remainder of Gen. Smith's force, and also a force of about 5,000 commanded by Gen. Steedman, which I ordered up from Chattanooga. The division of Gen. Smith arrived yesterday morning, and Gen. Steedman's troops arrived last night. I have infantry enough to assume the offensive if I had more cavalry, and will take the field anyhow as soon as the remainder of Gen. McCook's division of cavalry reaches here, which I hope it will in two or three days. We can neither get reinforcements nor equipments at this great distance from the north very easily, and it must be remembered that my command was made up of the two weakest corps of Gen. Sherman's army, and all the dismounted cavalry except one brigade; and the task of reorganizing and equipping has met with many delays, which have enabled Hood to take advantage of my crippled condition. I earnestly hope, however, in a few days more I shall be able to give him a fight.

GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Major General Commanding.

City Point, Va., Dec. 6, 1864.

Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, Nashville:

Attack Hood at once and wait no longer for your cavalry. There is great danger in delay resulting in a campaign back to the Ohio.

U. S. Grant,
Lieut. General.

Nashville, Dec. 6, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, City Point:

Your dispatch of 4 P. M. this day received. I will make the necessary dispositions and attack Hood at once, agreeably to your orders, though I believe it will be hazardous with the small force of cavalry now at my service.

George H. Thomas,
Major General Commanding.

Washington, Dec. 7, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. Grant:

Thomas seems unwilling to attack because it is hazardous, as if all war was anything but hazardous. If he waits for Wilson to get ready, Gabriel will be blowing his last horn.

Edwin M. Stanton.

City Point, Va., Dec. 8, 1864.

Maj. Gen. Halleck, Washington:

Please direct General Dodge to send all the troops he can spare to General Thomas. * * * I will submit whether it is not advisable to call on Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, for 60,000 men for thirty days. If Thomas has not struck yet he ought to be ordered to hand over his command to Schofield. There is no better man to repel an attack than Thomas; but I fear he is too cautious to take the initiative.

U. S. Grant,
Lieut. General.

Washington, Dec. 8, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. Grant, City Point:

If you wish General Thomas relieved, give the order. No one here I think will interfere. The responsibility, however, will be yours, as no one here, so far as I am informed, wishes General Thomas removed.

H. W. Halleck,
Chief of Staff.

City Point, Va., Dec. 8, 1864.

Maj. Gen. Halleck, Washington:

Your dispatch of 9 A. M. just received. I want General Thomas reminded of the importance of immediate action. I sent him a dispatch this evening, which will probably urge him on. I would not say relieve him until I hear further from him.

U. S. Grant,
Lieut. General.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 8, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. Grant, City Point:

Your dispatch of 7:30 P. M. is just received. I can only say in further extenuation why I have not attacked Hood, that I could not concentrate my troops and get their transportation in order in shorter time than it has been done, and am satisfied I have made every effort that was possible to complete the task.

GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Major General Commanding.

City Point, Va., Dec. 9, 1864.

Maj. Gen. Halleck, Washington:

Dispatch of 8 P. M. last evening from Nashville shows * * * no attack yet made by Thomas. Please telegraph orders relieving him and placing Schofield in command. * * *

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut. General.

War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, Dec. 9, 1864.
General Orders No.....

The following dispatch having been received from Lieut. General Grant, viz.: "Please telegraph orders relieving him (General Thomas) at once and placing General Schofield in command," the President orders:

I. That Major General Schofield relieve at once Major General G. H. Thomas in command of the Department and Army of the Cumberland.

II. General Thomas will turn over to General Schofield all orders and instructions received by him since the battle of Franklin.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 9, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, City Point:

Your dispatch of 8:30 P. M. of the 8th is just received. I had nearly completed my preparations to attack the enemy tomorrow morning, but a terrible storm of freezing rain has come on today, which will make it impossible for our men to fight to any advantage. I am therefore compelled to wait for the storm to break. * * * I can only say I have done all in my power to prepare, and if you should deem it necessary to relieve me I shall submit without a murmur.

GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Major General Commanding.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1864.

Lieut. Gen. Grant, City Point:

Orders relieving General Thomas had been made out when his telegram of this P. M. was received. If you still wish these orders telegraphed to Nashville, they will be forwarded.

H. W. HALLECK,
Chief of Staff.

To this General Grant replied suspending the order for Thomas' relief, "until it is seen if he will do anything."

City Point, Va., Dec. 11, 1864.

Major General George H. Thomas, Nashville:

If you delay attacking longer, the mortifying spectacle will be witnessed of a rebel army moving for the Ohio, and you will be forced to act, accepting such weather as you find. Let there be no further delay. * * * I am in hopes of receiving a dispatch from you today announcing that you have moved. Delay no longer for weather or reinforcements.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut. General.

Head Quarters, Armies of the U. S., City Point, Va., Dec. 13, 1864.

Special Order No. 149.

Major General John A. Logan, U. S. Volunteers, will proceed immediately to Nashville, Tenn., report by telegraph to the Lieut. General his arrival at Louisville, Kentucky, and also his arrival at Nashville, Tenn. * * * By command of Lieut. Gen. Grant.

T. S. BOWERS,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Thomas to Halleck: Nashville, Dec. 14, 1864, 8 P. M.

* * * The ice having melted away today, the enemy will be attacked tomorrow morning. Much as I regret the apparent delay in attacking the enemy, it could not have been done before with any reasonable prospect of success.

GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Major General Commanding.

These are but a few of the many dispatches, all of like tenor, with which Thomas was overwhelmed at this time, but those quoted clearly indicate the serious character of the crisis the issue of which was to be decided by the impending battle at Nashville. A defeat of Thomas' army meant the probable further advance of Hood to the Ohio river and beyond. It was surely the highest duty of Thomas to make certain his success so far as precaution, preparation and skill could assure it; yet he was subjected to this fire in the rear that would have daunted any man who was not en-

dowed with the high qualities of character, and the great ability and skill, that ever distinguished in an emergency the "Rock of Chickamauga."

As indicated in one of General Thomas' dispatches, the attack on Hood's position would doubtless have been made December 10th but for the extraordinary condition of the elements. A storm of sleet freezing as it fell had covered the earth with an icy crust, on which neither men nor animals could keep their feet in their efforts to move over the rolling and hilly surface that characterizes the topography of the country in the vicinity of Nashville. A large number of horses had been disabled in attempts to place cavalry in position, and many serious accidents to the men had occurred while moving to their posts in the performance of routine duties in maintaining the guard and picket lines. This ice embargo was raised by a moderation in the weather on the 14th, and orders were issued in the evening of that day for an advance against the enemy early on the morning of the 15th.

The disposition of General Thomas' forces and their initial movements as directed in his general order for the day were substantially as follows:

General A. J. Smith, commanding detachment of the Army of the Tennessee, after forming his troops on and near the Harding pike in front of his present position, will make a vigorous assault on the enemy's left. Major General Wilson, commanding Cavalry Corps, with three divisions will support General Smith's right, * * * Brig. General T. J. Wood, commanding Fourth Army Corps, * * * will form on the Hillsboro pike to support General Smith's left, and operate on the left and rear of the enemy's advanced position on Montgomery hill. Major General Schofield, commanding Twenty-third Army Corps, will occupy the trenches from Fort Negley to Lawrens hill with a strong skirmish line, moving the remainder of his forces in front of the works, and co-operate with General Wood, protecting the latter's left flank against an attack by the enemy. Major General Steedman will occupy the interior line in rear of his present position * * * with a strong skirmish line, and mass the remainder of his force to act according to the exigencies which may arise during these operations. Brig. General Miller, with the troops forming the garrison of Nashville, will occupy the interior line, * * * and also the Quartermaster's troops under Brig. General Donaldson. The troops occupying the interior line will be under the direction of General Steedman, who is charged with the immediate defence of Nashville during operations around the city.

As the battle progressed these dispositions were of course greatly changed, but I will refer to such changes only as they relate to or in some manner affect the movements of General Smith's corps, to which the Minnesota regiments were attached.

It will be noted that in General Thomas' disposition of his forces he apparently made ample arrangements for the defense of Nashville in case of a reverse; and it will also be noted that General Smith's command was designated to make the main assault upon the enemy.

At six A. M. of the 15th the army left its entrenchments and moved to the front. A thick fog hung over the country and enveloped both armies, but the rising sun and a moderate southern breeze lifted the mists, and by ten o'clock General Thomas' order to Smith, to "make a vigorous assault on the enemy's left," was in full process of execution. The enemy in that part of the field was apparently unprepared to meet so determined an advance, as he offered but a feeble resistance to Smith's initial attack, retiring in fairly good order until a line of redoubts was reached about two miles to the rear of where he was first encountered. Here a more stubborn resistance was offered, and our advance was brought to a momentary halt. General McArthur was ordered to test the mettle of his division, which included the four Minnesota regiments, in an assault upon two of the redoubts that were particularly spiteful in the delivery of shell and canister along our front. This division had made something of a specialty of that kind of work in former conflicts of the war, and had become expert in its own conceit along that line. The artillery of the division gave its customary response to the fire of the rebel batteries; and the infantry, massed in double lines, was hurled with such force against the redoubts that the enemy, apparently staggered by the vigor of the blow, scarcely checked the onslaught. The redoubts, with their contents of men and guns and most of their supporting force, were gathered in as trophies of the affair.

As if eager to reach the next obstacle to their progress, the division pushed onward. The impetus of the charge had been but slightly checked by the impact with the enemy, and the fleeing rebels realized that their Nemesis was close upon their heels. A few escaped to report to their comrades what had happened, aided

by the fact that a strong column of the enemy was now advancing from their rear, and which naturally checked the pursuit. This new development suggested a pause, as it involved a re-alignment and a partial change of front. The troops of the Second division of Smith's corps upon the left had not advanced as rapidly as McArthur's division, for the reason that fortified positions of the enemy were sooner encountered and perhaps were more stubbornly defended. In consequence of this condition there occurred a considerable interval to the left and rear between the two divisions, as the advance progressed beyond the captured redoubts. The Third brigade was therefore swung to the left, and participated with the Second division in an assault upon and the capture of a strong position of the enemy, in the course of which its commander, Colonel Hill, a much respected and a most accomplished and gallant officer, was killed. Most fortunate for the service, there was an able and skillful officer at hand to take his place in the person of Colonel William R. Marshall of the Seventh Minnesota, who thereafter commanded the Third brigade.

The First brigade of McArthur's division had been diverted somewhat to the right in pursuit of a body of the enemy, and thus the Second brigade found itself considerably in advance of and somewhat isolated from the rest of the division. It seemed for the moment that the Second brigade would have a fight on its own account with the advancing body of the enemy referred to, whose numbers rendered such an outlook somewhat discouraging. The battery of the brigade, the Second Iowa, here performed most essential service in aiding to check the enemy's advance until a division of the Twenty-third corps came up on the right. Whether the Second brigade was now temporarily attached to Couch's division of the Twenty-third corps, or whether Couch's division was attached to the Second brigade, is not material, as neither received orders from or made reports to the other.

The commander of the Second brigade could see readily enough what ought next to be done, but he realized that a ranking officer was in command on his immediate right, and hence awaited development in that direction, in the meantime deploying two companies of Minnesota troops in skirmish order as a protection to his exposed left flank. The enemy had halted and formed in line

along the crest of a ridge, which afforded him a position of some advantage, the fire from which caused us much annoyance and some loss. About four o'clock P. M., a forward movement developed on the right, in which the Second brigade promptly joined and immediately became hotly engaged. The resistance encountered was for a moment quite obstinate, causing numerous casualties but no substantial halt. Like the charge earlier in the day against the redoubts, the momentum of the movement proved an irresistible force, and, as it did not encounter an immovable body, the position of the enemy was carried and a considerable number of prisoners and two pieces of artillery were captured by the Second brigade. The movement in pursuit was continued until a condition of exhaustion in our men began to manifest itself, which, with the approaching darkness, made it prudent to call a halt. A favorable position to reform our lines was sought; the several brigades of the division were re-assembled in their proper relation to each other; cartridge boxes were replenished, and haversacks were searched for the refreshing hard tack, the proximity of the enemy forbidding fires for making coffee.

The result of the day's operation, on that part of the field where General Smith had been ordered to "make a vigorous assault," had been the capture of several strong positions, a large number of prisoners, and many guns; the enemy was driven a distance of nearly five miles, and his line of retreat seriously threatened. There had not been so much accomplished on the left of the army, nor so much distance gained, though substantial results were realized all along the line. The result in the aggregate was a decided victory for Thomas, and a serious though not a crushing defeat for Hood. The latter had been driven to his last line of defense, where he must make the fight of his life on the morrow, or must retreat during the night.

Daylight of the 16th disclosed the unmistakable purpose of Hood to stake everything upon a final effort to retrieve his discomfiture of the preceding day. He had chosen a position of great natural advantage, and had entrenched it in a manner that impressed us at once that we were "up against" a serious proposition.

Thomas' lines required considerable readjustment to conform to the positions he had now to confront. In these preliminary movements Hood's artillery much delayed and complicated the required dispositions in their process of formation. Every available man was ordered to the front. Nashville was now reasonably safe, and the troops left for its immediate defense were required to strengthen the attacking lines.

I digress here for a moment to indicate the exact position of the Minnesota regiments in this final formation. All the brigades of the Sixteenth corps were formed in double lines. The position of the Tenth Minnesota was upon the left in the front line of the First brigade; the Fifth and Ninth Minnesota constituted the front line of the Second brigade; and the Seventh Minnesota was upon the right of the Third brigade, also in front, thus bringing the four Minnesota regiments in a continuous line and all in front.

It was past midday before Thomas' lines were finally adjusted, but in the meantime the Sixteenth corps had worked itself forward to within moderate range of the enemy's defenses, where slight entrenchments were constructed, sufficient to enable a few sharpshooters to get in their work. The artillery of the division had expended much ammunition in responding to the enemy's batteries, and in places had succeeded in breaching the hostile entrenchments. About three o'clock P. M. an assault was made far to the left, on Overton hill, whose crest was crossed by Hood's defensive line, by three brigades of the troops of Generals Wood and Steedman; but, though gallantly made, the assault was repulsed with serious loss to the troops engaged. That evidently was not a vulnerable point in Hood's defense, and then General Thomas practically repeated his initial order of the preceding day, for General Smith to make a "vigorous attack on the enemy's left."

This order went forth at four o'clock P. M., and the men who for hours had lain with enforced inactivity, under the enemy's fire, greeted it with a feeling of relief. There can hardly be a more depressing condition in practical warfare than to lie for hours exposed to a galling fire that cannot be effectively returned, while held in leash in momentary expectation of an opportunity to make reprisals on one's tormentors. Our Minnesota boys were here under a peculiar but most stimulating inspiration. In no in-

stance before during the war were nearly so many of Minnesota's sons in line together, facing the country's foes. Surely this was an opportunity to show the material of which Minnesota soldiers were made, and to achieve glory for the young commonwealth in which they took so great a pride. Some of these regiments had been in many battles and never suffered a defeat. The older of the regiments had an established reputation to maintain, and the younger ones had here an opportunity to win for their colors and their state the fullest possible measure of glory. No order in battle was ever more promptly responded to, and no troops were ever more eager in its execution.

The line of advance lay across level grounnd, a recently cultivated cornfield, except in front of the Tenth Minnesota, where the topography presented a considerable elevation. The moment the division rose to its feet and commenced its advance, it was met with a withering volley from the enemy's trenches and heavy discharge of canister from three batteries of artillery. It seemed for a moment that nothing human could withstand such a murderous fire at so close a range, but the men were nerved up to the limit of possible tension, and they started with grim determination on the charge. The ground had been much softened by the recent storm, a condition that considerably retarded progress but otherwise did not check the movement. The advance was maintained with notable steadiness, though distressing gaps in the ranks told too well the effectiveness of the enemy's fire. The colors of all the regiments repeatedly fell, but were always rescued and borne onward. The Fifth Minnesota had three of its color bearers killed and four of its color guard wounded. Nearly every mounted officer lost his horse, but kept his nerve. The ground was thickly strewn with dead and wounded men, but even the latter joined in the cheers that now rent the air in great volume, as the rebel works were reached and in a wild onset carried at every point. Most of the enemy surrendered in the trenches where they stood, his artillery being abandoned on the spot from whence those vicious discharges of canister had brought us so much grief. Hood's defensive line had been pierced at a vital point, and, if another hour of daylight had been vouchsafed us, his line of retreat would have been in General Thomas' hands.

This break in Hood's defenses and the consequent threatening of his rear necessarily loosened his grip at other points and the general attack which followed was uniformly successful. The advantage was pressed to the utmost until darkness put a period to farther effort, but Hood's army was now essentially a wreck. Abandoning his artillery, wagon trains, and all impedimenta that would in any manner incumber his movements in retreat, such of his army as was not captured fled in a mob southward, hotly pursued by Thomas. Through capture and desertions, it underwent a rapid process of disintegration all the way to the Tennessee river. A few skeleton detachments crossed the river, but as an organization there was practically nothing left of that grand army of invasion whose original objective was the country north of the Ohio river.

The experience of the Minnesota regiments, as well as of the army generally, in the pursuit of the fragments of Hood's army was particularly severe. The weather was cold and wet, raining and snowing by turns; the roads were embargoed with mud, almost unfathomable at times, and again frozen into rocky ruts that even the animals refused to tackle in their efforts to drag along the artillery and trains. The troops were without camp equipage of any sort, and but scantily supplied with rations. Many who survived the battle succumbed to the rigors of the campaign that followed it.

The most impressive evidence of the serious character of the duty imposed upon the Minnesota regiments in the battle of Nashville, and of its comprehensive execution, is the list of casualties they suffered. The number of the killed or mortally wounded was 63, with 237 others wounded and one missing; a total of 301 men was the measure of sacrifice here lain upon the altar of the country's cause. To this total the Fifth regiment contributed 107; the Seventh, 62; the Ninth, 58; and the Tenth, 74. Most regiments at that period of the war were reduced to a maximum on duty of from 350 to 400 men, which will indicate the large percentage of loss sustained.

The record of Minnesota in the battle of Nashville would be incomplete without a reference to the previous service performed by the Eighth Minnesota Infantry in the battle of Murfreesboro,

December 7th, 1864. While investing Nashville, General Hood sent a detachment of his army under Generals Forrest and Bate to endeavor to dislodge and capture, or to disperse, the garrison at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, which has before been alluded to as an outlying fortified position of much importance. This force of the enemy was met outside the defenses of the town by two brigades under General R. H. Milroy, one of which was commanded by Colonel M. T. Thomas of the Eighth Minnesota. The enemy was decisively defeated after a severe engagement, the character of which will be indicated by the casualties suffered by the Eighth Minnesota. A total of 90 men, 13 killed and 77 wounded, was the contribution Minnesota here made to the sacrifice required to secure the great results achieved at Nashville. The Eighth Regiment also performed essential service in the pursuit of the enemy after the battle, and contributed its share in making Hood's retreat the rout it became.

The battle of Nashville is always given a place among the decisive battles of the Civil War. The army of the enemy encountered at Nashville was not simply defeated, but it was practically destroyed. It left the field in demoralized fragments, and even these dissolved like snow under an April sun. It also decided adversely to the enemy a campaign undertaken under promising conditions, for a purpose, which, if successful, would have had a most serious effect upon the Union cause. If Hood had reached the Ohio river, it would have been a fair offset to Sherman's march to the sea. It would doubtless have necessitated another levy of troops at a time when the resources of the country, both in men and in the sinews of war, were strained almost to the limit. (It had already been proposed by General Grant, in one of the dispatches to Washington that has been quoted, that the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, be called on for 60,000 men to meet this threatened danger.) It would have precipitated conditions that might have seriously embarrassed the situation on the Potomac, and throughout the theater of war in the east.

Thomas' success paralyzed the enemy in the west, and enabled him to send an army corps under Schofield to reinforce Grant in the east, and another column under Smith to the south, to aid in the capture of the last stronghold of the enemy in the west at Mo-

bile, Alabama. A part of the army with which Thomas won Nashville was in at the death of the Confederacy in Virginia, and another part witnessed its dying struggles on the Gulf of Mexico. It required the genius of a great captain to organize and equip, from the fragments and resources at his hand, such an army as Thomas hurled against Hood, and to infuse into it in so short a time the morale that would enable it to win the decisive results that were secured at Nashville.

The war for the Union developed many great military characters, but the peer of any of them, in sterling soldierly qualities, skill in tactical warfare, and indomitable courage and determination in battle, was Major General George H. Thomas.

A spirited description of the operations of the Minnesota regiments in the battles about Nashville, written by John P. Owens, a pioneer Minnesotan, a staff officer of the First division at the time, was published in the St. Paul Press of December 30th, 1864. I here quote a passage from that description, relating to the final charge of the second day, but omitting some personal allusions that would hardly be appropriate in this paper.

At three o'clock P. M., the clouds had thickened and a moderate rain commenced to fall; the atmosphere became prematurely darkened as if night was setting in. The cavalry force which had been operating vigorously on the extreme right, and well towards the rear of the enemy, apparently became blinded by the mists which settled upon the hills, and their firing materially slackened. "Old Man Smith" (as the boys of his command delighted in calling him) and General McArthur were about, and the First Division, Joe Mower's old division, must maintain its dearly bought laurels of former days. The division was to charge Cheatham's veterans,—not only to charge them, but to rout them, capture and destroy them,—and, if possible, write their history in lines of blood as doomed rebels who once existed, but after this charge were not to exist. It was not known in military and confidential circles in Nashville that this telling charge was to be made, or at what time it was to be made, but somehow or other people felt it in their bones that it would come off at about the time it did, and many were there to witness it. We find also General

CHARGE BY MINN
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A REGIMENTS AT NASHVILLE.

or's Reception Room, State Capitol.

Thomas at hand,—accidentally, perhaps, but he was there, to witness the exciting scene. General Smith was there of course, muscle and nerve all in motion, knowing then as well what would be the result as he did when it was all over, the very embodiment of the towering, all conquering veteran that he is, eyeing with more than wonted confidence the compact lines of his veterans. McArthur, with that powerfully knit frame, and that intelligent and well developed Scotch face,—firmness amounting almost to stubbornness visible in every feature,—sat on his horse awaiting the proper moment to give the final order. And, as if to make the picture complete, Andrew Johnson, whom the soldiers of the Union and the people at home have just honored with the second office in the gift of the nation, was close at hand to behold the grand military drama about to be enacted.

The hour arrives, four o'clock precisely by McArthur's time. The order goes forth, and, with a shout that is heard plainly away off in our old lines near Nashville, the division starts for the works before it. The Second brigade leads off. Colonel Hubbard, with hat in hand, waving it over his head, leads on his trusty warriors. He knows what is coming, but he also knows the men he leads. Across the cornfield, the soft ground giving away until men and horses sink at every step knee-deep, under a shower of canister, shell, and minie-balls, filling every inch of the atmosphere and meeting them square in the face, they keep onward. The works are gained; no faltering yet; and now goes up the flag of the Ninth Minnesota on the works; simultaneously with it the flag of the veteran Fifth,—which has been shot down four times in this advance and riddled with a full charge of canister,—ascends; the works are carried in front of all the brigades of the division, and Minnesota holds the position in an unbroken line of half a mile in extent. Prisoners commence passing to the rear. First comes Captain McGrew of the Fifth, a staff officer of Colonel Hubbard's with about a regiment of them; then we meet officers and enlisted men of all the regiments, with squads larger than they can be supposed to take care of,—in all, the captures amounting to at least as many men as there were in the Second brigade. The whole work—a work that all military men who witnessed it agree in pronouncing a charge of scarcely equalled brilliancy in the annals of warfare,—was accomplished in ten minutes' time. The enemy was completely routed and driven to the adjacent hills in utter confusion. Ten pieces of artillery of the first quality were captured, in addition to small arms and prisoners without number. . . . . .

Minnesota gained more glory than the war had previously allowed her to gain. The gallantry of her officers and men is the theme of all tongues and pens. Colonel Hubbard was personally complimented

immediately after the action by Generals Thomas, Smith, and McArthur, uniting in a telegram to the President requesting his promotion. . . . . .

The Minnesota troops received highly honorable mention in the official reports of the battle of Nashville, in which occur the following:

General John McArthur, commanding the First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, said: "I wish particularly to mention the gallant conduct of Col. William R. Marshall, Seventh Minnesota Infantry Volunteers, commanding the Third Brigade, called to take command during the first day's battle and continuing throughout. His admirable management and example stamp him as an officer of rare merit."

General A. J. Smith, commanding the Sixteenth Army Corps, said: "Col. L. F. Hubbard had three horses shot under him on the 16th. Going into action with a total of 1,421 muskets in his brigade, he captured over 2,000 prisoners, 9 pieces of artillery, and 7 stands of colors, and the casualties of his brigade number 315."

The following was sent by telegraph to President Lincoln:

Head Quarters, First Division, Detachment Army of the Tennessee.
In the field near Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 17, 1864.

Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States,

Smith's "Guerrillas" again did a noble work yesterday, not the least portion of which is due the First Division. I respectfully ask, as an act of justice and honor fairly won, that Col. W. L. McMillan, Ninety-fifth Regiment, Ohio Infantry Volunteers, Col. L. F. Hubbard, Fifth Regiment, Minnesota Infantry Volunteers, commanding the First and Second brigades respectively, be appointed Brigadier Generals; also Col. S. G. Hill, Thirty-fifth Regiment, Iowa Infantry Volunteers, who commanded the Third Brigade and was killed while gallantly charging the enemy's works, I would recommend to be gazetted as Brigadier General.

JOHN MCARTHUR,
Brigadier General, U. S. Vols.

I heartily concur in the recommendation of General McArthur, and respectfully request the appointments may be made.

A. J. SMITH,
Major General.

I witnessed the assault on the enemy's works conducted by the above named officers, and unhesitatingly commend them for their gallant bearing.

GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Major General, U. S. Vols.,
Commanding Department of the Cumberland.

The success of General Thomas naturally restored equanimity at official headquarters, and changed the tone of the dispatches that came from the east. The following are samples that indicate the general character of the greetings which now cheered the victor of Nashville:

Washington, Dec. 15, 1864.

Major General George H. Thomas, Nashville,

I was just on my way to Nashville, but receiving a dispatch detailing your splendid success of today I shall go no farther. Push the enemy now and give him no rest. . . . . .

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut. General.

Washington, Dec. 15, 1864.

Major General Thomas:

I rejoice in tendering to you and the gallant officers and soldiers of your command, the thanks of this department for the brilliant achievement of this day. . . . We shall give you a hundred guns in the morning.

E. M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Washington, Dec. 16, 1864.

To Major General Thomas:

Please accept for yourself, officers, and men, the nation's thanks for your work of yesterday. You made a magnificent beginning. A grand consummation is within your reach. . . . . .

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

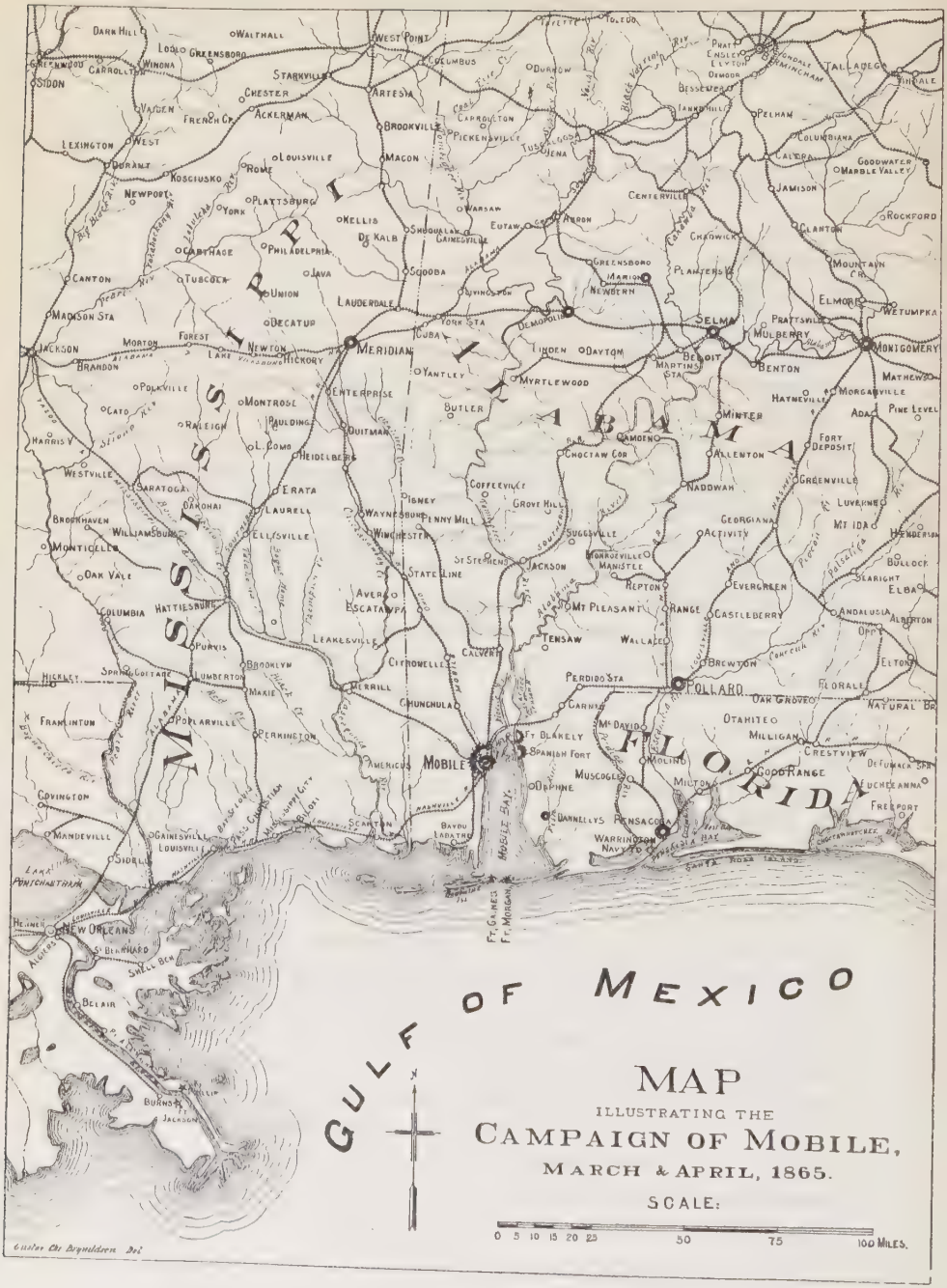
V.

MINNESOTA IN THE CAMPAIGN OF MOBILE, 1865.*

The early months of the year 1865 found the Southern Confederacy in a condition that portended a rapidly approaching dissolution. The trend of events during the preceding year had been of a character to impress the popular mind with the fact that the pretense of an independent sovereignty on the part of the seceded states could not much longer be maintained, and that the end of the Civil War was near at hand. While the Confederate authorities still maintained an attitude of defiance and manifested a determination to continue the contest indefinitely, yet to the dispassionate observer of the situation it seemed that the only hope remaining to stimulate further resistance to national authority was to secure a possible modification of the terms of final surrender. Even this hope was practically extinguished by the return to Richmond in February, 1865, of the Peace Commission, headed by Alexander H. Stevens, bringing the ultimatum of President Lincoln.

Though General Lee still held General Grant at bay before Petersburg and Richmond, and there was yet one point of some strategic importance in possession of the Confederates in the Southwest, at Mobile, Ala., in practically all the remaining territory of the so-called Confederacy the armed forces of the enemy had been successively defeated and had become disorganized and scattered. General Sherman had successfully accomplished his march to the sea, had captured Savannah, Ga., forced the evacuation of Charleston, S. C., and was on his march through the Carolinas to cooperate with General Grant in Virginia. The western armies of the Union had successfully performed and practically completed the work assigned them. The Confederate armies in the West had been overwhelmed and shattered, and the waning hopes of the enemy in three-fourths of the area of the seceded states were well nigh extinguished. In the central and western areas of conflict the armies of the Union had opened the Mississippi to the commerce

*Read by Gen. L. F. Hubbard at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 10, 1908.


MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
MOBILE
MOBILE BAY
PENSACOLA
MERIDIAN
SELMA
MONTGOMERY
NEW ORLEANS
LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN
MAP
ILLUSTRATING THE
CAMPAIGN OF MOBILE,
MARCH & APRIL, 1865.
SCALE:
0 5 10 15 20 25 50 75 100 MILES.

of the world, had made secure their hold on all points of vantage they had won, and had swept through the "bowels of the land" from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic seacoast. There was little left for them to do where they had heretofore operated; hence they were available in large part to help out their brethren who had been so long battling along the Potomac. Sherman with his legions from the West was already near the southern boundary of Virginia. From General Thomas' army of the Cumberland there had been detached the Fourteenth Army Corps, under General D. S. Stanley, for operations near the Virginia border in East Tennessee, and General Stoneman, with a force of western cavalry, was operating in western North Carolina. Thomas had also organized a column of 12,000 cavalry under General J. H. Wilson that was about to move from the Tennessee river southeasterly through Alabama and Georgia, on a mission to cut the communications and exhaust the resources in that part of the Confederacy, which now constituted practically the sole remaining dependence for supplies for the subsistence of the Rebel army in Virginia.

Thus was the cordon established that was designed to close in on and crush the only remaining army of the enemy that still maintained an organized and aggressive front.

The army under General George H. Thomas, that had the preceding December won the decisive battle of Nashville and practically destroyed the Confederate army under General J. B. Hood, halted in its course southward in pursuit of the fragments of the enemy on the banks of the Tennessee river near Eastport, Tenn. From this army were detached the forces referred to that were operating in East Tennessee and western North Carolina and the column of cavalry that was about to move into Alabama and Georgia. Thomas had early dispatched the Twenty-third Army Corps, under General Schofield, to reinforce Grant in the East, and was about to move the Sixteenth Corps to the same general destination, when he received orders to divert it to New Orleans.

General E. R. S. Canby, commanding the Department of the Gulf, had a considerable army occupying various points in his department, and had been expected long since to have taken Mobile. The reduction of Forts Morgan and Gaines, at the entrance to Mobile Bay, in August, 1864, was expected to be followed by vigorous efforts to take the city, and much impatience was manifested at

official headquarters at Canby's dilatory tactics. Canby had, for a time, apparently entertained the belief that Mobile would fall of its own weight; that the Confederates would conclude the force required for its occupation and defense could be used to more advantage elsewhere than in trying to maintain possession of a blockaded seaport. At all events, he was slow to respond to the instructions of the government to "take Mobile." His efforts seemed to have been employed in collateral movements that may have had for their ultimate purpose the achievement of the general object in view, but which were altogether too slow in their development to keep pace with events transpiring elsewhere.

Conditions reached a climax when, early in March, 1865, Canby sent a request to the Quartermaster General at Washington for a construction corps and material to be sent him with which to reconstruct a railroad from Pensacola, Florida, northward. This being referred to General Grant, the latter telegraphed General Meigs, the Quartermaster General: "You need not send an article of railroad material or a man to Canby. We have no time for building railroads there now." And to General Canby he wrote: "I am in receipt of a dispatch * * * informing me that you have made requisitions for a construction corps and material to build seventy miles of railroad. I have directed that none be sent. * * * I expected your movements to be co-operative with Sherman's last. This has now entirely failed. I wrote you long ago, urging you to push promptly and to live upon the country and destroy railroads, machine shops, etc., not to build them. *Take Mobile* and hold it, and push your forces to the interior—to Montgomery and to Selma. Destroy railroads, rolling stock, and everything useful for carrying on war, and, when you have done this, take such positions as can be supplied by water. By this means alone you can occupy positions from which the enemy's roads in the interior can be kept broken."*

There was no mistaking the purport of these instructions, and their tone fairly implied that if Canby did not proceed along the line indicated more promptly, somebody else might be designated to "take Mobile."

*General Grant's Memoirs, Vol. 2, page 411.

It had now become known that orders had been issued from Richmond to hold Mobile at all hazard and contest the efforts for its reduction to the utmost. While the Confederates could not hope to prevent its ultimate capture, it was apparent that it would require a much larger army to take the place than to defend it; hence it seemed to be good tactics to hold Canby's army of 45,000 men in the vicinity by a force of one-third that number rather than release a large part of it for operation in the direction of Richmond, Virginia. It therefore became evident that the "campaign of Mobile" was to assume more important proportions than had previously seemed probable.

Pursuant to the orders heretofore noted, the Sixteenth Army Corps, commanded by General A. J. Smith, embarked on transports at Eastport, Miss., on the 7th of February, 1865, and moved via the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, reporting to General Canby February 22. With this corps were the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Infantry, all a part of the First Division, commanded by General John McArthur. The Tenth Minnesota, Lieut.-Col. S. P. Jennison, was in the First Brigade, commanded by Colonel W. L. McMillan. The Fifth Minnesota, Lieut.-Col. W. B. Gere, and the Ninth Minnesota, Col. John S. Marsh, were in the Second Brigade, commanded by Col. L. F. Hubbard; and the Seventh Minnesota, Lieut.-Col. George Bradley, was in the Third Brigade, commanded by Col. William R. Marshall.

The Corps was assigned a camp at Chalmette, near the city of New Orleans, occupying the ground upon which General Jackson fought his battle with the British in 1812. While here the Sixth Minnesota, Col. H. P. Grant, which had been sent to New Orleans from St. Louis the preceding January, was assigned to the Sixteenth Corps, becoming a part of the Second Brigade of the Second Division. This brought together in the same corps command five Minnesota regiments, the largest number of Minnesota soldiers that campaigned together during the Civil War.

Early in March a concentration of the main Mobile column was ordered on Dauphin island, at the entrance to Mobile bay, and on the 7th of the month the Sixteenth Corps, moving by ocean steamers via the Gulf of Mexico, arrived at that rendezvous. Here it was detained until the 18th, in the meantime enjoying life in a manner and to a degree for which the soldier is rarely given oppor-

tunity. Along the Gulf coast of the island there existed an extensive oyster bed, from whence its luscious product was conveyed to camp by the wagon load. The traditional army ration naturally became wholly neglected, its substitute being "oysters in every style." It is presumed that none of the men had seen a fresh oyster since their enlistment, and it is certainly assured that their appetite for that particular diet remained dormant for years afterward. Its efforts to exhaust that oyster bed was the only failure the Sixteenth Corps acknowledged in all its enterprises during the war.

On the 18th of March we regretfully left Dauphin island behind us and moved by steamers into Fish river, an eastern affluent of Mobile bay, landing at Dannelly's Mills, a few miles from its mouth, and at once engaged in movements that caused us to realize that the campaign of Mobile was earnestly in progress.

Except so far as may be required to give a general idea of the more important movements, this sketch will not make special reference to the service of the several commands engaged in the campaign of Mobile, other than that of the Sixteenth Army Corps, to which the Minnesota regiments were attached. The conditions and character of the service of all the units of the army were much the same, but none more active and laborious or more valuable and distinguished than that of "Smith's Guerrillas," a sobriquet the Sixteenth Army Corps had borne since its campaign with the Red River expedition in 1864.

The city of Mobile is situated on low ground at the head of the bay that bears its name, and near the outlet of the water courses formed by the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers that discharge their waters through several channels into the bay. The main channel of these waterways, called Mobile river, flows across the city's front, and, in combination with the Tensas and Appalachee channels, forms a natural barrier against a land approach to the city from the east and north. These natural obstacles had been rendered more formidable by the construction of several forts and other artificial defenses along their eastern banks and on adjacent islands in the bay. The land approach to the city from the western shore of the bay was protected by three lines of earth fortifications, each of exceptional strength, and all of a character to withstand a prolonged effort to reduce and overcome them. They did not envelop the principal avenues of egress from the city, and hence would not

assure the capture of the garrision if carried by assault. The plan of the campaign, therefore, contemplated the reduction of the defenses on the northeastern shore of the bay and the acquisition of control of the navigable waterways that led to the Mobile, Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. The securing of these, it was assumed, would successfully flank and doubtless cause the abandonment of the immediate land defenses of Mobile.

The principal work in the series of defenses to be encountered on the northeastern shore, about seven miles east of Mobile, was Spanish Fort, an ancient earthwork that had been constructed during the period of Spanish occupation of the country, but which, of course, had been extended and elaborated in a manner to give it the modern characteristics of a work of its class. As now constituted, besides Spanish Fort proper, the line of defense included a group of three formidable redoubts, Alexis, McDermett, and Red Fort, all connected by a scientific system of strong entrenchments. Three or four miles north of these works, on the east bank of the Appalachee channel, was the fortified position of Blakely, consisting of a series of redoubts connected by rifle pits and protected by ditches and palisades and other obstructing approaches.* Other forts and batteries occupying points of vantage as auxiliaries of Spanish Fort and Blakely, notably Batteries Tracy and Huger, were located on adjacent islands, and proved important factors in the scientific scheme of defense that had been devised for the protec-

*"Old Spanish Fort is a bastioned work, nearly enclosed, and built on a bluff, whose shape projects abruptly to the water. Its parapet on the bay side was partly natural, being made by excavating the earth from the side of the bluff and was thirty feet in thickness. The fort was armed with 7-inch Columbiads and 30-pounder Parrotts—the latter made at Selma—and was designated as No. 1. Extending around that, in a semicircle, was a continuous line of breastworks and redoubts. The right of this line commenced 400 yards down the shore, on the highest and most prominent bluff, upward of 100 feet above the water, with a strong enclosed fort, called McDermett (No. 2), and armed with ten heavy guns. The slope of the bluff, toward the bay, is precipitous, and from its base to the water is a marsh 200 yards wide, on which the timber had been felled. To the north and left the descent was gradual, along which extended a line of rifle-pits, crossing a ravine and stream of water, and then up the slope of another bluff, on which was a strong battery, designated as No. 3. From there the line of works continued 600 yards in a northerly direction, and there turned toward the bay, striking the marsh on Bay Minette at a point about a mile above old Spanish Fort. This outer line of works was upward of two miles in length, and the batteries were all on high and commanding ground. The surface was covered with open pine timber, but in front of the outer line of works the trees were felled for a few hundred yards. Every ravine had borne a

tion of this approach to the city of Mobile. All these works contained complete armaments of modern artillery, many of the guns being of large calibre and great range. Spanish Fort and Blakely were located on high ground, the topography of their approaches greatly favoring their defense, to which were added, besides the usual ditches and moats, abatis, chevaux de frise, wire entanglements, sub-terra shells, and other artificial devices, altogether presenting a formidable combination which an assailant of these works must encounter.

The garrison of Mobile and its outlying defensive works was composed of about 15,000 men under the general command of General D. H. Maury, Spanish Fort being under the immediate command of General R. L. Gibson, and Blakely of General St. John R. Liddell.

General Canby had planned to move the force employed in his operations against Mobile in two columns, the main column consisting of the Sixteenth Corps (about 16,000 men), two divisions of the Thirteenth Corps (about 13,200 men), and detachments of cavalry, artillery and engineers of about 3,000 men. This force of 32,200 men was to move under his immediate command directly from the point on Fish river, where it had been concentrated, against Spanish Fort and Blakely. A force of 13,200 men, composed of a division of the Thirteenth Corps, commanded by General C. C. Andrews (a Minnesota soldier), a division of colored troops, and a brigade of cavalry, all under command of General Frederick

heavy growth of hard wood, which, having been slashed, made, with the underbrush and vines, an almost impassable obstruction. The ditch in front of the breastworks was five feet deep and eight feet wide, but in front of Fort McDermett it was deeper and wider. In front of the batteries were also detached rifle-pits for sharpshooters, and along the entire front was a line of abatis fifteen feet wide. On the extreme left the works were unfinished."—Campaign of Mobile, by General C. C. Andrews, pages 48 and 49, published in 1867.

"The fortifications around Blakely were constructed in a sort of semicircle, resting on a bluff close to the river, at the extreme left, and terminating with the high ground a few rods from the river on the right. The line was nearly three miles in length, and included nine well built redoubts or lunettes. The fortifications were thoroughly built, and were armed with about forty pieces of artillery. But the ditches were not more than four or five feet deep. From 600 to 800 yards all along the front the trees had been felled—pines on the high ground and hard-wood trees in the ravines. Fifty yards out from the works was a line of abatis, and opposite some of the redoubts was an interior line. Then 300 yards out to the front, parallel with the works, was another line of abatis, and behind the latter were detached rifle-pits."—Ibid., p. 122.

Steele, were to move from Pensacola, Florida, on a circuitous route via Pollard, Alabama, as if to first threaten an incursion into the interior in the direction of Montgomery, Alabama. As the latter force had much the longer route to cover, it was the first to move. On the 19th of March the movement from Pensacola began, and on the 25th the Sixteenth Corps, followed by the Thirteenth, moved from Dannelly's Mills in the direction of Spanish Fort. The first division, in which were four Minnesota regiments, held the advance, and soon encountered a small force of the enemy which had held a position as a "corps of observation" in the vicinity since the occupation of the Union base on Fish river. This force fell back under the pressure of the advance movement, though skirmishing moderately as it retired. Colonel Marshall, of the Seventh Minnesota, was slightly wounded in the shoulder by a sharpshooter while on the skirmish line on the 25th.

The vicinity of Spanish Fort was reached early in the day of the 27th, where the enemy was encountered in such force as to seem to require the deployment of a large part of the command in order of battle. The well chosen position here occupied by the enemy, and his defiant attitude indicated a purpose to give battle outside the fortifications. The stubborn resistance presented to our farther advance caused dispositions to be made for an organized attack; but as we moved forward in battle array, as if to charge the enemy's position, our lines presented so formidable a front as to apparently discourage an encounter in the open, the enemy giving way after delivering a few volleys and sullenly retiring towards his fortified position. As we followed his movement in retreat we soon came within range of the guns of Spanish Fort, under the protection of which the enemy reached his entrenched lines. Though these operations did not give opportunity for close encounter, the casualties were numerous. McArthur's division suffered a loss of 68 in killed and wounded, 52 of which were in Hubbard's Brigade. Though encountering a hot fire from the defenses of the fort, the advance was steadily maintained, and before the day was spent we were within assaulting distance of the enemy's fortified position, and were momentarily expecting orders to storm the frowning works that were belching their furious fire in our faces. Though surprised, we were by no means disappointed when it was ordered that the troops should establish a line of investment. We had be-

fore been made to realize that we were now under the direction of a somewhat cautious commander. At every bivouac on our advance we had been required to intrench our front, a new experience for the Sixteenth Army Corps, and we had otherwise been impressed with the fact that conservative influences were in control of the army. Under the conditions obtaining earlier in the war, it would probably have been good military tactics to have made an immediate assault, particularly as a part of the hostile works were in an incomplete condition, and the dispositions for their defense in a somewhat disorganized state. An assault would probably have been successful, but it would have involved a serious sacrifice of life, which the operations of a siege might largely obviate; and consideration of humanity at that period of the war—evidently so near its close—was no doubt a powerful factor in directing General Canby's policy.

The line of investment was established at varying distances of from 500 to 800 yards from the enemy's works, as the broken topography permitted, and entrenchments of logs and earth were at once constructed. This line extended from the shore of the bay on the south to the bank of the water front of the fort on the north, a distance of about two miles.

The approach to the water front of the fort had been obstructed by various devices that effectually closed the navigable channel passing the work. These were principally submarine mines and torpedoes, though in places piling had been driven. Batteries Tracy and Huger, located on nearby islands, also commanded the water approaches to the fort, and in those works were several rifled guns of the largest calibre then known in warfare.

It was confidently expected that the co-operating naval contingent commanded by Acting Rear Admiral H. K. Thatcher would be able to establish a close blockade of Spanish Fort on its water front, and thus effect a complete investment of the work. It developed that conditions rendered this impracticable, and hence the place could not be so isolated as to render a siege most effective. During subsequent operations, therefore, Spanish Fort had continuous, though somewhat precarious, communication with auxiliary positions and with its base at Mobile.

While the movements noted against Spanish Fort were in progress, the Pensacola column, under Steele, in connection with the Second Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, in which was the Sixth Minnesota, had enveloped the land defenses of Blakely and established a similar line of investment on the land front of that position. The conditions on the water approach to Blakely were of like character to those existing at Spanish Fort; hence the siege of both places presented similar problems for solution. At both positions siege operations by regular approaches and the installation of protected batteries of heavy guns were at once undertaken.

The sieges of Spanish Fort and Blakely were short, but they were prosecuted with great vigor. They covered operations at both positions from March 27 to April 9. Skillful engineers were at hand to trace the lines to be occupied and to indicate the character of the trenches, zigzags, saps, parallels, and emplacements, by means of which the besiegers maintained a steady and sure approach to the enemy's works.

The labor imposed upon the men was arduous and continuous, as the work was prosecuted day and night. The previous three years' service of the men had made them all experts in the use of intrenching tools, as well as of the arms they bore, and many of them could formulate as scientific a system of approaches to a fortified position as the best engineers in the army. The supervision of the engineering corps was, however, important in properly connecting and harmonizing the operations of the several commands.*

The broken and rolling topography of the ground to be covered by these approaches, involving the crossing of ravines in places with abrupt banks and the avoidance, so far as possible, of points upon which too hot a fire from the forts could be concentrated, rendered the work complicated as well as extremely dangerous. Many a soldier practically dug his own grave while engaged in this work, as a shell would explode in his vicinity or the keen eye of a sharpshooter would detect an exposure perhaps impossible to prevent. It is difficult to realize, as it is impossible to describe, the intense nature of the strain to which a soldier is continuously subjected while performing duty of this character. While the danger to life is per-

*Capt. D. L. Wellman of the Ninth Minnesota, an aide upon General McArthur's staff, and an engineer of much previous experience, was among the most efficient of the corps engaged in this duty.

haps less than when engaged in battle, the sustaining inspiration of possibly achieving some marked success momentarily hoped for is lacking. In battle combat all the soldier's faculties are alert, his nerves at the utmost tension and his thoughts concentrated upon the accomplishment of the duty immediately before him. When actively engaged he rarely realizes the danger he confronts, and gives little thought to the possibility that in the next moment he may lose his life. Especially if the battle is going favorably, an intoxication possesses him, more stimulating and exhilarating than any other possible influence or agency to which human intelligence is subject. In any event, he feels that he is in a situation where he can give as well as take, and, therefore, he has an even chance with his antagonist; or, expressed in the vernacular of the time, he feels that he is being given measurably a "square deal." It is quite otherwise when digging in the trenches in front of a fortified position. There is no inspiration in that kind of service. The soldier's thoughts inevitably dwell upon the possibility that any moment a missile projected by a dead shot from the enemy's line may cripple him, or that a shell may explode in his vicinity and crush him. To labor for hours under such conditions constitutes an experience that is most depressing and involves a strain that is exhausting.

As the work progressed and a parallel was established, the latter would be occupied by as strong a line of sharpshooters as it would accommodate, and the enemy made to realize that he was within easy range and must become more circumspect in his efforts to retard the work of the besiegers. Many a Confederate paid for his temerity with his life as he ventured to take sight through the porthole in his front at an exposed part of a Union soldier wielding a spade or a pick; or, perhaps, at the hat raised just above the trench by its owner for the purpose of drawing his fire. As an embrasure on the enemy's line would be opened to allow a piece of artillery to be fired, the chances were that the man who sought to sight the piece would within the moment drop, his brain pierced by a minie ball before his duty was half performed. Most important service of this character was performed by a permanent detail of 250 men from among the best shots of the Second Brigade and composed largely of men from the Fifth and Ninth Minnesota,

under command of Capt. A. P. French of the Fifth Minnesota. Similar details were made from the Seventh and Tenth Minnesota Regiments, of the other brigades of McArthur's Division, and, indeed, from all the commands along the line of investment; and by the enterprise, daring and skill of these sharpshooters much protection was afforded to the details at work constructing the approaches. As the work neared the hostile lines, an advanced rifle pit of the enemy would occasionally become enveloped and its occupants made prisoners, sometimes to the apparent satisfaction of the captives.

A device that contributed its full quota of annoyance to the enemy as we neared his lines was a mortar made of gumwood, bound with strap iron and fashioned much after those constructed of more substantial material. From these primitive and apparently frail specimens of ordnance, shells were projected into the fort. Being located in the advanced trenches, but a moderate charge of explosive was required to project the shell; hence they could be used with comparative safety, though the projectile itself was as destructive as those used by the batteries located a considerable distance in the rear. Our Minnesota boys claimed the credit of this invention, which, I think, was generally conceded. The Seventh Minnesota brought home one of these mortars used by that regiment at Spanish Fort, which is now in possession of this society and displayed as an interesting relic of the Civil War.

The most advanced parallel in front of the Second Brigade of the First Division had reached a point within sixty yards of the enemy's principal fortified line, on the 8th of April, and from this and other advanced positions along the besiegers' front, dispositions were being made to make an assault on the enemy's works early the following day. While these were in progress the troops of the Iowa Brigade (Third Division, Sixteenth Army Corps), commanded by Colonel Geddes, occupying the extreme right of the line, in its efforts to secure a more advanced position, came into collision just at dark with the part of the garrison in its front, and in the sharp encounter that followed, the enemy was forced back of and beyond his main defensive line, and a position secured that flanked and enfiladed for a few hundred yards the interior of the enemy's works. The locality leading to the position thus gained was low and swampy, presenting much difficulty, especially in the prevail-

ing darkness, in properly directing necessary supporting movements; but the Iowa men, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the enemy to dislodge them, maintained the advantage gained until strongly reinforced. The enemy, realizing that this break in their line would be followed by a pressure that it would be futile to try to resist, at once proceeded to utilize the means he had provided for such an emergency, and began to hurriedly evacute Spanish Fort.

The failure of the navy to cut the line of water communication between the fort and its auxiliary positions made it possible for a large part of the garrison to escape. A treadway leading across a swamp to Battery Tracy was the principal means of exit, a fleet of small boats the while aiding the exodus.

This lodgment, secured on the right of the line, was, of course, followed by a general advance, and soon after midnight all the defenses of the enemy were occupied and Spanish Fort in full possession of the Union forces. In front of the First Division, Captain French promptly moved his detail of sharpshooters into the works, captured the line of pickets that were left in the trenches to maintain an appearance of defense, and following the route of the enemy's retreat, captured a body of prisoners with some artillery near the point where the enemy were leaving the fort.

Captain McGrew, of the Fifth Minnesota, an aide on the staff of his brigade commander, who was superintending the operation of the sappers, led a regiment of the brigade (Forty-seventh Illinois) into Fort Alexis, taking possession of its armament of eleven heavy guns as trophies of the First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps.

Though the visible result of the acquisition of Spanish Fort seemed at the moment a somewhat meager reward for our labor and sacrifice (the capture of but a fraction of the garrison and about fifty heavy guns), yet we felt that we had secured an important strategic advantage, and that it must prove the beginning of the end of the campaign. A part of the escaping garrison made its way to Mobile, but a considerable portion found refuge within the fortifications of Blakely, where they realized the next day that they had escaped from the frying pan only to fall into the fire.

Before daylight of the 9th the Sixteenth Army Corps received orders to move immediately to Blakely, where its Third Division had already dug its way well up to the hostile lines, and at an early hour of the day was deployed in support of the troops that confronted that position.

Though the approaches to Blakely were in a less advanced stage than had been reached in front of Spanish Fort, the capture of the latter gave a notable impulse to the army, and, under the influence of the enthusiasm it aroused, it was deemed opportune to make an assault and finish the business while the men were in the mood. The necessary dispositions were therefore hurriedly made, and at 5:30 P. M. the order was given to storm the enemy's works all along the line. General Canby says in his report that, "with a gallantry to which there were no exceptions, the troops pressed forward under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, passing over exploding torpedoes, networks and abatis, and assaulted and carried the enemy's works in about twenty minutes, each division carrying the works in its front."

While General A. J. Smith, commanding the Sixteenth Army Corps, claims in his report that his command "was on the parapet with its colors at the time the other commands started to assault," it must be conceded, as stated by General Canby, that each command captured the works in its front with the men and material they contained. It may be stated, however, as an authenticated fact, that General Smith first indicated a purpose to make an assault, and asked for co-operation of the other commands at the hour he had fixed.

There were captured in Blakely about 3,760 prisoners and all the artillery and munitions it contained. The final efforts that resulted in its capture were greatly aided, as indicated, by the fall of Spanish Fort. The moral effect of that event was greatly stimulating to the besiegers, and had a correspondingly depressing influence upon the besieged.

The capture of Spanish Fort and Blakely sealed the fate of Mobile. Batteries Tracy and Huger continued a feeble resistance for a day, giving a few hours' more time for General Maury to evacuate the city, which was surrendered to a column of Canby's forces on the 12th of April. Two divisions of the army under Gen-

eral Granger were sent across the bay, and moved into Mobile through its now vacated formidable land defenses on the southern front of the city.

The naval force employed in these operations performed useful service—the most effective, indeed, possible under the conditions it was required to encounter. It sought to overcome the obstructions planted in its path by every device and resource it could command, and in its efforts to make progress seemed to be animated by the admonition given by Farragut to his leading ship when he forced an entrance into Mobile bay in August, 1864, to "damn the torpedoes and go ahead." Early in its operations three vessels of the squadron, the Milwaukee, Osage, and Rudolph, were sunk by torpedoes, and other of its boats more or less damaged. At the points of greatest difficulty, in addition to the obstructions in the channel, the navy had to meet the concentrated fire of many heavy guns of Spanish Fort, and of batteries Huger and Tracy, besides floating batteries located at points within commanding range. Had the siege been protracted, doubtless the navy would in time have cleared its way to where it might have closed the water communications of the enemy. It had accomplished much in overcoming obstructions it encountered, and the progress it was making may have influenced the enemy in his final purpose to evacuate the fort. During the siege several heavy guns were removed from the boats and placed in battery on land, where, served by marines, they gave material aid.

The total captures covered by operations against Mobile, as stated in General Canby's official order, were 5,000 prisoners, 300 pieces of artillery, and large stores of ammunition and other material of war. The official statement of Union losses was 1,508 in killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded, in the absence of accurate data, was estimated at about one-half that number.

The assault on Blakely occurred the same day that General Lee surrendered to General Grant. It was, therefore, the last considerable engagement and practically the last battle of the Civil War. The attention and interest of the country were at the time, of course, centered upon events occurring in Virginia, and the intelligence of the capture of Mobile reaching the North some days

after Lee's surrender, and the assurance it gave that the war was practically at an end, did not make the impression on the public mind it otherwise would have done. Had the event occurred a few months, or even weeks, previous, the taking of Mobile would have been classed among the important achievements of the Union arms, and would have received from the country recognition and commendation commensurate with the credit it reflected upon the army that captured the last strategic position held by the Confederacy along its entire seacoast.

Immediately following the occupation of Mobile, the Sixteenth Army Corps was ordered to march to Montgomery, Alabama, and on the 14th of April the movement northward began.

While the campaign of Mobile was in progress the column of cavalry under General J. H. Wilson, to which reference has been made, moving from the Tennessee river March 22nd, had penetrated the country southward, capturing Selma, Alabama, on the 2nd of April, and occupied Montgomery on the 12th, the latter place surrendering without a contest. From thence moving eastward into Georgia, Wilson successively received the surrender of Columbus, West Point, and Macon, Georgia, reaching the latter place on the 18th of April. It was not expected, therefore, that the movement to Montgomery by the Sixteenth Corps would meet with serious resistance at any stage of its progress.

The march to Montgomery was without incident for several days and was becoming somewhat monotonous, when, as the command neared the city, there transpired a scene that none who were present will ever forget. The column had been halted for a brief rest. The day was hot. The men, footsore and weary, were reclining upon the grassy roadside, grateful for the few minutes' respite being granted them, when the attention of every one was directed to the approach of a courier from the direction to which the column was moving, riding at a "Sheridan gait" down the road. Was he bearing orders for us to double-quick to the front, to meet an enemy unexpectedly encountered? What else could be the purport of such a hasty errand? But what was the meaning of the hilarious antics of the men along the column in front? All were for a moment bewildered, but as the courier dashed past, shouting, "Richmond is captured and Lee's army has surrendered," the men

became simply frantic in their demonstrations of joy. There wasn't a weary or footsore man in that army then. The old veterans embraced each other, laughed, cried, shouted and sang. They threw hats, canteens, haversacks, blouses and even their muskets in the air, and as the column moved forward in continuation of the march, every voice joined in that grand refrain. "Hail Columbia." The old veterans were happy. They knew that Lee's surrender meant that the war was over; that their years of toil and danger, privation and suffering, were at an end, and that they would soon embrace the loved ones at home. They went into bivouac that night after a long hard march, with a feeling of buoyancy they had not experienced in many months.

But their joy was turned to inexpressible grief and their hearts cruelly crushed when the army, having reached Montgomery, learned a day or two later of the assassination of President Lincoln. The revulsion of feeling caused by the intelligence of that event was simply terrible. Thoughts of muster out and return home were banished. The one and almost only desire that now animated the soul of the old soldier was to remain in the service and aid in avenging that awful crime.

During the following summer the Sixteenth Corps constituted the "army of occupation" of southwestern Alabama and southeastern Mississippi, its line reaching from Montgomery, Alabama, to Meridian, Mississippi. The Fifth Regiment was stationed at Demopolis, the Sixth at Montgomery, the Seventh at Selma, the Ninth at Marion, and the Tenth at Meridian. The war was over, and the soldiers' duty, aside from the routine of camp life, was to preserve order in the country, which was under martial law. We were in a country that had largely escaped the devastation of war, but whose people were intensely hostile. As they became better acquainted with the characteristics of the Yankee soldier, their attitude changed, and final relations were established of a most friendly character. Altogether the regiments spent a very pleasant summer, though the delay in relieving them from military service became irksome, and a feeling of impatience thereat was becoming manifest when the welcome order came that relieved the war-scarred veterans from duty as soldiers of the republic and rehabilitated them as citizens of the country they had helped to save.

Official Report of Colonel Lucius F. Hubbard, Fifth Minnesota Infantry, Commanding Second Brigade, of Operations March 20 to April 9.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Sixteenth Army Corps,
Near Blakely, Ala., April 12, 1865.

Captain:—The following report of the part taken by the Second Brigade, First Division, Sixteenth Army Corps, in the operations that have recently culminated in the capture of Spanish Fort and its dependencies, is respectfully submitted.

On the 20th day of March the command broke camp on Dauphin island and moved by transports up Fish river; disembarked at Dannelly's Mills on the 21st, and encamped in the immediate vicinity. On the following day a new position was taken and intrenchments constructed, covering the front of the brigade, which were occupied as a line of defense until the 25th. On the 23rd and 24th our pickets were attacked by the enemy, but each time the latter was repulsed, with the occurrence of but a single casualty in this command.

At 8. a. m., on the 25th of March, the brigade, holding the advance of the corps, moved out on the Deer Park road. A small force of the enemy was soon encountered, with which skirmishing at once commenced. With four companies of the Ninth Minnesota Infantry deployed as skirmishers and the balance of the regiment as support, the enemy was steadily pressed back and the road made clear for the column to pass. Until ordered to halt and encamp for the night the skirmishers made no pause in their advance. During the following day's march the brigade, being in the rear, encountered no enemy.

On the 27th during the progress of the investment of Spanish Fort, the Second Brigade held a position in the center of and advanced in line of battle with the First Division. A line of skir-

mishers deployed along my front, met those of the enemy within perhaps a mile of the rebel defenses, and engaged them actively; the latter slowly giving way, but contesting the ground quite stubbornly. The line of battle advanced by degrees until a position was secured within about 800 yards of the fort, the enemy the while delivering from his works a spirited fire of musketry and artillery. During the following night a line of investment was established and the command employed intrenching the position. The Second Brigade held a front of four regiments running from right to left in the following order, viz., Eighth Wisconsin, Forty-seventh Illinois, Fifth Minnesota and Ninth Minnesota, the Eleventh Missouri being held in reserve. My skirmishers were advanced during the night and posted as pickets within 300 yards of the enemy's works. The 28th and 29th were spent in strengthening our defensive works and constructing bomb-proofs for the protection of the men. On the night of the 29th I commenced to run a sap in the direction of the fort, and on the 31st had reached a position and constructed a parallel within 300 yards of the main works of the enemy. This parallel was at once manned with sharpshooters, a detail of 250 picked men, the best shots in the brigade, being made for that purpose and placed under the command of Captain A. P. French, Fifth Minnesota Infantry, which detail was retained permanently on duty during the continuance of the siege. These sharpshooters rendered very effective service throughout the siege, greatly annoying the enemy's artillerists, in some instances compelling him to abandon the use of his guns and fill his embrasures with earth. Captain French is entitled to much credit for the efficient management of his command.

The work upon the approaches to the fort was actively prosecuted until the night of the 8th of April. At that date my sharpshooters had been advanced to a second parallel about 100 yards farther to the front, and my sappers had reached a point and partially constructed a parallel within sixty yards of the enemy's works. My first parallel had been converted into an emplacement, in which I had located a regiment, the Forty-seventh Illinois Infantry, as a support to the sharpshooters.

At about 2 A. M. of the 9th instant developments upon the right of our lines created a suspicion that the enemy was evacuating his works. Captain McGrew, of my staff, who at that time was superintending the operations of the sappers, directed Captain French to move forward his command of skirmishers and ascertain what enemy, if any, was in his front. The order was promptly obeyed, the enemy's pickets posted outside the fort captured without opposition, and the works found to be abandoned. Captain McGrew immediately moved the Forty-seventh Illinois, Major Bonham commanding, into the fort, and, crossing the ravine to the left, occupied Fort Alexis, placing guards upon the guns, magazines, and other property left by the enemy. In this work were ten pieces of artillery, one mortar, and much ammunition. In the meantime Captain French moved his skirmishers through Spanish Fort to the bank of the river at the point where the enemy was crossing, capturing several prisoners and one piece of artillery abandoned near the bridge.

About half an hour after the occupation of Fort Alexis by the Forty-seventh Illinois, the troops of General Benton's Division, Thirteenth Army Corps, moved in, and Captain McGrew formally surrendered possession to Major Boydston, of General Benton's staff.

At 9 A. M. on the 9th instant, the command moved out on the Blakely road, and encamped at night near its present location.

During the siege of Spanish Fort the brigade excavated 7,000 cubic yards of earth and expended 169,000 rounds of musket ammunition. The labors of the siege were very arduous. The men were worked at large details, night and day, upon fortifications and approaches, yet they bore their trials patiently, and cheerfully responded to every call of whatever character. Colonels Marsh, Gere and Britton, and Majors Green and Bonham, commanding their respective regiments, were untiring in their efforts to facilitate the operations of the siege. Captain J. G. McGrew, aide-de-camp, rendered very valuable service while performing the dangerous duty of superintending the construction of the approaches to the enemy's works. Captains Cleland and Kendall and Lieutenant Kelly are also entitled to much credit for their activity and energy during the recent operations.

The total casualties suffered by the brigade within the time embraced in the above report is 99, as follows:

COMMAND.	Killed.		Wounded.		Total.
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	
11th Missouri Veteran Infantry.....	1	5	....	27	33
8th Wisconsin Veteran Infantry....	....	2	....	17	19
5th Minnesota Veteran Infantry....	....	....	....	16	16
9th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry..	....	2	1	13	16
47th Illinois Volunteer Infantry.....	....	1	3	11	15
Total	1	10	4	84	99

L. F. Hubbard,
Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Capt. W. H. F. Randall,
Assistant Adjutant General, First Division.

ST. CLOUD IN THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.*

BY WILLIAM B. MITCHELL.

It was the first or second day of May, 1857, when the Cremona, a stern-wheel steamer direct from Pittsburg, Pa., with a number of other steamboats which had cut their way through the thin ice at the edge of Lake Pepin, landed at St. Paul. There was little in the place, which then numbered scarcely more than 7,000 or 8,000 souls, to impress the newcomer. The thing which most directly attracted my youthful attention was the seemingly unprotected condition of the store windows, through which the goods and wares of the dealers could be seen at all hours of the night, offering apparently a safe and easy opportunity for burglars to help themselves,—in striking contrast to the heavily shuttered and strongly barred store windows of Pittsburg, which had just been left.

After discharging such part of its cargo as belonged to St. Paul, the Cremona started for St. Anthony, whose people were exceedingly ambitious to have their embryo city known as "the head of navigation on the upper Mississippi." It was a tedious and expensive undertaking, although finally successful. More than twenty-four hours time was consumed in making the ten miles, during which not only were many barrels of rosin, besides the usual fuel, thrown under the boilers to force a head of steam, but the capstan was brought into frequent requisition to drag the boat over the worst rapids. The success of this effort and a few others of a similar character failed, however, to overcome the obstacles thrown in the way by nature and to make the city at the Falls the head of navigation, which still lingers some ten miles further down stream. After our household goods and other belongings,

*Presented to this Society, February 14, 1905.

including a stock of merchandise, had been carted around St. Anthony Falls, they were put aboard the North Star, one of a fleet of three small steamboats which made regular trips to St. Cloud. This destination was reached May 6th, after a continuous journey by river occupying more than five weeks.

The first building to be seen, as the little steamer rounded Stony Point, was the Stearns House, a very creditable three-story hotel located on a high bluff overlooking the Mississippi and which had been built the year before. After serving for a number of years its mission as a hotel, the building was purchased in 1869 by the people of St. Cloud and was presented to the state of Minnesota as the first home of the St. Cloud Normal School. Later it was used as a dormitory in connection with the school, and after the erection of the new dormitory (Lawrence Hall) was sold to private parties and removed from the grounds. A little south of it, in 1857, was a small log building in which was printed St. Cloud's first newspaper, the Minnesota Advertiser, owned by the Town-site Company which platted the so-called Lower Town. The first number of the paper was issued in 1856. The bed of an old-fashioned hand press held the "forms," which were inked with buckskin balls, the result being a very creditable looking paper.

Another building of interest was the Everett schoolhouse, a small frame structure located a short distance west of the Stearns House. It contained but a single room, and had been built by private enterprise, and the school was taught by private individuals. It was named for Edward Everett, who recognized the compliment by sending to the school a choice, though not large, selection of standard books, which for many years constituted the public library of the place.

The first town-site location at St. Cloud, covering what came to be known as "Middle Town," now the business center of the city, was made in 1854 by John L. Wilson, who at this writing is still a resident of the city and enjoying good health at the advanced age of eighty-four years. The name was chosen by Mr. Wilson, who has no French blood in his veins, because his fancy had been struck by the name of the city in France which had been the scene of some of Napoleon's famous exploits. The

same year General Sylvanus B. Lowry platted what was first known as Arcadia, afterward "Upper Town," and later Lowry's Addition. Within a few months afterward George F. Brott and Orrin Curtis, of St. Anthony Falls, surveyed and platted St. Cloud City, better known for many years as "Lower Town." These three surveys constituted about all of what until boom times was the city of St. Cloud, but which now, with its various additions, covers parts of three counties.

George F. Brott was a most interesting character, and in those early days was almost omnipresent. He was a born speculator and an ideal promoter, and his town-sites were scattered in all directions over the northern part of the state along the lines of proposed paper railroads. He was of medium size, with short, curly hair, small, restless eyes, a sanguine disposition, winning ways, and a volubility which has seldom been equalled. During the civil war he went to New Orleans, where in various speculations he made and lost several fortunes. Later he removed to Washington city, where he died a few years since.

General Sylvanus B. Lowry, by whom the northern part of the city was platted, was a typical Southerner,—swarthy, dignified, courteous, although at times somewhat taciturn. He was strongly imbued with the southern view regarding the divine right of slavery, and was a recognized leader of the Democratic party during those early days. When first coming to Minnesota he located at Long Prairie, where he spent two years; then going to Watab, he traded there with the Indians until his removal to St. Cloud in 1855. He had a mail contract, which, with real estate business, occupied his attention, and he made this city his home until his death in 1865.

Rev. David Lowry, father of General Lowry, was one of the foremost pioneers of northern Minnesota and one of the strongest intellectually. Leaving Tennessee in 1849 he came to Long Prairie, in the present county of Todd, where he remained for two years teaching an Indian school. He was a man of large frame and great physical strength, and perfectly fearless. It is said that on several occasions when the Indians, after having had too much liquor, became troublesome, he would dash in among them with a club and laying right and left would quickly bring them to good

behavior. In 1851 he returned to Tennessee where he remained until the spring of 1856, when he came to St. Cloud, locating in the part of the city then called Arcadia. He at once organized a church of the denomination to which he belonged, the Cumberland Presbyterian, which was within a few months of being the first Protestant church organized in St. Cloud. Of the ten original members of this church, three, Mrs. Margaret A. Biggerstaff, Mrs. Ellen W. Lamb and Mrs. Mary E. Ketcham, are still residents of this city. Mr. Lowry was an unusually strong and able speaker, a man of fine education, and the author of several books. Although southern born he was of antislavery spirit, and bringing to the North the slaves which he had inherited he freed them, and during the civil war was a strong Union man. In 1864 he removed to Iowa and later to Missouri, where he died in 1876.

Mr. Lowry's son-in-law, Rev. Thomas P. Calhoun, followed later, coming to St. Cloud in 1857. He brought overland from Tennessee a herd of pure-bred Durham cattle, these being probably the first blooded cattle ever brought into Minnesota, although upon this point I would not venture to speak positively. His intention was to go into stockraising on a somewhat extensive scale, but in 1859, while crossing a narrow wooden bridge over the deep ravine where now is Fifth avenue south, his horse sprang to one side and breaking through the frail railing fell to the hard ground below, dragging the sleigh with it. Mr. Calhoun received injuries from which he died soon afterward, while his wife, who was by his side, was comparatively uninjured. His father was a cousin of John C. Calhoun, the great nullifier, but had no sympathy whatever with his political views, and after the rupture between Jackson and Calhoun he forbade the latter's name to be ever mentioned on his plantation. David T. Calhoun, the judge of probate of Stearns county, is a son of the Rev. Thomas P. Calhoun.

Charles T. Stearns, for whom the county was named, was a member of the Territorial legislature from St. Anthony Falls. When the bill naming the county was originally passed, in February, 1855, the name was Stevens, after Governor Isaac I. Stevens, of Washington Territory, who had been so prominently identified with early Pacific Railroad surveys in the Northwest, but in the

process of enrollment it was changed to Stearns. As another county in Minnesota was afterward named for Governor Stevens, both of these pioneers have been appropriately recognized. Mr. Stearns came from St. Anthony to St. Cloud in the spring of 1856, through the efforts of his son-in-law, George F. Brott, and built the Stearns House. He lived here until 1864, when he removed to Mobile, Ala., where he was for some years register of the United States Land Office; then he went to New Orleans, which city he made his home until May 22, 1898, when he died after having passed his ninetieth birthday. He was a man of large frame and big heart, true to his friends, genial, taking life philosophically, and enjoying nothing as well as telling a good story.

Mrs. Jane Gray Swisshelm came in the spring of 1857 from Pittsburg, Pa., where she had long been connected with the press and become widely known as an antislavery writer, and purchased the Advertiser, changing its name to the Visitor, which had been the name of her Pittsburg paper. Her pronounced antislavery views at that time, when under the provisions of the fugitive slave law slaves were brought into Minnesota by summer visitors from the South, aroused bitter local opposition, and on the night of March 24, 1858, her printing office was broken into and indispensable parts of the press, with the greater part of the type, were taken and thrown into the Mississippi river. An indignation meeting of citizens, to some extent regardless of party, was promptly held and steps were taken to purchase a new outfit with which Mrs. Swisshelm resumed the publication of her paper. She made several lecturing trips through the state, pleading for better legal rights and larger opportunities for women; and what she then asked for, with much more, has since been obtained by the women not only of Minnesota but of the country at large. Soon after the outbreak of the civil war she went to Washington city and entered the government hospitals there as a nurse of sick and wounded soldiers, at the same time using her pen vigorously and fearlessly to denounce some of the abuses which she found in those hospitals as the result of redtapeism. Contrary to the impressions of many who never saw her but who judged of her personal appearance and manner from the vigor and aggressiveness of her political writings, Mrs. Swisshelm was not an Amazon, but

a slight, frail, delicate woman, with a soft, low voice and the tenderest sensibilities. Her death occurred July 21, 1884, at her old home near Pittsburg.

In the closing days of the Territorial era Stephen Miller came to St. Cloud from Harrisburg, Pa., where he had been quite prominent in public and political affairs. He engaged in mercantile business, as the senior member of the firm of Miller and Swisshelm, in which he continued for several years. He was an ardent Republican, and his natural temperament soon led him to take an active part in politics. A ready speaker, making his points clearly and effectively, with a good voice, quick wit and a large stock of stories and anecdotes, he was a successful campaigner, and his services were in much demand. He was a delegate to the Republican national convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, and was given other party recognition. At the beginning of the civil war he enlisted as a private in the First Minnesota regiment, but was commissioned by Governor Ramsey its lieutenant colonel. For bravery and honorable service, he was afterward commissioned colonel of the Seventh Minnesota Volunteers, and later won a brigadier generalship. In the year 1863, having been nominated by the Republican party as its candidate for the fourth governor of Minnesota, he resigned his commission and returned home, and being elected filled the executive chair for the next two years. After the close of his term he engaged in business, and served in the state legislature one or more terms. His genial and companionable manners made him very popular, both at home and in the army. He was a warm personal friend of Governor Alexander Ramsey, and during his residence in St. Cloud the latter, who had property interests in this vicinity, was a frequent visitor here. These two, with my father, Henry Z. Mitchell, who like the others had been in his younger days a resident of Harrisburg, spent many an evening together talking over, in "Pennsylvania Dutch," early times, as well as discussing more recent events. The three were born within a few months of each other and all have gone to their final rest.

Another territorial settler who was prominent in public life was Judge Edward O. Hamlin. He first located at the neighboring village of Sauk Rapids, the county seat of Benton county, one

of the three original organized counties when the territory was first divided. Judge Hamlin presided at the first term of court held in Stearns county after the organization of the state, in 1858, and afterward removed to St. Cloud, where he practiced law successfully for a number of years. He was the first mayor of this city and in succeeding years was the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor and for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. As a member of the committee on platform at the Democratic national convention in 1864, he opposed the adoption of the plank which declared the war to be a failure, and throughout the struggle he was known as a war Democrat. Although considerably under the average stature and of slight build, Judge Hamlin had a quiet dignity which always commanded respect, while his thorough sincerity and high character won for him general esteem. He left St. Cloud in 1873, returning to his old home at Honesdale, Pa., where he remained until his death which occurred February 4, 1895.

Charles A. Gilman is another pioneer whose first home in the territory was at Sauk Rapids, but who afterwards removed to St. Cloud. Coming from New Hampshire to Sauk Rapids in 1855, he engaged in farming and lumbering, remaining there until 1861, when, crossing the river, he made St. Cloud his home. He became active in politics and was one of the leading Republicans of the state. He has held a number of elective and appointive offices, having been a member of the senate and house of representatives, lieutenant governor for four years, and register of the United States Land Office. During recent years he has been engaged in real estate business in St. Cloud.

Joseph Edelbrock was appointed, September 15, 1855, postmaster at Arcadia, on the request of General Lowry, who was the proprietor of that part of the coming city, and whose wishes regarding the disposition of the offices in this part of the territory had prompt consideration at Washington. Franklin Sisson had previously been appointed postmaster at St. Cloud, but soon after this, upon the request of General Lowry, the Arcadia postoffice was merged in that of St. Cloud, and May 2, 1856, Mr. Edelbrock was appointed postmaster at St. Cloud. The mail up to this time had been delivered at Sauk Rapids, where it could be

had whenever the postmaster here felt like making the three miles trip across the river to get it, which Mr. Edelbrock says he did "whenever it came handy." But from the date of the consolidation the mail was left at East St. Cloud, where, almost directly opposite the present state normal school buildings, was a log blockhouse, which had been built probably by Martin Wooley. The next year, 1857, frame additions were built to this by John Emerson, and for a number of years afterward it was a stopping place for teams going to the pineries on the upper Mississippi. One of the three "swing" ferries which conveyed teams and passengers across the river at lower, middle and upper town, was located here, and it was at this place that the stage line which carried the mails and passengers from St. Paul crossed until a bridge was built at St. Germain street. To return to Mr. Edelbrock: he was the first sheriff of Stearns county, serving at the term held June 25, 1855, when Judge Moses Sherburne presided. He has been register of deeds and county commissioner, and in 1886 was appointed by Grover Cleveland postmaster when the conditions were very different from those when he was first postmaster at St. Cloud. He is now living in this city, having retired from the mercantile business in which he was engaged for a number of years.

J. E. West, who came in 1855, has been one of the city's most progressive citizens, as merchant, hotel builder, promoter and superintendent of the construction of the dam across the Mississippi river, and real estate dealer. He was captain of a company in the Seventh Minnesota volunteers, and for twenty-one years consecutively was postmaster at St. Cloud. He is now secretary of the St. Cloud Building Association.

Nehemiah P. Clarke, who arrived here in 1855, has been merchant, banker, government contractor, and lumberman. For a number of years past he has been engaged in importing and breeding fine stock, especially Clydesdale horses and shorthorn cattle.

Henry C. Waite was St. Cloud's first lawyer, opening an office here in 1855. He tried the first murder case which came before a court in Stearns county, and succeeded in having his client acquitted on the ground of self-defense, a result which was admitted to be largely due to the skill with which the young attorney

conducted the case. Mr. Waite was a member of the constitutional convention, and has served in the state legislature for several terms, besides holding the office of register of the United States Land Office at this place.

Among the other Territorial residents of St. Cloud are Thomas C. Alden, who in 1856 opened the first loan and banking office in the place, his wife (then Miss Talcott) being the teacher of the first school; John H. Raymond and F. H. Dam, manufacturers; W. T. Clarke, builder; John Schwartz, saddler; Lewis Clark, machinist; Levi L. Ball, Thomas Jones, M. P. Noel, and William Holes. The list is not a long one and is steadily growing less.

The first Protestant church society organized was the Baptist, which was organized in the winter of 1855-6 by Deacon Cram, one of the pioneers whose influence for good in those early days was strongly felt. The meetings were held in a small frame building in lower town, near the river front, which has long since disappeared. Of the ten original members, but two, J. E. West and Mrs. Mary J. Spicer, remain.

In the spring of 1858 a party of Ojibway Indians came from their reservation on the upper Mississippi on their way to attack the Sioux on the Minnesota river. They camped in front of the Stearns House, on what is now a part of the campus of the State Normal School, and danced their war dance, to the monotonous pounding of their drums. Among these almost naked warriors were some as fine specimens of physical manhood as I ever saw. They returned soon afterwards with a bunch of Sioux scalps, but made their homeward journey on the east side of the river so that we did not see them again. It was only on rare occasions that an Indian was seen in the place, the half-breeds being more frequent visitors.

An important event in those days was the coming each spring of the long trains of Red River carts, loaded with the Hudson Bay Company's furs. These carts were constructed without iron, the wheels being without tires, and the other parts being held together by wooden pegs and thongs of hide. As they made the trips in good condition the work, however rudely done, must have been well done. They were drawn by a single ox provided with something approaching a regular harness, and the dreary creak-

ings which sounded the approach of the long procession told that axle grease was an article wholly unknown in those far northern regions. The drivers were half-breeds, and the journey, coming and going, occupied many weeks. At first these trains went on through to St. Paul; later, when the present Great Northern railway had reached St. Cloud, which was its terminus for a time, the carts unloaded here; but with the construction of the railroad further westward their visits ceased altogether. Those were the days when buffalo robes of the best quality, which are now a very expensive rarity, could be had for a few dollars.

The second bridge to span the upper Mississippi river was that built in 1856 at Watab, about eight miles north of St. Cloud. It was built for Stephen Emerson and John L. Young, the proprietors of a town-site on the west side of the river, intended to be a rival to Watab. The bridge was all completed with the exception of the timbers being bolted to the piers, when one night a strong wind lifted the superstructure off its supports and dropped it into the river. So quietly was it all done, however, that the man in the toll-house was not aware of what had happened until the next morning. The superstructure was never replaced, and the piers stood in the river for many years, until finally torn and worn away by the impact of the logs and ice. The hopes and prospects of these enterprising speculators disappeared with their bridge, and the town-site on which they had ventured so much is only a thing of paper and the past. One of the builders of this bridge was Lewis Clark, then a resident of Watab, but soon afterward coming to this city, which is still his home.

It is only as one recalls those early days, when Dubuque was the nearest railroad point, when the country to the west and northwest was almost without a settler, when pork and beans were the staff of life and dried-apple pie a luxury, when the mercury was at home at 30 to 50 degrees below zero during most of the winter months, when one hundred days of sleighing was the minimum,—it is only when things such as these are brought to mind that one can at all appreciate the tremendous changes which have taken place since the territorial days and the prosperous conditions which exist in Minnesota today.

Nathan Butler

BOUNDARIES AND PUBLIC LAND SURVEYS OF MINNESOTA.*

BY NATHAN BUTLER.

The history of the surveys made by the United States government in the state of Minnesota properly embraces the exterior boundaries of the state, the survey and subdivision of all the public lands within these boundaries, and the topographical survey that is now being made under the direction of the Geological and Geodetic Survey of the United States.

The last named survey, however, begun here only in a few tracts of quite limited extent, as for the map sheets comprising St. Paul and Minneapolis, Lake Minnetonka, Lake Itasca, the Interstate Park at the Dalles of the St. Croix river, etc., I leave undescribed, with only this brief mention.

BOUNDARIES OF MINNESOTA.

The boundaries of the state are thus described in the Enabling Act passed February 26th, 1857:

Beginning at the point in the center of the main channel of the Red River of the North, where the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions crosses the same; thence up the main channel of said river to that of the Bois des Sioux River; thence up the main channel of said river to Lake Traverse; thence up the center of said lake to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line to the head of Big Stone lake; thence through its center to its outlet; thence by a due south line to the north line of the State of Iowa; thence along the northern boundary of said state to the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence up the main channel of said river, and following the boundary line of the State of Wisconsin, until the same intersects with the St. Louis river; thence down the said river to and through Lake Superior, on the boundary line of Wisconsin and Michigan, until it intersects the dividing line

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 8, 1907.

between the United States and the British possessions; thence up Pigeon river, and following said dividing line to the place of beginning.

The south boundary of Minnesota, which is the north line of Iowa, was fixed by the Enabling Act of Iowa, passed August 4th, 1846, which reads as follows:

Up the main channel of the said Big Sioux river, until it is intersected by the parallel of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; thence east along said parallel of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes, until said parallel intersects the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river.

On March 3rd, 1849, Congress passed the bill which authorized the survey of this boundary, and appropriated the sum of $30,000 at different times to defray the expense of the same. The survey was made by Captain Andrew Talcott of the Topographical Bureau of the United States in 1852, at a cost of $32,277.73, or about $124 per mile.

William A. Burt, the inventor of the solar compass, sent out Captain J. M. Marsh, of Dubuque, to run the line with a solar compass, ahead of the government party, to test the practicability of that instrument. His line proved to be perfectly correct. The line is about 260 miles long. Had the United States government let the contract to run this line to Captain Marsh at $25 per mile, it would have cost the government but $6,500, and would have been run and marked as well.

The east boundary of the state, which is the west line of Wisconsin, is described in the Enabling Act of Wisconsin, approved August 6th, 1846, as follows:

Through the center of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis river; thence up the main channel of said river to the first rapids of the same, above the Indian village, according to Nicollet's map; thence due south to the main branch of the River St. Croix; thence down the main channel of said river to the Mississippi; thence down the center of the main channel of that river to the northwest corner of the State of Illinois.

This is all a natural boundary along well defined water courses, except that part between the St. Louis river and the St. Croix river, a distance of about forty-one miles through Range 15 west of the Fourth Principal Meridian. The boundary is east of the west line of that range 24.60 chains at the south end, and

37 chains at the north end. This line was run by George R. Stuntz in 1852.

The north boundary of Minnesota is the international boundary between the United States and Canada. It was defined by the Treaty of 1783, negotiated for this boundary in 1782, as follows:

> . . . . through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Philippeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said Lake to the most northwestern point thereof; and from thence on a due western course to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude.

The Treaty of Ghent, made in 1814, provided in Article IV: "In order therefore to finally decide upon these claims it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners," etc. Article VII provided that these commissioners "are hereby authorized . . . to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two Powers which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, . . . and to cause such parts of the said boundary as require it to be surveyed and marked . . . and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods."

In the Treaty of 1818, Article II, we find the following:

> It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

In 1842 was made what is termed the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, in which we find the following:

Adopting the line traced on the maps by the commissioners, through the River St. Mary and Lake Superior, to a point north of Isle Royale in said lake, one hundred yards to the north and east of Isle Chapeau, which last mentioned island lies near the northeastern point of Isle Royale, where the line marked by the commissioners terminates; and from the last mentioned point, southwesterly, through the middle of the sound between Isle Royale and the northwestern main land, to the mouth of Pigeon River, and up the said river, to and through the north and south Fowl Lakes, to the lakes of the height of land between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods; thence along the water communications to Lake Saisaginaga, and through that lake; thence to and through Cypress Lake, Lac du Bois Blanc, Lac la Croix, Little Vermilion Lake, and Lake Namecan, and through the several smaller lakes, straits, or streams, connecting the lakes here mentioned, to that point in Lac la Pluie, or Rainy Lake, at the Chaudiere Falls, from which the commissioners traced the line to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods; thence along the said line to the said most northwestern point, being in latitude 49° 23′ 55″ north, and longtitude 95° 14′ 38″ west from the observatory at Greenwich; thence, according to existing treaties, due south to its intersection with the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, and along that parallel to the Rocky Mountains.

Thus we see that it took the United States and Great Britain sixty years, from 1782 until 1842, to locate and define the north boundary of the state of Minnesota. This boundary is marked by iron monuments, six inches square and four feet out of the ground, marked "Treaty of London, 1818."

The west boundary of Minnesota is defined with sufficient minuteness in the Enabling Act of the state. E. H. Snow and Henry Hutton ran the lines of that boundary in 1859. There are iron monuments eight inches square and five feet out of the ground at the south end of Lake Traverse and the north and south ends of Big Stone lake, to mark these initial points in the boundary. The monuments at the south end of Lake Traverse and the north end of Big Stone lake are transposed, so that the one at Lake Traverse reads "Big Stone," and the one at the north end of Big Stone reads "Lake Traverse."

THE SYSTEM OF UNITED STATES LAND SURVEYS.

The present system of rectangular survey was introduced into the Continental Congress May 7th, 1784, by a committee of five appointed for that purpose, consisting of Thomas Jefferson, of

Virginia, chairman, Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, David Howell, of Rhode Island, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Jacob Read, of South Carolina. Though crude and unwieldy at first, it embodied the principle that has been carried out and perfected, until it is now perfect in theory, if not in practice.

It recognizes the spherical form of the earth, the fact that the meridians of longitude converge toward the pole until they come together like the spokes in the hub of a wheel. The distance between any two meridians of longitude grows less as they run north in exact proportion to the cosine of the latitude, so that it can be ascertained with mathematical accuracy just how much convergence there is in any township by first determining the latitude of the town.

Starting at the equator with two meridians six miles apart and running due north, they would converge until at this point, 45° north latitude, they would be only about four and one-fourth miles apart, measuring from east to west. At 60° north latitude they would be three miles apart, or just half as far apart as they were at the equator. At 71° north latitude they would be about two miles apart. At 80° they would be a mile and twelve rods apart, and so on to the north pole.

In the state of Minnesota, west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, to overcome this convergency and keep the townships six miles wide east and west, as near as may be, standard parallels have been run every twenty-four miles apart, separated thus by four townships, measured from the east toward the west, making the towns six miles wide east and west, and making an offset toward the west on every standard parallel.

The principal meridians with their base lines, from which surveys are built up all over the country, are entirely arbitrary in their location. A surveyor goes out into the country which is to be surveyed, and, selecting some natural landmark which is permanent and easily identified, determines by observation the latitude and longitude of the place, and from it runs a line due north and south, measuring the distance carefully with two sets of chainmen, marking every mile and half mile with a section or quarter-section corner. From the same point a base line is run east and west, being marked and measured in the same manner. These lines form a base for the survey of large tracts covering whole states.

MERIDIANS AND PARALLELS IN MINNESOTA.

The greater part of the surveys in Minnesota is made from the Fifth Principal Meridian, which starts from the mouth of the Arkansas river, in longitude 90° 68′ west from Greenwich, and has a base line running due west from the mouth of the St. Francis river in Arkansas. This meridian governs the surveys in Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, the part of Minnesota west of the Mississippi river and west of the Third Guide Meridian north of this river, and in the part of South and North Dakota east of the Missouri river.

The Fourth Principal Meridian starts in latitude 38° 58′ 12″, longitude 90° 29′ 56″, in the middle of the channel of the Illinois river, and runs north through Wisconsin, across Lake Superior, and through that part of Minnesota north of the lake.

The south boundary of Minnesota is the north line of township 100 north of the base line of the Fifth Principal Meridian. From a point in this line three townships or eighteen miles west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, a guide meridian was run north between Ranges 3 and 4 to the Mississippi river at or near La Crescent. From a point in the state line ten townships or sixty miles west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, the First Guide Meridian was run north between Ranges 10 and 11 to the Mississippi river at the foot of Lake Pepin. From a point in the state line seventeen townships or 102 miles west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, the Second Guide was run north between Ranges 17 and 18, striking the Mississippi above Hastings. From the state line 144 miles west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, the Third Guide was run north between Ranges 24 and 25, striking the Mississippi near Monticello. This guide meridian crosses the Minnesota river at Belle Plaine, passes three miles west of Lake Minnetonka, and crosses Crow river between Delano and Greenwood.

The Third Guide is a straight line to the Mississippi river near Monticello. It does not cross the river there onto the east side, but starts again on the west side of the Mississippi river at Pine Knoll, about six miles west of Aitkin, and runs thence north to the international boundary, crossing the Mississippi at White Oak Point, about ten miles northwest of Pokegama falls.

This Third Guide meridian, in its part earliest surveyed, from the state line to Monticello, was required to be run during the winter when the lakes and rivers were frozen, so that the distances

could be measured on the ice and not be liable to the errors incident to triangulation. A similar precaution would have saved much bad work later on.

Elisha S. Norris had the contract to run these guides, as also the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th standard parallels between them. Mr. Norris got his solar compass out of adjustment, which threw his work out of line. This being detected by the inspector, he was called in. His assistant, Thomas Simpson, was appointed in his place, and ran these lines in 1853-5. Mr. Simpson's narration of that work was published in Volume X of this Society's Historical Collections (1905, pages 57-67).

From near Monticello, the Fifth Meridian surveys were carried north along the west side of the Mississippi river by offsets from the Third Guide past St. Cloud, Little Falls, and Crow Wing, as far as to the Ninth Standard Parallel. That parallel was run east to the east line of Range 25 west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, and there the Third Guide Meridian was located and established and run south five miles to the Mississippi river.

The Second Guide Meridian runs north from the state line twenty-four miles between Ranges 17 and 18, and then makes an offset to the east equal to the convergency in the twenty-eight townships between the Second and Third Guides and between the state line and the First Standard Parallel; thence it runs north again twenty-four miles to the Second Standard, and there offsets east equal to the convergency in that check, and so on north.

The First Guide was run north from the state line between Ranges 10 and 11, and at the First Standard was offset east equal to the convergency in two checks. Thence north it makes the offset east every twenty-four miles equal to the convergency in two checks. West of the Third Guide the offsets for convergency are made to the west.

The standard parallels between the guide meridians are first run as random lines. If they do not close on the guides at the offset made for convergency, they are corrected back so as to make them close and be twenty-four miles apart at both ends, according to the distance as measured along the guides. They are measured from the east toward the west, and a section corner is established at every mile, with intermediate quarter-section corners, and with

township corners every six miles. These corners are called standard corners, and belong to the townships north of the standard parallels. When the check is surveyed into townships and sections, another set of corners is established on the standard parallel on the north side of the check wherever these lines strike the standard. These corners at the north are called closing corners, and they belong to the township immediately south of the standard.

The instructions from the General Land Office now require the guide meridians to be twenty-four miles or four townships apart, so that a check contains sixteen townships. That is the rule in Canada, immediately north of us, where the convergency is greater than here and needs to be corrected oftener. But in all the surveys under the Fifth Principal Meridian in Minnesota the guide meridians are forty-two miles or seven townships apart.

Farther south, in Missouri and Arkansas, the guide meridians are as much as sixty miles or ten townships apart. There the convergency is not so great, and does not need to be corrected so often.

The Fifth Meridian surveys cover all that part of this state west of the Mississippi as far up as Pine Knoll and west of the Third Guide Meridian from Pine Knoll to the north line of the state, except the Fort Snelling Military Reservation.

The Fourth Meridian surveys cover all that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi as far north as to White Oak Point, the part east of the Third Guide (west of the Fifth Principal Meridian) north of that point to the international boundary, and also the part lying west of the Mississippi river and east of the Third Guide between Pine Knoll and White Oak Point.

Surveys from the Fourth Meridian were first extended across the Mississippi to its west side at or near Pine Bend, and were extended west about eighteen miles and north about the same distance, far enough to include the Fort Snelling Military Reservation, which covered the present city of Minneapolis. These surveys were made for the purpose of defining and locating the boundaries of the reservation. Jesse F. Garrett had the contract for running the lines, and Captain Mahlon Black, late of Minneapolis, assisted in running them.

TOWNSHIP SURVEYS.

Minnesota was once a part of the District of Dubuque, which consisted of the states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, with the surveyor general's office at Dubuque, Iowa. The early surveys of townships in Minnesota were made under contracts let through that office by Warner Lewis, surveyor general. This state was made a separate district in the year 1853, and J. F. Chandler was appointed its first surveyor general. Since that time Charles L. Emerson was appointed in 1857, William D. Washburn in 1861, Levi Nutting in 1865, C. D. Davidson in 1869, Charles F. Brown in 1871, Dana E. King in 1873, General James H. Baker in 1875, Dr. J. H. Stewart in 1879, J. F. Chandler a second time in 1883, J. F. Norrish in 1887, James Compton in 1891, P. H. Kerwin in 1895, and E. S. Warner in 1901, who now holds the office and is likely to be the last.

The contract has been let for the survey of the last township in this state. When that is done and the field notes are worked up, the surveyor general's office will be closed, and the archives of the office, including all the plats and field notes of all surveys of Minnesota lands, will be turned over to the state, which will be required to give a bond to the United States for their safe keeping in a fireproof building where they will be kept as a public record and accessible to any citizen who may have occasion to examine them. They will probably be in custody of the State Auditor, as the proper custodian of all and any papers pertaining to the survey and affecting the title of any land in the state.

The twenty-eight townships bounded on the north and south by standard parallels twenty-four miles apart, and on the east and west by guide meridians forty-two miles apart, constitute what is called a check. The checks are divided into townships, six miles square, by running lines from the township corners on the south line of the checks north twenty-four miles and making a corner, called a closing corner, wherever the line strikes the north line of the check, and measuring the distance from the corner so made to the nearest corner already made on the standard parallel. This distance should represent the convergency of the several townships thus far surveyed in the checks between this point and the principal meridian.

From each township corner in the check a true east and west line is run, six miles more or less, to the next township corner; and if such line strikes the corner it is built up from the east by establishing a section corner every mile, and a quarter section corner at a half mile beyond each section corner, throwing the difference more or less than six miles into the west end. If this true east and west line does not strike the next township corner, then the end of the line is swung north or south to make it strike. This is called "forcing a close." The east and west lines are not straight lines, but are arcs, or chords of arcs, of circles concentric with the north pole.

Townships north and south of each other in one tier are called a range, and the ranges are counted from the principal meridian toward the east and west. The townships in each range are counted from the base line of the principal meridian toward the north and south.

The townships thus surveyed are subdivided into sections a mile square, as near as may be. The process of subdividing into sections is the same as that of dividing a check into townships, except that the north and south lines are not true meridians, but are parallel to the east lines of the township, thus throwing the convergency all into the west tier of sections.

The method of surveying land under the Fourth Principal Meridian was different from that under the Fifth Principal Meridian. Correction lines were run and measured from the Fourth Meridian to an indefinite distance, but no guide meridians were run and measured between them to determine if they were parallel. Hence they were not called standard parallels, because they were not always parallel, but were named correction lines, because on them the convergency of the meridians was corrected. The surveys from the south closed on them as on the standard parallels.

The instructions issued by the commissioner of the General Land Office to deputy United States surveyors require that "the survey of all principal meridians and base lines, standard parallels, guide meridians, and township lines, must be made with an instrument operating independently of the magnetic needle." Burt's solar compass, or some other instrument of equal utility, must be used of necessity in such cases; and it is deemed best that such instru-

ment should be used under all circumstances. When the needle can be relied on, however, the ordinary compass may be used in subdividing townships and meandering the shores of lakes.

USE OF THE SOLAR COMPASS.

The solar compass, invented by William A. Burt of Detroit, Mich., is the most convenient and efficient instrument ever used in surveying government lands. It can only be used when the sun shines, but it can be set up, and the course can be determined with it, without reference to any back-sights or other surrounding object, and in spite of any local magnetic attraction. When kept in perfect adjustment and properly manipulated, it will do perfect work; but if it gets a little out of adjustment, it will throw a line out of course worse than any other instrument. It consists of a common railroad compass with a full vernier. To the vernier plate is attached the latitude arc, with a limb or radius of five or six inches in length, according to the size of the compass. In the center, at a right angle to this limb, is a socket an inch and a half long and three-eighths in diameter, to receive the polar axis of the instrument. On this polar axis is another limb, bearing the declination arc, on which is turned off the declination of the sun.

When the latitude and declination are turned off carefully on their respective arcs, with the polar axis of the compass parallel to the axis of the earth, then the sun will shine through a lens in one end of the limb on the declination arc, forming an image between certain parallel lines on a silver plate on the other end, and the sights of the compass will range north and south. If the compass is turned the least out of a north and south course, the image on the silver plate is thrown out of the parallel lines.

The declination of the sun at Greenwich every day at noon is to be found in any Nautical Almanac, and also the change for every hour in the day. Knowing the longitude, very nearly, of the place where you are at work, you know the difference in time between Greenwich and the place where you are. Then multiply the difference of time by the hourly change, and add or subtract the product to or from the declination given in the table, according as it is increasing or decreasing. The result is the declination you are to turn off on your declination arc. The very little difference of declination in a little difference of longitude will not be per-

ceptible, but it must be calculated and turned off on the arc as near as possible.

The latitude is to be taken at noon by turning off the declination on its arc and then turning up the latitude arc until it reaches the summit, keeping the image of the sun all the while between the parallel lines on the silver plate.

The solar compass has the reputation, among a certain class of men, of being imperfect and unreliable. It has done poor work, no doubt, but that was not the fault of the compass,—rather of the man who was using it.

USE OF THE MAGNETIC COMPASS.

The section lines in the subdivision of a township are generally run with a magnetic needle compass; but the variation or declination of the needle is required, by the instructions issued by the commissioner of the General Land Office, to be tested with the north star two or three times in each township.

The instructions require the north and south lines in the subdivision of a township to bear each about one minute more to the west than the line next east of it. This is done to put the section lines parallel to the east line of the township, and to throw the convergency all into the west tier of sections. But the utterly impractical effect of this is evident when it is remembered that the daily change of variation of the magnetic needle is from 10 to 20 minutes.

Between seven and eight o'clock A. M. the north end of the needle goes farthest to the east. At that time it begins to swing to the west, and between one and two P. M. reaches its most western elongation. The average daily direction of the needle is reached between 10 A. M. and 12 M. This motion is quite slow at first, but more rapid between 9:30 and 11:30 A. M., growing slower as it approaches its western elongation. After appearing to stand still for a short time, the needle begins to return toward where it started in the early morning. It crosses a second time the average magnetic meridian about 7 to 8:30 P. M., but these evening times are very irregular. The daily difference is greater in winter than in summer, which goes to show that the movement is influenced by the sun. Hence it is called "the solar diurnal variation."

Another magnetic variation is called the "secular variation" of the magnetic declination, which is of great importance to surveyors in retracing old lines run by the magnetic compass many years ago, especially in the eastern states, where lines of tracts of land were run by the magnetic needle and the metes and bounds have been lost. It is also of importance in the west when the variation is given on range and section lines. The change of declination since the original survey must be calculated and allowed for, in order to trace the original line, even to assist in finding the old metes and bounds.

This secular variation extends over periods of about three hundred years. In 1680, in Baltimore, the north end of the needle pointed about 6° west of the true meridian. It seemed to be stationary at that time, but later it began to move east, which variation continued until in 1802 it pointed about half a degree west. At that date it again seemed stationary, but afterward the variation turned back to the west, until now the magnetic needle there points about 5° west. What produces this secular variation is not definitely known.

Magnetic declination is explainable by the fact that the magnetic pole is not at the North Pole. Along the meridian where it is between us and the North Pole, the needle points north. This is called the line of no variation. When the needle is east of that line, it points to the west of north; when it is west of that line, it points to the east of north.

What makes the needle point toward the north at all times? It is supposed to be on account of currents of electricity in the earth traveling from the south toward the north. When a steel needle is magnetized and suspended at its center of gravity, one end follows the current of electricity and consequently points north. The earth itself is a great magnet. A steel bar can be magnetized from the earth by suspending it in the middle so that it points north and south, and then manipulating it with a hammer. But what makes these currents of electricity in the earth no one knows, nor whether the amount of electricity in the earth is increasing or decreasing, nor whether it can be generated or is only collected by a dynamo.

When inspecting surveys in the east part of Murray county in the fall of 1861, I set up my compass on a range line one afternoon where I could see the mounds on the line for five or six miles, and settled the needle to get the magnetic variation. I raised the needle off the pivot several times and let it settle. It rested at the same point every time. I left the tripod standing until the next morning, when I repeated the operation. The needle settled every time with the north end forty minutes farther west than it did the day before. The only difference in the circumstances was the course of the wind. The first day it was from the southwest, the second day it was from the southeast, with a strong wind both days and a clear bright sun. The north end of the needle followed the course of the wind.

NOTES OF MINNESOTA SURVEYS.

The first land surveyed by the United States Government in this state was by James M. Marsh and Henry A. Wiltsie under contract dated May 22nd, 1847, for running the township lines between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers from Point Douglas north. Mr. Wiltsie had the contract for the Third correction line, which runs between townships 30 and 31. It strikes the St. Croix a little above Stillwater, and the Mississippi half way between Minneapolis and Anoka. Mr. Marsh had the contract for the township lines south of the Third correction to Point Douglas, and for about the same amount north of that line.

The Fourth correction line runs between townships 40 and 41, about at latitude 45° 59′ north, and strikes the Mississippi river at or near Little Falls. This was run by Thomas Conkey in 1848.

The Fifth correction line runs between townships 47 and 48 N., five or six miles south of Carlton, and five or six miles north of Aitkin, and strikes the Third Guide Meridian (west of the Fifth Principal Meridian) near Pine Knoll. It was run by O. E. Garrison in 1864.

The Sixth correction line runs between townships 53 and 54, at latitude about 47° 07′ N., and about seven miles north of Two Harbors, on the north shore of Lake Superior, and runs three miles south of Grand Rapids.

The Seventh correction line is between townships 56 and 57, and runs about eight miles north of Beaver Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior, and strikes the Third Guide Meridian

west of the Fifth Principal Meridian at or near White Oak Point. The Sixth and Seventh Guide Meridians were run by George R. and George E. Stuntz in 1867, as a basis for the survey of pine timber land around Pokegama lake.

The Eighth correction line, between townships 60 and 61, was run by S. N. Stebbins in 1875.

The Ninth correction line is between townships 64 and 65, and was run by Mahlon Black in 1881.

The Tenth correction line is between townships 68 and 69, and was run by George F. Hamilton in 1881.

Ed D. Atwater ran the Third Guide Meridian from the Ninth Standard Parallel south five miles to the Mississippi river, immediately east of Pine Knoll and about seven miles west of the present town of Aitkin, in 1858.

Gates A. Johnson and A. L. Thornton ran the part of this Third Guide between the Ninth and Tenth Standard parallels in 1863; and George E. Stuntz ran it between the Tenth and Twelfth standard parallels in 1867. John P. Hinchilwood, in 1876, ran this guide north from the Twelfth parallel for twenty miles, when he ran into an impassable swamp and quit the job. This part was resurveyed and run through to the north line of the state by L. A. Ogaard in 1900.

Thomas G. Merrill ran the south and southwest boundaries of the Red Lake Indian Reservation in 1872-3, and these lines were resurveyed by A. M. Darling in 1885. Warren M. Adley ran the northwest boundary of this reservation from the intersection of the international boundary with the west side of the Lake of the Woods to the head of Thief river; and Nathan Butler ran the east boundary of this reservation in 1875, under contract with Gen. James H. Baker, surveyor general.

P. A. Conger ran the lines of the Cass Lake Indian Reservation, the Chippewa Indian Reservation, and the Leech Lake Indian Reservation, under contract with Dana E. King, surveyor general, in 1873-4.

UNITED STATES DEPUTY SURVEYORS.

About three hundred different individuals and firms have done surveying in Minnesota under contracts with the United States surveyor general of lands. Many of these have had a number of

contracts at different times, enough to swell the whole number of contracts to double the number of men who have done work. Among them we find the names of William R. Marshall, Thomas Simpson, Fendall G. Winston, T. B. Walker, George B. Wright, Benjamin C. Baldwin, George W. Cooley, and John Goodnow.

Following is a full list of the names of individuals and firms who have acted as United States deputy surveyors of lands in the state of Minnesota, arranged alphabetically, but under each letter in chronologic order.

W. J. Anderson, George E. Adair, Alley and Lord, E. D. Atwater, Moses K. Armstrong, Charles H. Armstrong, Albert T. Armstrong, John Abercrombie, William P. Allen, Warren M. Adley, Alex. D. Anderson, Edward P. Abbot, Lyman Ames, Allen and Barnes, John Aas.

Judson W. Bishop, A. V. Balch, C. A. Bartlett, Bradley and Davis, Isaac A. Banker, Alex. S. Bradley, Adam Buck, Silas Barnard, Albion Barnard, Nathan Butler, Benjamin C. Baldwin, Joel Bailey, John O. Brunius, Mahlon Black, Brent and Barnes, Luther Bixby, Jr., Lewis Brockman, John Ball, William Burt, Bradley and Barrett, J. F. Barnes, J. T. M. Barnes, Buck and Tyler, Samuel Bundock, S. H. Baker, L. F. Brainerd, Alvin C. Bailey, Choate F. Bartlett, A. A. Bloom, John A. Brown, Oswald Brunius.

Rufus Cook, D. L. Curtice, Howard A. Crampton, B. and H. A. Comstock, I. J. G. Croswell, Alvah A. Cramplin, Richard Cronk, Thomas H. Croswell, Samuel S. Chute, Daniel Corbin, Lewis W. Carter, J. M. Cushing, William Chadwell, H. L. Chapin, P. H. Conger, Croswell and Smith, W. P. Carter, James Conroy, Ernest E. Coley, R. H. Chapman, Hartness L. Chapin, Theodore Conkey, R. O. Cheney, George H. Cannon, David Charlton, Omar H. Case, Theophilus Crawford, Cooley and McDougal, Cutter and Alley, H. J. Chevre, B. F. Christlieb, George W. Cooley, Merritt S. Cook, F. O. Cooley, Charles S. Carter, Charles L. Chase, E. O. Cooley.

Davis and Webb, Davis and Lund, Charles E. Davis, John Dunn, E. B. Darling, A. B. Darling, E. N. Darling, Abner M. Darling, Oscar F. Davis, Darling and Ward, Wilbur F. Duffy.

John T. Everett, J. E. Egan, Guy A. Eaton, Ole Eliasen, William M. Evarts, John N. English.

H. C. Fellows, Samuel Fulton, E. Fitzpatrick, John Fitzpatrick, Alonzo P. Foster, Fellows and Bauhan, L. G. M. Fletcher, John B. Fish, Harlan W. Fiske, T. Milton Fowble, J. J. Francisco.

O. E. Garrison, Eli W. Griffin, Albion D. F. Gardner, John M. Gay, Thomas Gilman, Ezra G. Goddard, John Goodnow, C. B. Garrison, Jesse F. Garrett.

John P. Hinchilwood, Edwin S. Hall, H. S. and D. S. Howe, George F. Hamilton, John S. Hughes, Westley and Hawley, W. S. Hamasen, John F. Haight, Lewis Harrington, Isaac N. Higbee, A. J. Hewitt, M. M.

Hayden, Howard and Griffin, Hawley and Goodnow, Edwin S. Hall, James S. Hughes, Oscar L. Hamery, W. W. Howard, Hamasen and Erwin, H. G. Highstran, M. B. Haynes, John B. Hawley.

Ashbel Ingerson, A. and W. F. Ingerson.

Johnson and Miller, R. H. L. Jewett, Jackson and Bruce, William A. Jones, Johnson and Thornton, Jewett and McPherson, B. F. Jenness, J. D. Jenkens, Jewett and Howe, Johnson and Miller, Edwin James, Jr., William A. B. Jones, Francis H. Jewett, R. P. Johnson.

Kindred and Thornton, Kindred and Hamilton, William A. Kindred, Keegan and Crampton, Bernard Keegan, Kindred and Caldwell, David G. Kellogg, Josias R. King, King and Wilmer, M. J. Karrick, Robert N. Kettleson, George A. Kline, Warren H. Knowlton, John Kerwin.

James A. Langton, R. D. Lancaster, D. T. Langton, A. C. Libby.

James M. Marsh, McMahan and Ball, Jacob W. Meyers, Harvey Millen, William Mulliken, Martin and Epler, E. C. Martin, Henry Maddin, Wesley F. Marsh, J. M. Marshall, James McBride, William R. McMahon, Carl C. Meyers, Jewett McPherson, E. B. McCord, Nelson D. Miller, Thomas F. McGilvery, the firm of Merrill, Wilcox and Daniels, William R. Marshall and associates, Merrill, Austin and Van Solen, Merrill, Wilcox and Walker, the firm of Merrill, Van Flint, Keys and Van Solen, John E. Mulligan, John H. Mullen.

Elisha S. Norris, Milton Nye, W. J. Nesley, H. S. Norris, Hardin Nowlin, Charles N. Nutter, James L. Nowlan, Milton P. Noel, Henry Newberry, R. W. Nichols.

Lewis A. Ogaard, John Ohlsson.

Putnam and Wilder, Samuel M. Putnam, Asa A. Parker, Sanford L. Peck, John Parker, C. Phillips.

John Quigley, P. M. Quist.

John Ryan, J. B. Reyman, A. H. Runyan, Richard Relf, Thomas Ross, T. L. Reyman, Simon Rockwell, George H. Ralph, William Rock, Reid and Davis, George H. and William A. Ralph, Andrew Rinker, Leroy F. Royal, A. H. Reed, William A. Ralph.

Samuel E. Stebbins, George R. Stuntz, Stuntz and Hamilton, George F. Simpson, Lewis Shaw, D. F. Stacy, Stuntz and Shaw, Edgar Sears, Judson A. Stanton, George R. and George E. Stuntz, Vernon M. Smith, Thomas Simpson, Vine D. Simon, Orville Smith, W. E. Seeley, J. B. Salisbury, Leroy V. Smith, Richard Strout, Shaw and Taylor, John M. Smith, W. H. Saunders, Herman Swanson, Day F. Stacy, S. S. Sargent, Marcus D. Stoner, Charles Scott, William C. Smiley, Myron Shepard.

Oscar Taylor, Hiram Taylor, John Taylor, Carl E. Taylor, Charles S. Thompson.

W. P. Van Cleve.

Henry A. Wiltsie, J. E. Whitcher, George Watts, Wellman and Smoot, Wright and Walker, Jacob A. Wertley, Christian Weiland, R. K. Whitley, T. B. Walker, Walker and Allen, Fendall G. Win-

ston, Henry B. Welch, Wright and Banker, the firm of Walker, Allen and Putnam, George B. Wright, Wright and Beardsley, Wilcox and Hayden, David Watson, Charles H. Ward, Wright, Beardsley and Miles, George F. Weir, W. W. Ward, J. H. Williams, Martin Watson, Platt B. Walker.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

My first experience in government surveying was in 1861, when I assisted J. W. Meyers in running the township lines between the First and Second standard parallels and the Fifth and Sixth guide meridians, in the area that is now Murray and Pipestone counties. There were then only half a dozen families in that check, living around Lake Shetek on the head of the Des Moines river. The Indians killed a part of them and drove the rest out of the country the next summer; but the Indians did not molest us on that survey, though they were around there the most of the summer. They would sit around on the hills and watch us all day, evidently anxious to see what we were doing; and we would sit up nights and watch them, just as anxious to know what they were doing or wanted to do. A small party of them passed through our surveying party one day, between the compassman and the chainman, looking neither to the right nor left. They refused to be interviewed or drawn into conversation in either the English or Sioux language. They would pull up our stakes and throw them away, if they could, but we got onto that trick and drove them into the ground solid.

I was out with the inspector that fall inspecting this same work. We camped one night on the south end of a lake in the western part of Murray county, near a party of Indians on the north end of the lake. Fearing a visit from them in the night, we hauled the wagon close up to the front of the tent and tied the horses fast to the wagon, one on each side of the pole. To make the thing doubly safe, we tied a picket rope to each horse's fore-foot and the other end of the rope to the teamster lying in the tent. Within ten minutes of the time when we extinguished the light, one of the horses started and hauled the teamster out of his blankets. Springing up and looking out, he saw the horse standing off the length of the picket rope, with the halter rope untied and hanging loose. He heard the Indian running away through the brush toward the lake. The horse was tied up again,

with the picket rope tied to the wagon. We found him untied the next morning, but the picket rope saved him.

The next year, 1862, I hired out with George B. Wright and Isaac A. Banker, to go on a survey on Pine river north of where Brainerd now is. The night we camped opposite Clearwater, we heard that the Sioux Indians had killed Jones and Baker at Acton in the west part of Meeker county. Between Sauk Rapids and Watab we met the Ojibway Indian Agent, Walker, with his family, leaving the country. He left his wife at St. Cloud, telling her he was going out on business. As he did not return she procured a conveyance at the stage office and went to St. Anthony Falls, which was their home. Mr. Walker had not been heard from there. He was found dead opposite Monticello, with a bullet hole through his head. His saddle horse was found grazing near by, with his saddle on. He had gone onto the ferry boat, cast off the lashings, and ferried himself across the Mississippi river. The ferryman hailed him, and asked him to return, saying that he would set him over; but he refused, saying there were three hundred Indians after him and he was afraid of them. He evidently had become insane and therefore shot himself.

Just as we were going into camp one evening at the "Big Bend" of the Mississippi, five miles below Fort Ripley, we met a man who told us there were three hundred Indians at the Agency on Crow Wing river, seven miles from its mouth; that they had made most of the employees there prisoners, and expected to attack Fort Ripley that night. We thought it safer to go on to the fort, where we arrived at about 9 P. M. Settlers from the surrounding country were coming in all night.

There were but twenty-six soldiers in the fort, raw recruits from the southern part of the state, who had enlisted for the war. They had been chasing Hole-in-the-Day for a week, had shot at him across the river as he landed from a birch canoe on the opposite side, robbed his house of a very fine rifle and other keepsakes that had been given him at Washington, and were so tired that they asked us to help them do duty. No attack was made, but a false alarm about midnight turned out every one in the fort. Men, women, and children, could be seen running from one building to another in their night clothes. Had the Indians made an

attack, they might have killed the greater part of us, for we could not dare to shoot on account of the danger of killing our own people.

A messenger had gone up to the Agency, who effected an armistice of three days, until the commissioner of Indian affairs, William P. Dole, could arrive, who was then in the state on his way to the Red river to treat for the land in the valley north of Wild Rice river.

We remained at the fort a week, doing garrison duty all the time. We tore down some loghouses and finished the stockade, which previously had been built only a third of the way around the buildings, having been abandoned because the appropriation was exhausted. Two little cannon, which had been used on the parade ground for salutes, we mounted in the two blockhouses at opposite corners of the stockade, so that we could rake all four sides in case of an attack by the Indians. All this time we enjoyed the government rations, including the canteen. Having put this military fort on a war footing, we held a council and decided that it was not safe to go on up to Pine river with our outfit and teams. We were not afraid that the Indians would do us any bodily harm, but a lot of young bucks on the war path, without any commissary, would not respect our rights to property which they needed very much more than we did. So we returned down the river.

Five miles out we met the Indian commissioner going up to meet the Ojibways. John Hay, late Secretary of State, was with him, being then a young man, a clerk or private secretary in Washington, studying diplomacy and practicing on the Indians. As we came down the river, we found every town either fortified or deserted. A complete Indian scare possessed the whole country.

In the winter of 1872-3, I was surveying township 57, range 23. On the east line of that township the local attraction was so great that the magnetic needle was of no use. I had to use the solar compass. There were millions of dollars of the best kind of iron ore under my feet, and I did not know it. I thought it was drift that had come down from the Mesabi Range. While we were in camp in that township the last part of December, the thermometer went down to 52° below zero at Brainerd.

The last surveying that I did for the government was in 1890, and during the winter of 1890-91. We ran the boundary lines of the diminished Red Lake Indian Reservation and some township and subdivision lines east of the upper and lower parts of Red lake. In running these town lines, I started from an old corner near the Black Duck river on the old east boundary that I had run in 1875. I ran north to the upper lake and then east to close on the old line. Making due allowance for the convergency, I calculated just where I should strike that line. When I had gone the proper distance, I set up the compass and looked for the old line. When found and traced out, it was ascertained that the compass was standing on the line. Every time we closed on the old line, we found it just where we expected to find it, which proved that the lines were all perfectly correct, or that they were all wrong in the same direction.

On that survey I left a lumber camp between the two parts of Red Lake on the 10th day of January, 1891, and did not see anyone but my own party again until the 10th day of March. Eight of us camped that winter under a shed tent made of a wagon cover three by five yards square. We had a big log heap burning in front of the camp every night. Some of those oak logs were so large that it required three men to carry one of them. No one suffered with the cold, and no one lost a day from sickness during that winter. No one even took a cold. My partner ran the boundary from a point five miles north of Thief River Falls due east to Red Lake. He thought he would have a better outfit than I had, and so got a large wall tent, with a sheet iron stove in it. Every man in his crew took cold, and some of them had pneumonia, and I think one of them died from the effects. When he got to Red Lake Agency, his whole outfit was so damp that it had to be dried out before it was safe to pack.

In a timber country having plenty of wood for a camp fire, there is no camp so good as a shed tent with a big fire in front. The shed keeps the wind and snow off, and reflects the heat down onto the bed, which is made of fir boughs shingled over one another a foot deep until a man's weight will not bring them down to the hard ground. The fire furnishes the principal warmth to the men in camp. I have made a camp in this manner in the

middle of the winter, with two feet of snow on the ground, and, after changing my underclothes, wringing the sweat out of those I took off and hanging them up around the fire to dry, I have lain down on top of the bed of fir boughs, with nothing over me, and slept soundly until morning.

I have seen several lists of goods for an outfit for a surveying party, but I do not remember one that was not loaded down with stuff that would not pay transportation. If you are on the prairie where you can haul your outfit with teams, you can take a great many things that are not absolutely necessary but are luxuries when camping out. But in timber, where everything has to be packed by men, or even by horses, it is necessary to have everything of the least weight consistent with comfort. I have seen no better list of articles constituting an outfit than I had in 1875 on the east line of the Red Lake Reservation; and for the benefit of those who may want to supply a party in a timber country, I give it here.

From the last of September, to the first of November, five weeks, with a crew of six men, equal to one man thirty weeks, I had 300 lbs. flour, 200 lbs. pork, 60 lbs. beans, seven and a half pounds of black tea, 50 lbs. cut loaf sugar, 30 lbs. dried apples, six pounds of baking powder, and salt, pepper, soap, matches, etc.

White rice is poor food for working men, but wild rice is as hearty as beans and is easily cooked. Oat meal is good wholesome food, cooked in short order, and is easily digested, good for supper.

On the survey of the east boundary of that reservation in 1875, I had as packer one Jack Bonga, of Red Lake, who was one-quarter negro and three-quarters Indian. He would pack two sacks of flour of a hundred pounds each every day, rather than make two trips for the same baggage. Two hundred pounds is a regular pack for a horse in the mountains. Jack was a nephew of George Bonga, who, when he came into the country from Lake Superior packed 700 pounds for a quarter of a mile over the portage at the Dalles of the St. Louis river. He was half negro, the son of a fugitive slave, a giant in strength, over six feet high, over 200 pounds weight, as straight as an Indian, with sinews and cords in his limbs like a horse.

THE BEGINNING OF BANKING IN MINNESOTA.*

BY ADOLPH O. ELIASON, PH. D.

Before the days of white settlement in the Northwest, the territory now embraced within the boundaries of Minnesota was inhabited by Indians. Agriculture, trade and commerce, even in their most rudimentary forms, could scarcely be said to exist. Hunting, trapping and fishing were the chief occupations of the men; and the women prepared the food, made the moccasins and clothing, cared for the children, and in general performed the work and drudgery about the camp or village.

The first white men to enter the territory were exploring traders, closely followed by missionaries and by regular traders seeking the furs which the Indians procured with such little effort.

There was no metallic money in circulation in the early fur trade. Trade was carried on by barter. Furs were exchanged by the Indians for blankets, knives, powder, firearms, rum, and other articles brought in by the traders. Henry R. Schoolcraft, the noted traveler and writer, says, in his "Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake in 1832," that the standard of value and computation in the fur trade was a prime beaver, called "plus" by the French. Other writers bear out this statement, and it is established beyond a doubt that, from the beginnings of trade in this territory, the unit of trade was the beaver skin, allowed at one and one-half pounds per skin. About 1820 a prime beaver skin was estimated as worth $2 a pound, a large prime beaver being worth $4.† Schoolcraft, in the narrative referred to, states that a prime beaver or plus was worth one bear, one otter, or three martens, while a keg of rum was equivalent to thirty plus. A little later the muskrat skin was the unit of trade in this territory.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 11, 1908.

†Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, Vol. VII, p. 205.

The fur trade was the forerunner of civilization throughout this region, as it has been in nearly all parts of the North American continent. Its attractive profits tempted exploration, established settlements and posts for trading purposes, opened regular avenues of trade, and prepared the way for the influx of agricultural settlers, merchants, and those bent on other lines of trade and industry. The history of the early fur trade in Minnesota becomes, then, of first importance in the study of early business conditions; and some little attention to these conditions is absolutely necessary in order to determine just when and how the needed banking facilities were supplied before conditions demanded the establishment of exclusively banking institutions.

The fur trade in our territory was for many years in the hands of the French, but after the middle of the eighteenth century the English gradually began to secure the trade of the Northwest. After the treaty of Paris in 1763, the English came into possession of all the posts, and for a brief period the fur trade was carried on exclusively by the Hudson Bay Company. About 1766 private traders began to encroach, and in 1783 the strongest of these traders united their stocks and formed the Northwest Company, with headquarters at Montreal, a strong rivalry immediately springing up between the two companies. In 1798 the Northwest Company alone had over forty clerks, fifty interpreters, and six hundred canoemen in Minnesota. In 1809 the American Fur Company was organized by John Jacob Astor, but it did not begin business until the close of the war of 1812. A few years later the Indian trade of the territory passed into the hands of the American Company, for the Northwest Company was obliged to dispose of its posts south of the Canadian line, on account of an act passed by Congress in 1816 excluding foreigners from the Indian trade.

With the advent of the American Company and the protection of the frontier by the establishment in 1819 of the military post at Fort Snelling, the Indian trade in our territory received a great impetus, and although it was several years before settlers actually began to arrive, the territory was being exploited by explorers and traders and the eyes of future settlers turned in this direction. Referring to the year 1832, Neill wrote in his History of Minne-

sota (page 415): "There were no white families in the country. The entire population, besides the soldiers of the fort, were Indian traders." He undoubtedly left out of account the few Swiss refugees who were at this time squatting upon the Fort Snelling Reservation. By 1833, traders were established in posts at Mendota, Olive Grove at the mouth of the St. Croix, Traverse des Sioux, Little Rapids of the Minnesota river, Lac qui Parle, and Lake Traverse; and as traders went out from these posts in every direction, it may be seen that trade with the Indians was carried on over a large part of our territory.

Up to 1837, none of the land in Minnesota was open to settlement. All the land belonged to the Indians, with the exception of the military reservation. Beginning with 1837, treaties were made with the Indians by which their rights of occupancy between the Mississippi and St. Croix as far north as the Crow Wing were ceded to the United States, thus making settlement possible. Gradually settlers began to arrive, but up to 1849 comparatively little headway had been made in this direction, considering the vastness of the territory. Mr. A. L. Larpenteur, who was afterward one of the first merchants in St. Paul, arrived in the territory in September, 1843. "At that time," he says in his Recollections, "the white population . . . . . in the vast territory that now includes the great state of Minnesota, the two Dakotas, parts of Wisconsin and Iowa, and all the country across the Missouri river to the Pacific coast, did not exceed three hundred." At the time of the first official census, taken in 1849, when the territorial organization was effected, there were less than 5,000 inhabitants within the area now included in Minnesota.

John Jacob Astor was an enterprising and astute trader. He sent to the territory a number of wide awake young men from the East. Among them were Ramsay Crooks, who was his first agent and afterward was president of the company, and Charles H. Oakes and Charles W. W. Borup, who have the distinction of starting the first banking-house within our boundaries.

In 1834, H. H. Sibley, who later was to play such an important part in our history, came to Minnesota, having formed, with Colonel Dousman and Joseph Rolette, Sr., a copartnership with the American Fur Company. Sibley was placed in control of the

trade throughout this vast region and had his headquarters at St. Peter's, now the village of Mendota. He inspected the posts, supervised the operations of the traders, clerks, and voyageurs, and dictated the policy of the company with regard to the traffic with the Indians. Sibley's day books, his letter books showing copies of all his letters, and several files of letters received by him while in the fur trade, are to be found in the Library of this Society. They furnish a vast fund of information as to the history of the fur trade and the conditions of the Territory in general, during a period upon which it is extremely difficult to find any definite and reliable information.

In order that we may more clearly comprehend the earliest stages of banking development in Minnesota, let us give a moment's attention to the beginnings of banking in New England. A glance at the early conditions in the east will show a remarkable similarity with the conditions in this territory.

In studying the rise of banking institutions in the United States, we find that the business and industries of the colonies were carried on for nearly two centuries without the assistance of a single local commercial bank. The peculiar conditions of colonial trade and industry made the rise of local banking institutions unnecessary.* There were no manufactures requiring extensive capital and banking facilities; the financial aid necessary to carry on operations under the agricultural and domestic systems was supplied by individuals in the colonies; the retail trade and the coasting and shipping industries were conducted on English capital; the banking for the merchants in the colonies was done in England; and these merchants, with the aid of their own capital and their banking connections in England, together with their remarkable credit arrangements with the English merchants, were able to give to individuals and small traders in the colonies the credit accommodations and limited banking services which they required.

So long as these conditions continued in the colonies, local banking institutions were not needed and consequently did not arise; but with the gradual disruption of the domestic system, and with the development of manufactures and other industries requir-

*See "The Rise of Commercial Banking Institutions in the United States," by A. O. Eliason.

ing larger capital and more extensive accommodations and services such as are usually supplied by banks,—together with the severance of the relations with the mother country,—local banking institutions became necessary, and in compliance with this demand the first commercial bank was established in Philadelphia in 1781.

Conditions were, in many respects, similar in the early days of this territory. Before the advent of the white man, the necessity of banking institutions was obviously lacking. With the growth of the fur trade, the establishment of trading posts, and the subsequent influx of white settlers, the needs for banking facilities gradually arose.

Up to the beginnings of the nineteenth century, the development of the territory along these lines had not proceeded far enough to demand any banking facilities, but with the rise of the American Fur Company an active movement of exploration and exploitation began and within a short time a great many trading posts were established. Missionaries began to work among the Indians, and white settlers began to come.

These travelers and the traders, missionaries, and other settlers did, of necessity, occasionally require some services usually performed by banks. Some needed funds sent them from the east, others wished to send home their surplus earnings. Some needed financial assistance from time to time; others had, at times, a small surplus needing some safe place of deposit. These and many other services were required by the earliest white settlers. As there were no local banks, the interesting question arises, How were these needed banking facilities supplied? The answer is to be found only through a close study of the daily business operations of the inhabitants.

The Fur Company was the moneyed establishment of the early days, and, if any fiscal or other exceptional service was required, the Fur Company was looked to for its accomplishment. The company was the fiscal agent for the early explorers and missionaries, for the Indians, and for the people of the region in general. It not only kept accounts for goods sold them and for furs received in return, but it performed many purely banking services, such as making loans, cashing drafts on New York, Quebec, St. Louis,

and other places, and selling exchange on the Company offices at St. Louis, New York, and other points. Sometimes these advances, drafts, and other credits, were carried on the books of the company in a running account, and orders on the same were honored when presented.

Many interesting examples in substantiation of these statements are to be found in Sibley's day book, and in letters written to him and by him while in charge of the Company's office at St. Peter's. On July 9th, 1838, for example, the J. N. Nicollet expedition was charged on Sibley's day book to "paid order, Moyese Arcand, $25.00." On September 17th, 1838, the Western Outfit was charged to draft of J. N. Nicollet on P. Chouteau & Co., of St. Louis, account of expedition under his charge, drawn in favor of H. H. Sibley, agent of the American Fur Company, for $1,899.-33. Nicollet evidently made a draft on P. Chouteau & Co., which Sibley cashed or credited; and Nicollet undoubtedly had a running account with the Fur Company, drawing on the same for his expenditures and other purposes, and replenishing it when low.

Other running accounts are clearly indicated by other entries. On July 28th, 1838, N. W. Kittson was credited with a draft for $130 drawn by H. H. Mooers on H. L. Dousman. On August 23d, 1838, Huggins & Williamson were credited with $20.00 cash received from Mr. Nicollet; and on the same date the Pokegama Mission was credited by F. Ayers, a missionary in the Snake river country, with a draft for $400 drawn on New York, ten days, in favor of G. M. Tracey.

Turning to Sibley's letter copy books and letter files, we find evidences of similar transactions. On October 24th, 1838, Joseph Renville, Sr., at Lac qui Parle, wrote to Sibley, requesting him to let Dr. Williamson have $100 and charge to his account. In a letter to Sibley, on November 25th, 1838, from Lac qui Parle, Dr. Williamson says, "I send you above a draft on Mr. Tracey of New York for $112.14. This, with the $25.00 which you told me you intended contributing to the Board, ... if I remember correctly, covers all the orders I have drawn on you."

Another letter written by H. L. Dousman from Prairie du Chien on October 13th, 1840, to William H. Forbes, an employee of the Fur Company in Sibley's office, says, "I send herewith my

order in your favor on the postmasters at Fort Snelling and Lake St. Croix for the quarter ending September 30th last," and gives orders to collect and credit. These letters all show that the company carried on its books running accounts, not only with people in this region, but also with others living in other parts of the country who had business to transact in this locality; and thus, by providing the necessary machinery for the transfer of funds and credits in this manner, it performed a necessary banking function.

By examining further into the correspondence of the American Fur Company, we discover that this was not the only banking service rendered the community, but that in addition to carrying running accounts on its books, sustained by credits in a manner not essentially differing from modern banking practice, the company also made loans and advances the same as any commercial bank. In a letter dated August 11th, 1849, to H. L. Moss, Esq., at Stillwater, Sibley says, "I enclose you my own acceptance at three days for one hundred dollars, being the amount you wish to borrow from me and which I advance you with much pleasure. The draft may be cashed by any of the banks or by R. H. Campbell, Esq., in Galena." Another letter, written by Sibley to R. H. Campbell, of Galena, September 27th, 1849, says, "I have advanced Doctor Norwood of the Geological Corps the sum of $390, which he expects to get from Mr. Carter at your place, in which case I have requested him to turn the amount over to you, taking your receipt therefor." On July 26th, 1849, Sibley wrote to Mr. James Ryan, of Galena, that he would remit to him the sum of $200 at the request of the Rev. Mr. Belcourt; and in a letter to Mr. Borup on September 28th, 1849, he says: "A certain person drew from Galena for $1,800 or $1,900, saying in his letter of advice, 'I will not draw again,' and making many brilliant promises of the large remittances to be made from contracts with the government." All these instances clearly show that the Fur Company was in the habit of making loans, as well as of carrying running accounts fed from outside sources.

Not only did the Fur Company obviate the necessity of local banking institutions by transferring funds through exchange transactions, by carrying running accounts on the books of the company

against which orders could be drawn, and by extending financial accommodations through loans, but it also acted as a general fiscal or financial agent, both for the local inhabitants and for those in the East and other parts of the country who had business to transact in this region.

On November 3rd, 1841, for example, General Dodge wrote to Sibley sending him a draft for $10,000 for "purchases for the Sioux Treaty," presumably for presents to the Indians to get the treaty signed, and on January 14th, 1849, Rev. G. A. Belcourt, missionary at Pembina, wrote to Sibley: "I want to draw money from savings bank at Quebec, and I know of no surer way of getting it than by asking you." Another letter written to Sibley on October 28th, 1850, from St. Louis by Kenneth McKenzie, asks him to attend to his claims when the treaty is made with the Sioux in 1851, his claims amounting to $57,175.00. These letters all show that persons in other sections of the country used the American Fur Company as a financial agent in this region.

In performing numerous functions of a bank, the local Fur Company worked in connection with and was assisted by the home establishment in New York. Various letters to Sibley from New York written by Ramsay Crooks, the president of the company, show the connection with the home office.

A letter dated April 27th, 1836, gives notice of the payment of a draft for $112.14, drawn by Dr. Williamson on G. M. Tracey, which was evidently credited on the books at the New York office. Another letter of March 29th, 1836, says, "Mr. Norman W. Kittson has left in our hands $500, which is subject to his order, and in case he wants funds in your country we hope it will be convenient for you to accommodate him to the extent of his said deposit." In the same letter he says, "Our friends in Montreal are anxious that we collect from your Mr. Forbes the amount of his note to John White, say $80.00, which we hope you will see he pays with interest;" and in a postscript he says, "General C.'s acceptance of Mr. Kittson's draft on him for $828.00, one of those you gave me last winter, was protested today for want of funds." On May 26th, 1837, Crooks notified Sibley of the payment of a certain draft for $1,000, and admonished him to be careful whose drafts he takes, as "but few of them are good." On October 18th, 1836, Sibley

is sent a note for collection, with instructions to place to the credit of St. Mary's Outfit when collected; and on December 20th, 1836, he is notified of the collection of two certain drafts and the credit of same to the "Western Outfit" and the "Fort Snelling Outfit," respectively, and of the payment of $40.00 "to Samuel W. Benedict, as requested."

There was no marked influx of settlers into this region until after the organization of Minnesota as a territory in 1849. During the pre-territorial period the few scattered white inhabitants managed very well without the assistance of banking institutions, for the simple reason, as has been pointed out, that they did not need them, their few needs in this direction being cared for by the Fur Company without great inconvenience.

When the act was passed organizing Minnesota Territory, the region was "little more than a wilderness." The whole country west of the Mississippi river, from the Iowa line to Lake Itasca, was still unceded by the Indians. St. Paul was the only settlement in the territory that could lay claims to being even a small village, so small in fact that its population did not exceed two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants, even after the sudden stimulus of the rumor that it was to become the capital of the new territory. It was "just emerging from a collection of Indian whiskey shops and birch-roofed cabins of half-breed voyageurs," with here and there a frame tenement erected and some warehouses in the process of construction.*

The organization of the territory was followed by an influx of settlers, and the population steadily increased. At the first census, taken in the early summer of 1849, St. Paul had a population of 840, and Stillwater, the only other settlement of any size within the present boundaries of Minnesota, numbered 609 inhabitants. St. Paul, being the capital and at the head of navigation, continued for some time to attract nearly all the immigration, and by the latter part of 1853 its population had increased to about 4,700.†

The first newspaper to be established in Minnesota was the Pioneer, whose first issue appeared on the 28th of April, 1849, and it has continued uninterruptedly to this day. About the same time

*Neill, History of Minnesota, p. 494.
†The Pioneer, November 17th, 1853.

the Register appeared, closely followed by the Minnesota Chronicle; and after a few weeks' existence these papers were discontinued and gave way to the "Chronicle and Register." From the files of these papers is to be gleaned much valuable information upon our subject.

The scarcity of currency, which was keenly felt by the earliest settlers, fanned the zeal of those who wished to establish banks for the issue of paper money; but the experience of our public men with "wildcat" and other irresponsible paper banking schemes in other states, together with the able and vigorous opposition of the local newspapers, prevented legislative sanction of any such movement. The few unauthorized attempts to establish a paper bank were met by such determined and concerted action, on the part of the sound money men, that no bank for the issue of paper money was ever successfully established in the territory.

The earliest paper banking project in Minnesota, which I have been able to discover, was the "Bank of Saint Croix." The first reference to this project in the Pioneer appeared in an editorial on November 15th, 1849, which stated that sometime in September a stranger calling himself Isaac Young came to St. Paul and succeeded in getting a Mr. Sawyer to sign a large number of pieces of paper on which were engraved the words, "Bank of Saint Croix, Saint Paul, Minnesota," Mr. Sawyer being informed by Young that the pieces of paper which he signed as cashier would be promptly redeemed when issued. Young evidently left St. Paul with the notes and attempted to get them into circulation, for the Pioneer states that notes of the "Bank of Saint Croix" were quoted in the eastern bank note lists at one per cent discount; and it was the opinion of the editor that the quotations were furnished by "some accomplice in the fraud, living in Wall street, New York city."

How extensively these notes got into circulation cannot be determined, but the project created considerable comment and was repeatedly mentioned in the St. Paul newspapers up to the middle of February, 1850. On December 12th, 1849, the Pioneer notified the public abroad that there was no such bank in Minnesota, and added that "if they ever hear of the existence of any banking institution in this Territory, they may set it down as a fraudulent,

unlicensed concern;" and so much prominence was given in subsequent issues to the exposure of this fraud that, in all probability, but few of the notes got into circulation. The Pioneer on January 9th, 1850, claimed that a large quantity of the notes were issued and taken to Galena, St. Louis, and other places; and that, when navigation was closed and winter should nearly cut off communication with St. Louis, "it was designed to flood the whole lower country with this spurious stuff." St. Louis and Galena, however, discovered the fraud early enough to prevent this. In the latter part of December, the St. Louis Union cautioned all persons against taking the notes, designating them as a "bare-faced fraud," and stated that a gentleman from St. Paul, Minnesota Territory, had informed them that "there is no Bank of Saint Croix at that place, and there is not a bank in the Territory, although paper bearing that face is quoted in Presbury & Co.'s Counterfeit Detector at 1 per cent discount." This article from the St. Louis Union was quoted by the Galena Gazette, and was copied by the St. Paul Pioneer, January 2d, 1850.

In the January number of their Counterfeit Detector, Presbury & Co. stated that they had stricken the Bank of Saint Croix from the Detector, and gave the following unique explanation:

> A few days previous to the issuing of our October number, Mr. Daniels of this city introduced to us a gentleman by the name of Young, who informed us that he, with some other capitalists, were about to establish a bank at St. Paul, and showed us two notes, one of the denomination of one dollar and one for two dollars. He also stated that but few had been signed, and that no more would be issued until the charter had been sanctioned by the authority of law. He left those two notes with us and money sufficient to redeem all that was issued. Upon this representation, we mentioned the money in the Detector, giving holders of the notes information when they would be redeemed. Since the mention of the paper above alluded to, we have been advised that it is improbable that the Legislature of the Territory will grant any such charter.*

These exposures of the Bank of Saint Croix project evidently succeeded in killing it, for no further mention is made of the bank in the Pioneer, except in a communication on February 13th, 1850, from Henry Jackson, a member of the Territorial Legis-

*Quoted in the Pioneer, January 9th, 1850, from the Missouri Republican.

lature, disclaiming the charge made against him that he had attempted to get a Bank of Saint Croix bill through the Legislature.

Those coming into the Territory did, of course, bring in some money, but the chief source of the money supply was the Indian annuities and other government payments. Money then, as now, was liquid enough in character so that even though large amounts came into the Territory from time to time, there was also a continual outflow. Consequently, during the early days, money was always scarce, and every little while some scheme was put forth to supply the monetary needs.

In an article on "Banks and Banking," in the Chronicle of May 25th, 1850, the needs of a paper currency were set forth, and the establishment of a bank of issue was proposed. Nothing, however, resulted from this suggestion, as it immediately met with strong opposition. A communication in the Pioneer on June 6th, in reply to the proposal in the Chronicle, warned the people against paper currency of whatever kind, and recalled to their minds the disaster following the crash in 1837. Active opposition such as this, on the part of the hard money men in the Territory, prevented the establishment at this time of a paper bank as suggested.

The so-called Merchants' and Mechanics' Bank, appearing at St. Anthony sometime in June, 1853, was another attempt at paper banking, but it appears that it was not successful in getting its notes into circulation. The Pioneer of July 14th, 1853, gives the only information which I have been able to discover concerning this project. The article, which is headed "St. Anthony Bank," begins with the statement that no mention has been made of this project because, "believing that there was not the most remote possibility of the success of any project of Israel Smith or any other person to flood our Territory with irresponsible paper currency, we did not intend to revert to the subject of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Bank at St. Anthony, until a further demonstration should be made to impose the paper of that concern upon our people;" and the article goes on to state that information had been received from Galena that Israel Smith was there spreading the report that his bank was established at St. Anthony under a permit from Mr. Gorman, governor of the Territory. "The gov-

ernor," continues the writer, "is not authorized or empowered to give a permit for the establishment of any institution of the kind, and we are authorized to say that Governor Gorman never had any conversation with Mr. Israel Smith on that or any other subject."

The last paper banking project in the Territory, to which I shall call attention, was the "Central American Bank," the first advertisement of which was issued in the Pioneer on July 21st, 1853, in the following harmless appearing form: "Central American Bank, Richards, Clarke & Co., Bankers and Dealers in Exchange. Collections made throughout the Territory, and remitted for at current rates of exchange." An editorial in the same issue states that, "as a mania for wildcat banking appears to have seized hold of a portion of our community," it would be well to elect sound money men to the coming Legislature, so that a stringent law may be passed for its suppression. "Since the above was in type," the editorial continues, "we have been shown a pictured 'promise to pay,' issued by what is called the Central American Bank of St. Paul, a card for which institution will be found in another column. We are opposed to the whole banking system, whether chartered or wildcat, from principle; and we feel it a duty we owe the community to warn our readers in time against receiving 'promises to pay' as money. The currency paid by the Government to the Territory and disbursed to its citizens by the proper officers, is the only currency recognized by the Constitution."

The "Central American Bank" project evidently stirred the people to instant action, for on July 23rd a large meeting of the business men of St. Paul was held to oppose the "institution" and to organize an effective warfare against that and all similar projects. After a thorough discussion of the subject, in which remarks were made by George W. Farrington, Aaron Goodrich, J. C. Dow, R. R. Nelson, M. S. Wilkinson, C. J. Henniss, and others, names undoubtedly familiar to many here tonight, resolutions were adopted, clearly and unmistakably branding the Central American Bank with the public disapproval and showing that the St. Paul business men were unalterably opposed to paper money schemes. The resolutions were as follows:*

*See the Pioneer, July 28th, 1853.

Whereas, A recent attempt has been made to circulate as money an issue of a so-called Central American Bank of this city; and

Whereas, Such attempt is antagonistical to the best interests of this Territory, and particularly to the interests of the business men of this city; therefore be it

Resolved, That we will oppose under all circumstances, now and hereafter, this and all similar attempts to impose upon us an illegitimate and irresponsible paper currency.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the city press, in denouncing these "wild-cat" issues, meets with our warm approbation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the papers in this Territory.

The Central American Bank did not long survive this opposition. After October 6th its business card ceased to appear in the Pioneer. The attempts to gain a circulation for its notes were undoubtedly completely frustrated, and the institution did not even continue as a discount and collection office, for it fails to appear in the list of these establishments given in the Pioneer on November 17th, 1853, and is not mentioned in any subsequent issues of the Territorial papers.

We notice from the accounts of these early banking projects that to the settlers of the region at that time the word "banking" meant only the issue of bank notes. Other functions of a bank, such as deposit and discount, do not seem to have been considered. It is an interesting coincidence that here, as in the early days of New England, the chief and, we may truthfully say, the only function of a bank was deemed to be the issue of paper money. The newspapers in the Territory, and especially the Pioneer, continually waged war against "banking," but always with the idea that by banking was meant the issue of paper money. On November 17th, 1853, for example, the Pioneer stated that there was no bank in the Territory, and in the same article gave the number of deposit and discount offices in operation in St. Paul.

Nearly all the messages of the Territorial governors advise against the establishment of banks, having in mind the issue function only. In his message of January, 1852, Governor Ramsey said that he was "satisfied that in staid and settled communities a well regulated paper currency, circulating on an adequate basis, is a decided public advantage, but the experience of the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa should admonish us that, in the peculiar

condition of society in an early stage of political existence, banking is extremely hazardous, and that the distrust, agitation and alarm arising from over-issues of paper and improper use of banking facilities, are more difficult to overcome, and more dangerous in their tendencies if not overcome, than the actual inconveniences and losses usually incident to an insufficient currency." He said further that he was not aware of any disposition in the community to apply to the Legislature for the incorporation of a bank, and advised that until conditions materially changed it should be the stated purpose with the Legislature to do nothing in relation to the charter of banks.

Governor Gorman, in his message of January, 1854, declared definitely that "no law creating a bank within this Territory for circulating a paper currency" could ever receive his official sanction; and in his message of January, 1855, he entered into the question more at length, stating that the Legislature "may be invoked to charter corporations for banking purposes under the specious pretense of keeping out the currency of other states," and he followed with an argument showing the fallacy of such a pretense.

The one important fact to bear in mind in connection with this discussion is that, owing to the sound money views of our newspapers, business men and public officials, the Territory was saved from the baneful experience of paper banking.

Let us now turn to the third and last phase of the subject to be considered in this paper, the rise in the Territory of the first real banks within the modern meaning of the term, establishments doing a commercial banking business by exercising the functions of deposit and discount.

In St. Paul, business had become sufficiently active by 1853 to necessitate the establishment of a commercial bank. As early as November 7th, 1850, a discount office was proposed in the columns of the Pioneer in order to "alleviate the distressing financial paroxysms" which convulsed business whenever there was any delay in payments from the Government; but nothing resulted from the proposal until 1853, when Borup & Oakes opened a bank, closely followed by the banking establishments of Charles H. Parker, Brewster & Co., and others.

By this time, St. Paul had grown from a small village of about three hundred inhabitants at the time of the formation of the Territory, to a thriving, busy town of nearly 5,000 inhabitants, with an assessed valuation of over $723,000, as compared with $85,000 in 1849, and which rose to over a million and a quarter in 1854. With this growth of wealth and population, the limited banking facilities provided by the Fur Company were clearly inadequate, and separate banking institutions became a necessity. By November 17th, 1853, it is certain that the three banking offices of Borup & Oakes, Charles H. Parker, and Brewster & Co., were in operation in St. Paul, for they were listed in the Pioneer of that date under the heading of "Bankers and Exchange Brokers." During the next three years the number of banks in St. Paul increased to about a dozen. The St. Paul directory for 1856 gives the names of twelve banking houses, and the first issue of the Pioneer in 1857 gives the advertisements of ten St. Paul banks.

These banks were, in fact, actual commercial banks, for although there was a great scarcity of money in the community, and at first almost no surplus funds, while interest rates were so high as to be almost prohibitive, the banks did to a greater or less extent receive deposits and carry on discounting operations.

The advertisements of the banks, and various items concerning them in the local press, prove the truth of these statements beyond a question of doubt. For example, an editorial in the Pioneer on November 17th, 1853, stated that Borup & Oakes carried on a large deposit and discount business on a safe basis. Charles H. Parker began his advertisements in the Pioneer on October 6th, 1853, stating that he conducted a banking, exchange and deposit office, and that Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad money would be received on deposit or in exchange at 1 per cent discount. Beginning with December 15th, 1853, Brewster & Co. advertised a general banking and exchange business. As early as the first part of 1856, I find that Mackubin & Edgerton and other St. Paul bankers began to advertise the interest paid on deposits and the rate of discount on commercial paper. The wealth and business activity of the community had undoubtedly, by that time, grown

sufficiently to create keen competition among the increasing number of banks.

Although St. Paul continued for some time to be the largest and wealthiest settlement in the Territory, a study of the beginnings of Minnesota banking would be incomplete without a consideration of the conditions in at least one or two of the settlements next in importance.

The rival of St. Paul, in the early territorial days, was St. Anthony, a thriving lumber manufacturing village about ten miles up the river. Its first newspaper, the St. Anthony Express, appeared in May, 1851, which was followed a little later by the Northwestern Democrat. In an editorial in the Pioneer on November 24th, 1853, it was stated that there was at that time no banking or discount office at St. Anthony. On August 12th, 1854, the Northwestern Democrat published the business card of "R. Martin, Banker and Broker, Post Office Building, St. Anthony," who has undoubtedly the distinction of being the first banker in the community; and in the same paper, on October 7th, 1854, there appeared the advertisement of "C. L. Chase & Co., Bankers and Exchange Brokers and Dealers in Real Estate," who called attention to the fact that interest was allowed on deposits. In the same year, Tracy & Farnham established a banking and land office. It appears that C. L. Chase & Co. did not long continue the business, for in a list of the St. Anthony business houses appearing in the Northwestern Democrat on November 10th, 1855, R. Martin and Tracy & Farnham are the only names given under the heading of "Banking Offices." In January, 1856, the banking house and collection agency of George H. Day was established, and we are told in the Northwestern Democrat on April 5th of the same year that this bank had to pay from one to two per cent per month on deposits. Up to the time of the financial crash in 1857, several other banks were opened at St. Anthony, among which were the offices of Orrin Curtis, D. B. Dorman, and Graves, Town & Co.*

Turning now to Minneapolis, we find the interesting information in the Pioneer on November 24th, 1853, that a village by that name "had recently sprung into existence." The growth of Minneapolis did not really begin, however, until after the removal of

*See Atwater, History of Minneapolis, Part I, page 485.

the military reservation in 1855, after which the little village acros the river from St. Anthony soon outstripped its neighbor, both in population and business activity. In a short time Minneapolis and St. Anthony became in reality one city, although it was not until 1872 that the two were incorporated together.

For information about the beginnings of banking in Minneapolis, we are not obliged to depend solely upon the local newspapers, nor even upon the memory of those respected pioneers who are still living, but who were not associated with these early banks in any other way than as depositors and borrowers. Three banking offices were opened in Minneapolis at about the same time by Snyder & McFarlane, Curtis H. Pettit, and Beede & Mendenhall; and I have been fortunate in being able to get much information from the three gentlemen who were at the head of these first banks.

Although it may be said that these three banks were opened at about the same time, Snyder & McFarlane were actually the first to begin. An editorial in the Minnesota Democrat on August 29th, 1857, states that they opened their bank on October 9th, 1855, and that Mr. Pettit's bank was established on November 1st following. The same editorial gives August 1st, 1856, as the date when Beede & Mendenhall began business. My interviews with these early bankers corroborate these statements as to the order of establishment, although I was informed that no deposits were received until some time in the winter of 1855-56.

Snyder & McFarlane began business merely as a real estate firm in the office of Orrin Curtis in St. Anthony in May, 1855. In the fall of 1855 they built an office in Minneapolis on Hennepin Avenue, across from the site of the Union Station, where they soon began to receive deposits, deal in eastern exchange, and discount short time notes, in addition to their real estate and mortgage loan business. In 1856, they were joined by a Mr. Cook, and from that time until the latter part of 1858 they continued the business of real estate and banking under the name of Snyder, McFarlane & Cook.

Curtis H. Pettit came to Minnesota on the 22nd day of October, 1855, and soon afterward opened his bank of deposit and discount in Minneapolis on Bridge Square, continuing until 1860, when he went into the hardware business.

Beede & Mendenhall, beginning in the summer of 1856, continued business until the general breakdown following the financial panic of 1857, and were succeeded in 1862 by the State Bank of Minnesota, with R. J. Mendenhall as president and R. J. Baldwin as cashier.

Following the establishment of these first three banks and up to the time of the panic of 1857, other banks were opened in Minneapolis, among which were the offices of Heath & Partridge, S. W. Phinney, and David C. Groh. These first real banks of deposit and discount, in St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis, carried on business in very much the same way. In St. Paul and St. Anthony, banking was conducted on a larger scale than in Minneapolis, for the population was much larger during these first years and business in consequence was more active. In these places there was keen competition among the banks for deposits, and, as has been noted, interest was paid on deposits, and in some instances as high as two per cent per month. In Minneapolis, on the other hand, as I was informed by Mr. Snyder, no interest was paid on deposits, and, although the banks did receive deposits, the volume received during the period before the crisis was so small that it amounted to very little.

At all these banks, the operations of discount were performed in a manner not essentially differing from present day banking except as to rates, which were often as high as 5 per cent per month, and 10 per cent per month after due. None of these banks, up to the time of the establishment of the state banking system, issued bank notes which circulated as money, although Borup & Oakes in St. Paul did, for a time, issue certificates which they attempted to get into circulation, but which met with such opposition on the part of the other bankers and the public in general that a special law was passed by the Legislature prohibiting them.

The state of the currency was at all times bad during this early period. Minnesota was flooded with paper currency of questionable soundness, brought in from other states, necessitating the constant use of a bank-note detector. Some of our bankers, among whom were Snyder, McFarlane & Cook, and Curtis H. Pettit, put into circulation notes of eastern banks, endorsing them across

the face with a guaranty of payment, and considerable amounts of this so-called "Gosport" and "Tekoma" were issued. Mr. Pettit, alone, put out over $20,000 of these guaranteed notes, all of which he redeemed at face value.

The limits of this paper preclude considering with more detail the operations of these early bankers. The financial crash of 1857 suspended, for a time, the business of all the banks; and during the readjustment, following the crisis, the state banking system was established, ushering in a new era in our banking history.

E. G. Gear.

Minnesota Historical Society.
Vol. XII. Plate XXXI.

REV. EZEKIEL GILBERT GEAR, D. D.,

CHAPLAIN AT FORT SNELLING, 1838-1858.

AN ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF HIS PORTRAIT TO THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AT THE MONTHLY MEETING OF ITS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1906, BY THE RT. REV. SAMUEL COOK EDSALL, D. D., BISHOP OF MINNESOTA.

The pleasant duty of rendering honor tonight to Father Gear, of blessed memory, and of formally presenting to the Historical Society the excellent portrait in oil painted by Miss Grace E. McKinstry, of Faribault, comes to me simply because in the Providence of God I am now Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Minnesota, and can therefore represent more fully than anyone else the religious body of which Father Gear was the pioneer minister, and which now rejoices in the opportunity of placing his likeness in your custody, where it may be preserved among the portraits of the other great men who bore their part in laying the foundations of this commonwealth.

This duty could have been more adequately performed either by Rev. William C. Pope, of St. Paul, or Rev. George C. Tanner, D. D., of Faribault, the residence and ministry of both of whom go back to a point in Minnesota's history which would enable them to speak from personal knowledge, not only of the later years of Father Gear's own life, but of the other men with whom he labored, and of events in which they themselves have borne an honorable part.

To Mr. Pope we owe the inception of the project for procuring this portrait, and most of the credit for carrying it through to completion; while to Dr. Tanner, as the historian of the Episcopal

Church in this Diocese, we are indebted for the gathering of the facts which have made Father Gear's life and labors familiar to those of us who belong to a later generation.

But enlightened by what Mr. Pope and Dr. Tanner have contributed to the early history of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota, I have been permitted to realize how remarkable was the man in whose honor we have met tonight, and how prominent was his share in doing the very first work, not only of the Episcopal Church, but of any English-speaking religious body, among the white settlers of Minnesota, and particularly in that portion of Minnesota centering about Fort Snelling and the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, embracing the present great cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The salient fact for us to fasten in our minds, in estimating the place of this man among Minnesota's pioneers, is that he began his labors as chaplain at Fort Snelling, and as a Christian missionary in the vicinity, in April, 1839, and that thus he became (aside from the Rev. Clement F. Jones, post chaplain in 1828, and aside from certain faithful missionaries among the Indians and half-breeds) the first resident Christian minister of Minnesota. In the days of Mr. Jones' chaplaincy, and, in fact, up to the time of Father Gear's coming, there was practically no white settlement in which a resident minister could labor. We would not detract from the heroism of any missionary who gave his life to ministering among the Indians, nor from the fidelity of any chaplain who may have held service for the garrison in the fort; nor do we deny that it is possible that some occasional service may have been held somewhere in the present boundaries of Minnesota for some passing party of traders or explorers; but the fact remains that Ezekiel G. Gear was the first Christian minister, permanently residing in Minnesota, to conduct services regularly in the English language among the white settlers of the future state. That this fact should be stated and known is but due to a man whose missionary zeal was such that he did not content himself with his Sunday morning and evening services in the fort, but was keen to avail himself of the earliest opportunity of gathering the settlers at

points like the future Mendota and St. Paul for public worship, and of entering into relations with them as a Christian pastor.

To be the first Christian minister to officiate regularly in the English language among the white settlers of Minnesota is proud enough title for any man. But when we add to this that in personal character, in missionary zeal, in intellectual ability, in far-seeing plans, as well as in commanding physical presence, he was a man of altogether exceptional force and power, and one whose influence as a force for righteousness counted more than that of any other one man in those earliest days of Minnesota's history, we can see that it would have constituted a neglect almost criminal if we had failed to preserve his features, with some record of his life, here in this hall of Minnesota's fame, and in this shrine where her early records are cherished.

Ezekiel Gilbert Gear was born in Middletown, Connecticut, September 13th, 1793. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Griswold in the same church in which he was baptized, and his diaconate was passed in that diocese. He was ordained priest by Bishop Hobart, and was appointed missionary in the western part of New York state. There he labored at Onondaga Hill, Avon, Manlius, Ithaca, Syracuse, Binghamton and Brownsville. He also worked among the Oneida and Onondaga Indians, baptizing, marrying, and admitting many to the communion of the Church. He was present at the confirmation by Bishop Hobart of ninety-seven Indians, presented by Eleazar Williams. We can well imagine that this previous connection with Indian work led him to take an especial interest in advocating, as he did, the beginning of work among the Sioux and Ojibways of Minnesota.

In 1836 Mr. Gear was appointed by the Board of Missions as missionary at Galena, Illinois, where he built a church. He also did missionary duty in southern and western Wisconsin, and in northwestern Illinois, visiting Dubuque, Mineral Point and Prairie du Chien. He accompanied Bishop Kemper on one of his visitations to Green Bay, probably in 1838, when the corner-stone of Hobart Church on the Oneida Reservation was laid.

On October 2d, 1838, he was appointed post chaplain at Fort Snelling. In writing to the Board of Missions with regard to the chaplaincy, he said: "A considerable settlement has already com-

menced in the vicinity of the fort, and it is the understanding that I am to be at liberty to extend my labors among them. Without drawing any support from the Committee, I beg that they will consider me as under their direction, and allow me to still make reports to them as heretofore." The considerable settlement to which he refers was Mendota, or, as it was then called, St. Peter, which was also the name of the river. A few months earlier, on June 12th, 1838, the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, including what later became southern and western Minnesota, had been nominally organized as Iowa Territory. Accordingly we find that the Board of Missions passed a resolution, "That the Rev. E. G. Gear be appointed missionary in the Precinct of St. Peter, Iowa, and that the Committee accede to his kind proposal to act without salary."

It was already late in the season when Mr. Gear set out from Galena for his remote home, traveling first to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. From this point the journey was to be made by sledges on the ice of the Mississippi river. He had engaged a Canadian to transport him and his goods on a one-horse sledge, of the kind then in use, but when seated on the top of his baggage the sledge gave a lurch which threw him on the ice. When Mr. Sibley and Mr. Dousman picked him up, it was found that his hip bone was broken. He was obliged to remain in the hospital at Fort Crawford all winter, and was lamed for life. Thereafter he was compelled to preach in a sitting posture. But we are told that such was his presence and voice that this did not detract from the force of his sermons.

Not only were Mr. Gear's ministrations at Fort Snelliug faithful and efficient, but we find him conducting a school at the fort, and winning by his ministrations the interest of such men as General Sibley. Moreover, we find him pleading the necessity of work among the Indians, and bringing the attention of the Board to Enmegahbowh. In 1843 Bishop Kemper paid his first visit to Minnesota as the guest of Father Gear at Fort Snelling.

The daughters of Father Gear state that he told them that he held his first service in the settlement at St. Paul in 1840. Mr. A. L. Larpenteur states that he well remembers when Mr. Gear

and Father Ravoux, the revered Roman Catholic pastor who labored here more than half a century, were accustomed to alternate in holding Sunday services in St. Paul. There would seem to be no question but that Father Gear held the first service in the English language within the present limits of St. Paul, and it is probable that he held the first Christian service of any kind here. On December 24th, 1845, he held a Christmas service in St. Paul.

It is also probable that the service which he held at the Falls of St. Anthony on February 5th, 1848, was the first religious service in that place, or in the present city of Minneapolis, excepting the mission work of the brothers Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond for the Sioux at their cabin built in 1834 near the east shore of Lake Calhoun.

Father Gear was still pleading in communications to the Board of Missions, and in articles to the Church newspapers, for the great need of missionary work to be done in Minnesota. We can imagine that his lameness made him anxious for reinforcements. At last, in 1850, Breck and his associates came. Father Gear's character is shown in the cordiality with which he met them, and in his eager co-operation, transferring his work in St. Paul, and giving an acre of ground to be added to their tract for the mission here. He was a frequent visitor at the Mission House, and he laid the corner stone of the original Christ Church. He was president of the first Standing Committee appointed by Bishop Kemper at the first Convocation, held November 4th, 1854, and was chairman of the committee appointed to draft a constitution and canons in 1856. He was a delegate to the General Convention in 1859, and was an active member of the Council which elected Bishop Whipple.

After the abandonment of Fort Snelling, in 1858, he continued to officiate for the families remaining there and at Mendota, until his appointment as chaplain at Fort Ripley, in the spring of 1860. In 1867 he was retired from the service, and soon afterward removed to Minneapolis, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place October 13th, 1873. At the time of his death he had passed the age of fourscore, was the senior presbyter

of the Church in the United States, and had resided in Minnesota thirty-four years.

Bishop Whipple said at his funeral: "This is no common grave. A great man in our Israel is fallen; a brave-hearted soldier, after the battle of fourscore years, has entered into his rest."

In loving memory of such a man, of one who had so much to do with the early religious history of Minnesota, I take pleasure, in behalf of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota, in presenting to the Historical Society this portrait of the Rev. Dr. Ezekiel Gilbert Gear.

Greenleaf Clark

Minnesota Historical Society.
Vol. XII. Plate XXXII.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF JUDGE GREENLEAF CLARK.*

CHARLES W. BUNN, of St. Paul, presented the following biographic sketch, nearly as contributed to the Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota, with his eulogy of the work of Judge Clark as a jurist:

Greenleaf Clark was born in Plaistow, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, August 23, 1835; and died at Lamanda Park, near Los Angeles, California, December 7, 1904. He was from Puritan stock, the son of Nathaniel (the seventh of that name in a direct line) and Betsy (Brickett) Clark. The first Nathaniel was an Englishman by birth, who settled probably in Ipswich, Massachusetts, some time during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Young Clark attended the public school of his native town, and was afterward fitted for college at Atkinson Academy, in New Hampshire. He entered Dartmouth College in 1851, and received the degree of A. B. in June, 1855. Immediately afterward he began reading law in the office of Hatch & Webster, at Portsmouth, N. H., and after a short period of study there entered the Harvard Law School, from which he obtained the degree of LL. B. in 1857. During the same year he was admitted at Boston to the Suffolk bar.

In the fall of 1858, Clark came to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he ever afterward resided. He at first engaged as a clerk in the law office of Michael E. Ames. After a brief term of service in that capacity, he entered into partnership with Mr. Ames and ex-Judge Moses Sherburne, under the style of Ames, Sherburne & Clark. The firm was dissolved in 1860, and Mr. Clark became

*Presented at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 8, 1905.

associated with Samuel R. Bond (afterward a lawyer of Washington, D. C.), forming the firm of Bond & Clark. This connection was severed in 1862, when Mr. Bond left the state. Mr. Clark then conducted an individual practice until 1865, when he entered a new partnership, this time with the eminent Horace R. Bigelow. The business of the firm of Bigelow & Clark developed to a large magnitude, and in the year 1870 Charles E. Flandrau, then an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court, became a member of it, the firm being Bigelow, Flandrau & Clark.

This firm continued in business until the year 1881, when it was dissolved upon the appointment of Mr. Clark as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota. He served about a year in that capacity, during which time there was argued at great length, and decided, the important case involving the constitutionality of the legislative enactments for the adjustment of the Minnesota State Railroad bonds.

Upon leaving the bench, Judge Clark resumed the practice of the law, and in 1885 became associated in business with the late Homer C. Eller and Jared How, under the firm name of Clark, Eller & How, which firm was dissolved January 1, 1888, by the permanent retirement of Judge Clark from the practice of his profession.

Bigelow & Clark, and Bigelow, Flandrau & Clark, although engaged in general practice, were largely concerned in corporation business. They acted as the general counsel for the St. Paul and Pacific, and for the First division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company (one of the land grant systems of the state), up to the time of their re-organization, consequent upon the foreclosure of the mortgages thereon, into the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway Company in 1880. They also acted as the attorneys for the Minnesota Central Railway Company, extending from St. Paul and Minneapolis through Minnesota and Iowa to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, which had a land grant from Congress, for the St. Paul and Chicago Railway Company, extending from St. Paul to La Crosse, Wisconsin, which had a swamp land grant from the state, and for the Southern Minnesota Railroad Company, extending from La Crescent to the western boundary of the state, also a Congressional land grant company. All three of

these companies afterward became parts of the Milwaukee and St. Paul railway system, of which organization, afterward the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, they were also attorneys.

These services embraced the periods of the construction of these lines in Minnesota, the acquisition of their right of way and terminal grounds and facilities by condemnation and otherwise, as well as the foreclosure of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad companies and the Southern Minnesota Railroad Company, and their subsequent reorganization. They involved the conduct and defence of a large number of lawsuits, both in the State and Federal courts, involving the chartered rights, powers, immunities and duties of these companies, and, in case of the First division of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Company, its legal corporate existence, as well as their rights to lands under land grants, and the adjustment of conflicting grants with other companies. Judge Clark's services were largely engaged in matters connected with the organization and construction of extensions and proprietary lines and properties, the preparation of trust deeds and securities, leases, and trackage, traffic and other contracts.

It was a source of profound regret to all his friends, as well as a great loss to the state, that he felt compelled, by reason of the impairment of his health by his long and arduous labors in his profession, to retire from the active practice of the law when he was still in the prime of life and capable of doing his very best work.

Judge Clark was easily one of the leaders of the bar. He was a man of real power and a lawyer of sound judgment. We have known lawyers who excelled him in erudition and learning, but we have never had at the Minnesota bar one who excelled him in soundness of opinion. After studying a question faithfully, as was his habit, he was nearly infallible in his opinion as to what the law was and ought to be.

One of his impressive characteristics was his conscience. It made him one of the most thorough of men. He took work and responsibility too seriously, but he never rested short of going to the bottom of a problem. His sense of duty would not let him

do less. More laborious than other lawyers, with his strong intelligence, he was indeed a formidable adversary.

Judge Clark had that highest order of mind which instinctively goes to the heart of a problem,—the ability to detect and extract from the mass of rubbish which surrounds and inheres in most legal controversies, the one or two things of value. He never spent his effort upon side or immaterial issues, but drove straight at the turning point of the case.

Doubtless Judge Clark's greatest quality was his love of justice. He added to moral and intellectual honesty a love of justice which made him see, and compelled him to strive for, what was right. His strong instinct for justice made him a great equity lawyer, enabling him to instinctively reach correct results, before he reasoned out and defined the grounds of his conclusion.

He was never able to carry responsibility lightly. So long as he had clients his conscience forced him to incessant toil and care. With him the feeling of duty was constantly uppermost and he was not able to take professional life easily. To lawyers so constituted the only refuge from overwork is complete retirement from practice, and the bar and courts lost Judge Clark at the early age of fifty-three years. His intellect remained unimpaired, his retirement being due to physical inability to carry the strain he placed upon himself.

It was a great privilege and pleasure to argue cases when the Supreme Court was Gilfillan, Berry, Cornell, Mitchell, and Clark. The state lost the services of Judge Clark through our system which makes a judgeship a short term political office,—the first conspicuous sacrifice to the system. Clark's reputation would have been as a great national judge had he remained on the bench fifteen years, which is high praise, for Judge Marshall required at least that time to prove that he was a great Chief Justice.

Judge Clark's attainments and character were well rounded and balanced. To a high order of ability and steadfast moral excellencies he added being a delightful companion and loyal friend.

President Cyrus Northrop, of the University of Minnesota, spoke as follows:

In 1879 Judge Clark was appointed a regent of the University of Minnesota, which office he continued to hold, by repeated appointments, from that date till his death.

I have sought information respecting his career from several gentlemen who were associated with him in various ways in St. Paul, and among others from Mr. James J. Hill, the President of the Great Northern Railway Company. Mr. Hill, in reply to my request for some expression respecting him, says: "I knew the late Judge Clark intimately for a great many years. His law firm for a long time represented the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, and Judge Clark, as I remember, prepared the organization of the St. Paul Union Depot Company. His engagements for our Company were limited to a few minor transactions. However, my relations with him gave me an opportunity to know him well, both as a man and as a lawyer. The distinguishing traits of his character as a lawyer were his clean professional conscience and his thoroughly sound understanding of the law. Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, said to me many years ago that Judge Clark would adorn any bench in the nation, including the Supreme Court."

Judge Clark was for many years an interested and active member of the Minnesota Historical Society. He was elected a life member of this society December 13th, 1880. He was elected a member of its Executive Council January 19th, 1891, and continued a councilor, by successive triennial elections, fourteen years, until his death. With the changes of officers consequent upon the death of Governor Ramsey, long previously its president, General John B. Sanborn was elected to the presidency May 11th, 1903; and Judge Clark, after General Sanborn's death, succeeded him as president September 12th, 1904. He presided in only three meetings of the Council, in September, October, and November.

Within the last four years, Judge Clark contributed several addresses in memorial meetings of this Historical Society. These addresses, which are his only papers written for this Society, are

published in Volume X, part II, of its Historical Collections, as follows:

Bishop Whipple as a Citizen of Minnesota, pp. 708-712;
Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey, pp. 745-747;
Resolutions in regard to a Statue of Governor Ramsey, p. 747;
The Life and Influence of Judge Flandrau, pp. 771-782;
Memorial Address in honor of General Sanborn, pp. 833-837.

I first met Judge Clark in March, 1883. At that time he called on me at my home in New Haven, Connecticut, ostensibly for the purpose of asking my opinion in regard to various gentlemen who had been named as candidates for the presidency of the University of Minnesota. He asked my opinion in regard to these various candidates, and I gave him my opinion with the utmost frankness, favorable in some cases and unfavorable in others. It never occurred to me that Judge Clark was looking me over as a possible candidate for the place; and I did not discover that he had been doing so until the following winter, when a committee of the Board of Regents called on me and offered me the presidency of the University. Judge Clark, who was in New Haven, did not call with the others of the Board of Regents, but remained at the hotel in New Haven, being somewhat ashamed, as he said, of the part he had acted in interviewing me and looking me over, under the pretence of finding out about other candidates.

In the negotiations which followed the proposition to me, Judge Clark was closely associated with Governor Pillsbury, and before I came to Minnesota I had learned to appreciate him as a very clear-headed man, who believed thoroughly in education of the highest kind and believed, not less, in all the things which make the best society and state. The kindness which I received at his hands, at that time, was very marked, and my coming to the state as a stranger was made much more pleasant by reason of his friendship and attentions.

Since then for twenty years we have worked together in the management of the University of Minnesota. During most of these years he was the intimate friend and counselor of Governor Pillsbury, the president of the Board of Regents; and after Governor Pillsbury's death Judge Clark was unanimously chosen to

succeed him as president of the Board. In the discharge of his duties he was exceedingly conscientious. No matter of business committed to him by the Board was ever neglected or unduly postponed. All matters referred to him were taken up at once and attended to, and results were reached in the smallest possible time; and he never rested with any matter that had been committed to his charge until his duty in the case had been fully done.

As "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," so the estimate that we put upon a man when his work is done must be based, not so much upon what or how many things he has done, as upon the purpose which is seen running through his whole life and giving dignity and character to the specific acts. In Judge Clark there was always a certain nobility of spirit which scorned meanness and dishonesty, and which preferred defeat in a right cause rather than victory in a wrong cause. He had in a marked degree the old ideas of honor, as something that a man could never afford to sacrifice, and I think few men would have more indignantly resented any temptation to do what was dishonorable, so that both as a lawyer and a man he cherished and pursued uncommonly high ideals.

Judge Clark died at Lamanda Park, California, December seventh, nineteen hundred four. He had spent the summer in St. Paul with the exception of a few weeks during which he was in New England, arranging matters of interest to his relatives. While in New England he attended the commencement exercises at Dartmouth College, his Alma Mater, and received from her with just pride the degree of Doctor of Laws. On his return to St. Paul he appeared to be about as well as usual, though his friends knew that he was not in vigorous health. During the latter part of the summer and the early autumn he devoted himself to the preparation of his biennial report as president of the Board of Regents. He attended a meeting of the Executive Committee on Thursday, November 17th, presented his report to the committee, and announced his immediate departure for California for his health. He was evidently suffering at the time from the consciousness of inability to work and from the effects of his illness. He bade the committee "Good-bye" with his usual heartiness and cheerfulness. On the evening of November 24th, Thanksgiving Day, he left St.

Paul for California. The news of his death was received thirteen days later and brought very deep sorrow to the friends of the University and to all who had been associated with Judge Clark in the activities of life.

He was the last surviving member of the Board of Regents as it was constituted when I assumed the presidency of the University in 1884. Other men are living who were then regents, but they are no longer regents. Judge Clark during all these twenty years was the wisest of counselors and the truest of friends. Genial, courteous, courtly and yet almost deferential in manner, I see him now, a smile upon his face, a royal gentleman of the old school, whose word was as good as his bond, and whose sense of justice neither passion nor prejudice could disturb. A more loyal friend, a more honorable gentleman, a citizen more devoted to the welfare of the state, or an officer of the University with more wisdom and devotion to its interests, does not survive him, for there was no one in all these respects superior to him.

Hon. John B. Gilfillan, of Minneapolis, said:

It was my good fortune to know Judge Clark for more than twoscore years. It was in our early manhood we first met, he a young and successful practitioner, and I still a student for admission to the bar. This was in the early history of the state, our jurisprudence was still unsettled, and the lights for our guidance were the best reasoned decisions of other states and other countries. Judge Clark was then, as he continued to be through life, an earnest and close student. Endowed as he was by nature with a vigorous mentality, absolute integrity, and the most elevated qualities of heart and soul, the only result possible was great success and high standing in his profession. These qualities drew to him hosts of friends, and friendships once formed continued through life. I counted myself fortunate that I could enjoy his friendship from the early days. His judicial career was brief, but long enough to show his eminent fitness for the bench, and that his manliness was too high to admit of a re-election through methods which he scorned.

Later, when we were both serving as members of the Board of Regents of the University, I came to know him more intimately. He served as a regent from 1879 till the close of his life. College-bred himself, and largely experienced in the school of active life, he was, therefore, a man of affairs, intensely practical, and qualified in the highest sense for the office of regent. He was trusted and honored by his associates, and in all puzzling problems his advice and counsel were sought and respected. He was indeed an ever present and effective helper in time of need. It was but a natural sequence that he should become president of the Board. I might enumerate instances of his signal service as regent, but they would be so manifold as to comprise almost a history of the Board in his day.

Of the unusual personal qualities of Judge Clark, one might well be thoughtful before speaking. If I were to try to speak of some of his personal characteristics, among the most conspicuous might be mentioned his kindliness of heart and of speech, his devotion to duty, and his intense loyalty to principle and to truth in every line of action. In his intercourse with his fellow men, he was the soul of honor. In the practice of his chosen profession, no source of light that might lend some aid to the safeguarding of interests committed to his care was left unexplored. In official station, he was the servant only of the public. In his private life and personality, the attributes of true manhood and of character were so finely blended as to command our unqualified love and admiration. We may not often look upon his like.

As we have had a common joy in the companionship and inspiration of his life, so we share a mutual sorrow, that, except in the uplift of a noble example, we can lean upon him no more in the trials and burdens of this life.

As for myself, I can but feel as if I had lost a brother, to whom I say farewell, but only for the present time, hoping for the meeting in the future.

Hon. William H. Yale, of St. Paul, said:

In the death of Judge Greenleaf Clark the people of the State of Minnesota, and more especially the Bench and Bar of the state, suffered an irreparable loss. I became well acquainted with Judge

Clark about the time he was appointed as one of the judges of our Supreme Court in 1881, and for four years immediately preceding his death he and I occupied the same office in the Pioneer Press Building in this city. During these four years we were together nearly every day except when one of us was out of the city, and we discussed almost daily the various questions of law, politics, and affairs of state. Each of us to a very full extent confided to the other our personal affairs, and from our very intimate relations during this time I think I am warranted in saying that I knew him through and through better than any other person in this city or elsewhere.

Judge Clark was a man among men, endowed in a pre-eminent degree with the two attributes of integrity and ability, which qualifications are so essential in the journey through life. He achieved for himself an enviable reputation as a great lawyer and an able and conscientious judge. His scholarship was of a high order. As a logical reasoner in the complicated tangles that sometimes arise in the practice of law he had few equals and no superiors.

Coming to Minnesota in the early days of this commonwealth, he thoroughly identified himself with all the material interests of the state, and he viewed the development of his adopted state with the greatest satisfaction. He was a ripe scholar, a profound lawyer, an able and upright judge, and withal a gentleman.

More than twenty-five years ago Judge Clark was appointed one of the regents of the State University, and after the death of Governor Pillsbury he was chosen president of the Board of Regents. The building up of a great State University was a laudable ambition on the part of Governor Pillsbury, and he gave of both his time and money more liberally than any other man in the state. As the population of the state increased, the wants and needs of the University increased equally fast. More buildings were needed, more teachers were required; but the average legislator found it difficult to comprehend why it should cost more to carry on the affairs of the University than it did twenty years before. During these trying times Governor Pillsbury leaned on his friend Judge Clark to assist him in devising ways and means so that this great University of learning should keep pace with the

demands of the times. They united in their determination that, while the State of Minnesota was being so rapidly developed in wealth and population, this institution should be furnished with the necessary accommodations and the necessary auxiliaries to hold its high position with the institutions of learning in other states. It is no disparagement or reflection upon the other honorable gentlemen who were serving as regents to say that Judge Clark gave more of his time and energies in assisting Governor Pillsbury as president of the Board than any other of its members; and these services were continued unremittingly through a quarter of a century and until the death of Judge Clark a few months ago.

In the years to come the beneficent influences of that great institution shall be more fully appreciated, and its colleges of learning shall stand higher than ever in the estimation not only of the people of Minnesota but of the whole United States. May we not forget that Judge Greenleaf Clark gave of his learning and indefatigable energies such substantial aid that we can truthfully say that he became, as it were, one of the corner stones on which rests the perpetuity of that college of the people, the University of the State of Minnesota, of which we all feel so justly proud.

The Secretary, Warren Upham, speaking last in this series of addresses, said:

As an ever loyal son of the Granite State and of Dartmouth College, both of which nurtured Greenleaf Clark and gave him to Minnesota, not less than as the secretary of this society, I bring here, in this Memorial Meeting, my tribute of appreciation and affection.

Each of the older northern states has contributed much of value to Minnesota in her pioneer settlement and throughout her later history. From New Hampshire, the old state dearest to me, came Greenleaf Clark in 1858, the year when Minnesota was admitted to the Union. His college friend, John B. Sanborn, had preceded him by coming here nearly four years earlier, and it was largely through Sanborn's influence that young Clark was led to choose this state and St. Paul as his home.

Another lifelong friend of Judge Clark, who had come to this state from New Hampshire and settled in St. Anthony in 1855, was John S. Pillsbury, afterward during six years the governor of Minnesota, and during thirty-eight years a regent of the State University. He was associated with Judge Clark through twenty-two years on the Board of Regents of the University, and after his death Clark succeeded him in the presidency of that board, as he succeeded General Sanborn in the presidency of this society.

In the future years, when Judge Clark's life will be seen most clearly in true perspective, probably his services to the state which will be deemed most important are, first, the part which he took, while an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, in freeing this state from the reproach of repudiation of its debts, and, second, his long and faithful work as one of the University regents.

At no time in the history of our state has the issue between right and wrong, between honor and dishonor, been more clearly joined than in the question of repudiating the state railway bonds. Judge Clark himself, in his memorial address in honor of Governor Pillsbury, on the next Commencement Day of the University after the governor's death, thus described the settlement of this question:

> Minnesota was known to the world as a repudiating State. Truth, honesty, justice, purity and honor are the only foundations upon which society can safely rest, and education is their servant. The Minnesota State Railway bonds were issued in the Territorial days as a loan of public credit to aid in the construction of railroads. The bonds were negotiable in form, and as between the State and the public the State was primarily liable thereon, but the railroad companies were obligated to the State to pay the interest and ultimately the principal. They failed to do either. The people had expected by their generous aid to get railroads equipped and in operation. They got only trails of superficial grading, without bridges, superstructure or equipment. The State took these graded lines, turned them over to other companies, together with the lands granted by Congress to aid in their construction, and so secured railroads; but it was left in the unfortunate predicament of having millions of its negotiable bonds afloat and dishonored. The people had a good excuse at first for the default. They were few in number, were poor, were struggling in the shadow of the financial collapse of 1857, and were not able to pay the large amount of interest annually accruing on these

bonds. So great was the revulsion of feeling against this unexpected load of debt, and so disappointing the results of the bad venture, that in the year 1860 there was put into the constitution a provision that the debt should never be paid without a vote of the people. So deep was the feeling that the people refused to trust their representatives. In the years following the close of the war of the rebellion, the people of the State gradually grew into better financial condition, so that the excuse of inability could no longer be accepted. The world taunted and scoffed at us; and the dishonor hung over the State like a pall, obscuring its present and threatening its future. This state of things weighed mightily upon the souls, consciences and hopes of the leading men of Minnesota; and in the year 1881, Mr. Pillsbury, then Governor, took hold of the matter with a courage, force, persistency and sagacity that have few parallels in the history of civil affairs. The whole power of his administration was brought to bear upon it. Through a legislative act, passed at his instance, it came about that the pivotal question of the power of the Legislature to adjust the bonds without the popular vote required by the terms of the Constitutional amendment (which latter was claimed to be in conflict with the Federal Constitution as impairing the obligation of contracts previously made, and therefore void) was legitimately brought before the Supreme Court of the State, which decided the question in favor of the plenary power of the Legislature to adjust and settle the bonds without a popular vote. Governor Pillsbury called an extra session of the Legislature, terms of adjustment were settled by it, the bond holders surrendered their bonds, and the nightmare of repudiation was forever dispelled. The moral atmosphere of Minnesota was as pure as its natural air, as clear as its lakes and streams, and as sweet as the flowers that bloom upon its prairies. This movement had the support of men of powerful influence without regard to party; it was made possible by the able and conscientious men in the legislature, all honor to them! And after it was ended, it received a general approval and approbation of the people, all honor to the people!

Of his own efforts and influence to effect this settlement Judge Clark was silent. Governor Pillsbury had accepted a third term as chief executive of the state, for the sole purpose of accomplishing this settlement. Each of his annual messages to the legislature had earnestly advocated measures for this result. In 1877 he had procured the passage of an act by the legislature, submitting to the voters of the state an amendment to the constitution making the proceeds of 500,000 acres of state lands applicable to the payment of these bonds; but in a special election held on June 12th, 1877, the amendment was defeated by a large majority. Not dis-

couraged by this result, Governor Pillsbury again made a forcible plea to the next legislature. In his message in January, 1878, he said:

I feel impelled by the convictions upon the subject expressed in my preceding messages, to renew my recommendation for an early settlement of the indebtedness represented by our dishonored railroad bonds. The measure proposed for this purpose by the last legislature, and submitted to the people in June last, was rejected, as you are aware, by an overwhelming popular vote. This resulted, I am persuaded, from a prevalent misapprehension respecting the real nature and provision of the proposed plan of adjustment. I should be sorry indeed to be forced to the conviction that the people by this act intended other than their disapproval of the particular plan of settlement submitted to them. For, in my opinion, no public calamity, no visitation of grasshoppers, no wholesale destruction or insidious pestilence, could possibly inflict so fatal a blow upon our state as the deliberate repudiation of her solemn obligations. It would be a confession more damaging to the character of a government of the people than the assaults of its worst enemies. With the loss of public honor, little could remain worthy of preservation. Assuming, therefore, as I gladly do, that this vote of the people indicated a purpose, not to repudiate the debt itself, but simply to condemn the proposed plan for its payment, I shall be happy to cooperate in any practical measure looking to an honorable and final adjustment of this vexed question. That we are indebted for our proud progress, in all that constitutes a prosperous state, chiefly to the incalculable advantages afforded by our railroads, will be conceded by all. That the early construction of these railroads was chiefly due to the issue of these bonds, is equally known to all conversant with the facts.

At last, in 1881, a tribunal of five judges was agreed upon by the governor and the state legislature, to be appointed by the governor, with two additional judges of the Supreme Court. Greenleaf Clark was appointed as one of the latter, and on March 14, 1881, took the oath of that high office.

By the unexpected action of a private citizen, this complicated case was suddenly transferred from the special tribunal to the Supreme Court of the state. In an elaborate opinion, written by Chief Justice Gilfillan, in whose conclusions all the judges of the Supreme Court concurred, it was declared that the constitutional prohibition to pay the bonds was invalid, and that to the legislature pertained the power and the duty of paying them.

Gratified at this decision, so in harmony with his hopes and efforts for more than five years, Governor Pillsbury called a special session of the legislature, and the question of these early railroad bonds in Minnesota was forever settled.

The close relationship and intimacy between John S. Pillsbury and Greenleaf Clark caused their long association as regents of the University of Minnesota to be of great value to that institution. Pillsbury was appointed to the board of regents in 1863, when the hopes and prospects of the University were at their lowest ebb, and his fostering care, his unselfish devotion, and his sagacious management, are well known.

In 1879 Greenleaf Clark became one of the regents, and in 1884 he was one of the special committee of three to whom was given the important duty of selecting a new president for the University. His associates on this committee were John S. Pillsbury and Henry H. Sibley. The man of their selection was Cyrus Northrop. Let the wisdom of their choice be known by the unrivaled progress of this institution for more than twenty years. The increase in the number of its students, and in its buildings and equipment; its influence and standing throughout the Union; the wonderful advance in the realm of thought and investigation, and the high type of manhood and womanhood developed; the awakening and symmetrical unfolding of all the powers of individual students; and the harmonious adjustment of the many diverse relations of students, faculty, and regents; all these elements in the great work of the University proclaim a master mind. Let Greenleaf Clark share in the glory of this consummate result, as one of those who chose the man who has been heart and soul of this advancement. Let the entire educational system of the state testify to the benefits of this choice, for all its other institutions of learning have been inspired and encouraged by the progress of the University.

After Governor Pillsbury's death, Judge Clark was elected president of the Board of Regents, December 10th, 1901.

The city of St. Paul, which was so long his home, has reason to be grateful to Greenleaf Clark for his interest in its Public Library, to which in his will he left a bequest of $25,000.

Philanthropy was deeply rooted in his nature. His charities were prompted by conscience and thoughtfulness, not by impulse. In these, as in other matters, he was absolutely methodical and reliable. For twenty-five years he had been a liberal and regular contributor to the Protestant Orphan Home of this city, and every October his check was sent to the directors.

His good deeds were done so quietly that few of his friends knew how many they were. I learned only a few days ago that he had aided four young men, at different times, to take the entire course at the University, and had further assisted two of them to their law education. He not only gave them pecuniary aid, but encouraged them by his personal interest.

The habit of regular church attendance, formed in his New England boyhood, was never abandoned, and whenever he was in St. Paul he was in his accustomed place in the House of Hope church every Sunday morning.

Last, we come to note in a few words the great interest constantly taken by Judge Clark in the work of this Historical Society. During twenty-four years he had been a life member, and during fourteen years a councilor. Less than three months previous to his death, he was elected president of the society, and in his will he bequeathed a fund of $1,000 for its Library. Thus, although he has left us, each year valuable books can be added to our library treasures in memory of him.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF GOVERNORS AUSTIN AND McGILL.*

Horace Austin was born in Canterbury, Conn., October 15, 1831; and died in Minneapolis, November 7, 1905. He came to Minnesota in 1856, settling at St. Peter; was judge of the Sixth Judicial District, 1865-69; and was governor of this state, 1870-74.

Andrew Ryan McGill was born in Saegerstown, Pa., February 19, 1840; and died in St. Paul, October 31, 1905. He came to Minnesota and settled at St. Peter, in 1861; was private secretary to Governor Austin, 1870-73; and was governor, 1887-89.

Biographies of these and each of the other governors of Minnesota, by General James H. Baker, are published, with their portraits, in Volume XIII of this Society's Historical Collections, issued at the same time with the present volume.

The first of these Memorial Addresses was mainly written before the death of Governor Austin, which occurred a week after that of Governor McGill and less than a week before this Memorial Meeting.

General Henry W. Childs spoke as follows:

The death of so distinguished a member of this Society as the late Andrew Ryan McGill calls for more than a formal obituary notice. It presents an occasion where a due regard for the memory of one who has taken a prominent part in public affairs prompts a review, however brief, of his life and public services.

Governor McGill represented the best ideals of civic life. He fulfilled, in a marked degree, the obligations of a citizen. In all his relations with his fellow men, whether in public or private station, he was always the courteous gentleman, useful citizen,

*Presented at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 13, 1905.

thoughtful and helpful friend. Calm in temperament, sound in judgment, of quick intelligence, well informed, courageous in defense of the right, moved always by a spirit of the utmost candor, he lived among men a wholesome force.

Although not great in the sense of being endowed with those extraordinary natural gifts possessed only by the few, he yet rose far above mediocrity and was in truth an able man. That bodily infirmity which terminated his career with appalling suddenness, began its destructive work in the very bloom of his manhood. For more than twenty years he had performed his part upon life's stage admonished by a silent monitor that he must wisely conserve his energies. He was, therefore, seriously handicapped in any field which exacts prolonged and wearying labor, either of brain or muscle. He was thus compelled to halt on the hither side of that intense application without which none may gather the richest rewards of intellectual effort. And yet he surpassed in the race many a stalwart competitor. They who enjoyed his intimacy and listened to his discourse upon men and measures, know best of all with what clearness and fullness he had formed his opinions. Nor is there dearth of competent witnesses. A long public career had brought him in contact with men of note, aroused his interest in public questions, stimulated him to study and reflection, and furnished frequent occasion for an interchange of views. Fond of his friends, delighting in social converse, and sought out because of the quiet enjoyment of his companionship, he created a crowd of witnesses who can testify to the playfulness of his mirth and the breadth and solidity of his knowledge.

A brief glimpse at the chief events in his life is requisite to a fair estimate of his character.

It is no doubt a laudable desire and much witnessed of late at American firesides, to trace one's ancestry, if haply it may be done, to some great character who left a deep impress upon the times in which he moved. It betrays a deep seated belief that the qualities of greatness are inheritable. Edwin Reed, in a passage of striking originality, has voiced this truth. "Intellectual energy," he says, "is the product of antecedents. A great genius never comes by chance. It always bursts upon the world, as the new star in

Auriga burst upon us, unexpectedly, but only because we have not explored the depths out of which it has come. Every man at birth is an epitome of his progenitors. He starts out with the elements of his character drawn from the widest sources, but so mixed in him that he differs necessarily from every other individual of his race. Here is the problem of life. Not the dome of St. Peter's, but how the hand that rounded it acquired its skill; not the play of Hamlet, but how the mind that gave it its wondrous birth was developed,—these are our chief concerns."

It may not be without profit to trace out to some extent, slight though it must be, the antecedents of our subject, and to ascertain a glimpse of the progenitors of which he was the epitome. What were the strains of blood that coursed in his veins?

That bigoted and oppressive English policy which denied Ireland religious liberty under Charles I. and ruined her industries under William of Orange, was nowhere more severely felt than in the province of Ulster. Antrim, an Ulster county and the most northeasterly territory of Ireland, was more Scotch than Irish, and more Protestant than Catholic. It had become under James I. a Presbyterian stronghold and a bee-hive of industrial activity. Oppression might exterminate, but it could not subdue the stern followers of John Knox. William Penn had, by friendly intervention, greatly endeared himself to Irish hearts, to many of whom Pennsylvania became an attractive name. There, during the eighteenth century, large numbers sought relief from the oppression of English misrule. What the Old World lost and the New World gained is witnessed in the splendid manhood displayed on many a battlefield and in many a forum. Among those who forsook old Antrim for the new colony was Patrick McGill, who arrived in 1774 and located at first in Northumberland county. When the Revolution rallied the sons of liberty in military ranks, he was among them and did his share of fighting against the mother country. In 1800 he removed to the western part of Pennsylvania, where he settled upon a tract of land in what afterward became Crawford county. The family residence seems to have been the first house erected on the site of the village of Saegerstown.

Patrick McGill had a family of several children, one of whom, named Charles Dillon McGill, married Angeline Martin, a lady of English descent. Her grandfather, Charles Martin, was appointed by Washington an officer in the Second United States Infantry, which office was subsequently resigned by him, and he thereafter received a commission as major general of Pennsylvania troops.

Of the marriage of Charles Dillon McGill and Angeline Martin was born the subject of these remarks. The mother is said to have been a lady of great force of character and Christian virtues. We may safely assume that Governor McGill began life not only as the inheritor of good blood, but also under excellent home influences. It was his misfortune to lose his mother by death when he was only eight years of age, an irreparable misfortune. His boyhood was passed upon his father's farm. He received such education as the public schools and the Saegerstown Academy could give him. That he was a studious youth appears from the fact that at the age of nineteen he removed to the state of Kentucky, where he found employment as a teacher in a public school, a pursuit which engaged him there for upwards of two years; but Kentucky was not in 1861 a congenial abode for a northern youth indoctrinated with a love for free institutions.

In his quest for a new field, young McGill came to Minnesota and located in 1861 at St. Peter, where he soon found employment as principal of the public schools. In August of the following year, he enlisted in the Ninth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry, and was made orderly sergeant of his company. His military experience covered about one year and embraced the campaign of his regiment against the Sioux Indians. Failing health resulted in his discharge from the service for physical disabilities in 1863. Shortly after his discharge from the service, he was elected superintendent of schools of Nicollet county, a position which he filled for two consecutive terms.

The year 1865 is witness of the earnestness with which McGill sought to make headway in the world. He not only embarked that year in the field of journalism, but he was also elected clerk of the district court of his county and began a course of study for

admission to the bar. During the next four years, his time was divided between his threefold duties. He was admitted to the legal profession in 1869, but it is fair to assume that his acquaintance with the sages of the law was neither broad nor deep. Whatever his natural aptitudes for the bar, it does not appear that he ever had a client or wrote a brief. Circumstances soon directed him to the political rather than the professional field.

Immediately upon his arrival at St. Peter he formed the acquaintance of a gentleman who was destined to attain great prominence in public life, the late Horace Austin. Governor Austin was a noble type of manhood. Fearless to a fault, the soul of integrity, loving and doing justice, he never shrank from duty, never quailed before an enemy, and never deceived a friend. Little indebted to the schools, he yet became an able lawyer, a wise judge, and one of the most powerful of reasoners.

When young McGill began the study of law, Horace Austin was the district judge of the judicial district to which Nicollet county then belonged, and became the student's preceptor. It is incredible that such a master taught the elements of law without emphasizing the truth that the great purpose of human law is the advancement of justice. The student never forgot the lesson.

Forty years ago the people of this country, and especially of the western states, became aroused over the question of the regulation of the railways, whose managers, while imposing excessive rates, claimed complete immunity from state interference. The public generally, including the bar of the country, conceded the immunity. But there were a few dissentients, and Judge Austin was among them. He expressed his views with rugged plainness and caught the public ear. In the fall of 1869 he became his party's candidate for the office of governor, and, notwithstanding unmeasured campaign vilification, he was successful at the polls. To McGill, who had given him hearty support with voice and pen, he tendered the position of private secretary to the governor, and it was accepted. Thus was the young man introduced to the field of state politics, placed in touch with its widespread forces, and brought face to face with many of the practical problems of state government which were then uppermost in the public thought.

The position gave him excellent training for the duties which in turn awaited him.

The administration of Governor Austin deservedly ranks among the ablest administrations of the governor's office. No governor of Minnesota ever took up the burden with a firmer grasp or a keener sense of its obligations. His first message to the legislature is remarkable for its wealth of proposed measures looking to the future development of the state. With rare sagacity he foresaw the importance of Duluth as a distributing point and its influence upon transportation, and he therefore advocated the improvement of its harbor. He condemned the pernicious evil of unbridled special legislation, that patron saint of private jobbery. He recognized those hurtful restrictions of the constitution which were a stumblingblock to the progress of the state, and recommended the calling of a constitutional convention. He dealt with the subject of the public lands with the wisdom of a statesman. His discussion of the question of the relationship of railways to the public was a prophecy of the present. These and many other subjects were themes fruitful of much discussion in the executive chambers while Andrew R. McGill was private secretary. The impressions then formed were reflected in his messages to the legislature sixteen years afterward.

The association of the two men in those years was not to the advantage of the younger one alone. Governor Austin's wisdom never declared itself more surely than when he brought from St. Peter for the important office of private secretary the genial and clear-brained McGill, who was a born politician, using the term in its best sense, while Austin was naturally the reverse. McGill could placate where Austin, with honest inflexibility, would repel. None knew Austin better than his private secretary; none admired him more, nor understood as well the temper of his mind, the elements of his strength and weakness. The governor had not yet enjoyed enough of society to wear off the modesty which he carried forth from the simplicity of his father's home. McGill, true to the instincts of the Irish race and with a flavor of Irish wit in his speech, loved and courted the social hour. It is not to be doubted, therefore, that he was a constant source of strength to his chief.

Moreover his eyes and ears gathered important facts which Governor Austin would not have seen or heard, but which a most confidential relationship enabled him to possess.

The governor and his secretary were thus associated during the four years of the former's incumbency of the governorship, with the exception of the closing fortnight. It was a period of mutual confidence and respect, when a friendship was formed far too deep to be disturbed by any subsequent event. We catch a glimpse of it when, in 1887, Governor McGill was able to appoint his friend to a place upon the board of railroad and warehouse commissioners, a position for which he was eminently qualified and which he filled with distinguished ability.

On the 15th of December, 1873, Governor Austin transferred his secretary to the office of insurance commissioner. The office had existed only about a year, and its duties were of comparatively slight importance, as there were then only about fifty insurance companies doing business in this state. The appointee continued at the head of that department for thirteen consecutive years, during which time he thoroughly familiarized himself with the insurance business, systematized the work of the office, secured the adoption of needful legislation, and placed on record a series of reports which gave him high standing in the insurance world as an officer of exceptional ability.

We now approach the most important epoch in the life of McGill, when his name became enrolled upon the roster of Minnesota's chief magistrates.

His nomination to the office of governor in 1886 was not a political accident, but the expression of the genuine sentiments of a large following of admiring citizens who had watched his official career and reposed confidence in his executive ability. It is not meant by this that his nomination was due to any remarkable demonstration in his behalf, for it was not. Rather it is meant that by a quiet, able and conscientious discharge of duty, he had made for himself so favorable an impression upon the public mind that it told greatly in his favor in the pre-convention contest and brought him final success.

Nor were the hopes of his friends disappointed in the events of the administration of his office. Whatever estimate posterity shall place upon the achievements of his administration, its verdict must be that no governor ever left behind him a purer official record. But his administration was far from being weak or fruitless. Short as was his tenure of the office of chief executive, several measures of great and permanent value were then enacted into law, two of which will long make his administration conspicuous, the one affecting the morals, the other the transportation interests of the state.

The Legislature of 1885, prompted by the wise and timely recommendations of Governor Hubbard in his message of that year, seriously took up the work of further regulation of the railways of the state, which culminated in the passage of the act of 1885, whereby the Railroad and Warehouse Commission was created, vested with certain important powers. That measure was a decidedly forward step, but, like all pioneer legislation, it was wanting in provisions without which it could only prove, at best, insufficient in practice and a disappointment to its friends. This truth was clearly recognized by many of the friends of the public regulation of common carriers.

Governor McGill was early in arriving at the view that it would not do to halt at the work done in 1885, good as it was, and he therefore made the subject an important feature of his first message to the Legislature. Happily for the welfare of the state, the Legislature was not remiss in seconding his efforts, and the question received immediate and thorough consideration upon many important phases. The result was a new measure adopted in 1887, more sweeping than the pre-existing law in the scope of its provisions, which, with the amendments of later years, make it the most comprehensive measure of its kind now extant. It is remarkable in this, that eighteen years ago it conferred upon the Board of Railway Commissioners powers to prescribe maximum rates, the power which the President now recommends, against strenuous opposition, to be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

One has only to read Governor McGill's first messsage to the Legislature to learn with what wisdom and fairness he treated the subject of railroads. With no disposition to be unjust to the car-

rier, he boldly advocated the rights of the shipper. Few measures have a place upon our statute books which have afforded greater relief to the industrial interests of the state than the railway act of 1887.

The other measure before referred to is the high license law, whose value in minimizing the evils of the liquor traffic is evidenced by the fact that no serious attempt has ever been made to repeal any of its essential provisions. The passage of such a law was one of the issues of the political contest of 1886, and it arrayed against the Republican candidate the embittered hostility of the liquor interests of the state. Be it said to his praise that he never once faltered in redeeming the pledge of his party to the people of the state.

Governor McGill was one of the founders of the Acker Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, in St. Paul. He threw the weight of his influence in favor of providing a home for the relief of honorably discharged soldiers. Now that his voice is hushed forever, let the following, taken from his first message to the Legislature, bear witness to his profound regard for those who wear the blue:

> To you is accorded the privilege of giving substantial expression to the gratitude which the people of Minnesota feel toward the defenders of the Union, whose heroism and valor from 1861 to 1865 preserved us a nation. The death roll of the old soldiers tells us plainly that whatever is to be done in this direction must be done promptly. It must be done not as a charity, but as one of the many obligations resting upon us as citizens of a common country for which these men did valiant service in the dark days of the Rebellion.

The fruition of his labors in their behalf is the cluster of commodious structures reared on the picturesque site near Minnehaha Falls. It was during his administration that the state began its policy of maintaining farmers' institutes, a policy so wise that none would now dare to call it in question. These and many other subjects received his careful consideration and support.

When about to lay down the duties of his great office, his closing words to the Legislature, touching his administration, were:

Whatever its defects, I shall at least carry with me into private life the solace which comes of an earnest endeavor to faithfully administer the trust placed in my hands by the people.

The defeat of Governor McGill as a candidate for renomination in 1888 was a great political mistake, a cause of sorrow to his friends, an injustice to himself, and the source of subsequent misfortune to his party. It was strangely at variance with the high praise bestowed upon him in the platform of his party adopted by the convention which passed him by. Note the words: "The Republican party points with pride to the pure and clean administration of Governor McGill and to the measures he commended." His friends, and they are many, can never forget the wrong then done him nor cease to regret that he was not accorded a second term, when, relieved of many of those perplexities always incident to a first term, he could have devoted himself more exclusively to public affairs and thus have demonstrated all the more clearly how great were his talents and how unselfish his motives.

For several years immediately following his retirement from the gubernatorial office, he was engaged in private business. All in all, that was the cloudiest period of his life. He suffered in the financial storms which overwhelmed the country; but his sturdy spirit, though bowed, was not broken by it.

From June, 1900, until his death he occupied the office of postmaster of St. Paul. They were five years of happiness. He was peculiarly adapted to the position. The duties were congenial; his relations with his subordinates were most cordial; and his contact with the general public rarely failed to leave a pleasant memory behind.

He was state senator from Ramsey county during the sessions of the Thirty-first to the Thirty-fourth Legislatures inclusive. As a legislator, he was watchful and cautious, gave much thought to the welfare of our public institutions, was wise in council, and wielded a wholesome influence upon legislation. No man enjoyed to a higher degree the confidence of his fellow members.

The many and varied public positions held by Governor McGill speak louder than words of the esteem in which he was always held by his fellow citizens. There are men so weakened by pride that

public station only serves to give greater prominence to their vanity. Such the great bard had in mind when he made Hamlet, in the immortal soliloquy, speak of "the insolence of office." With that tribe Governor McGill had no sympathy. He was always plain, simple, approachable, lovable, and glad to greet a friend or acquaintance anywhere. Nor was this the studied art of the time-server, but the innate qualities of the true gentleman, implanted when he drew his life from the fountains of his noble mother's breast. He was popular because his manhood found quick response in the public heart, which cannot be long deceived.

Since the preparation of this address was begun, Governor Horace Austin, the old friend of Governor McGill during many years, has also been suddenly summoned hence. With the weight of seventy-four years upon him, it was his privilege at the funeral of Governor McGill to participate in the last rites of the living to the dead. He left the open grave with loneliness in his heart. Not long the separation. In life they had been "one soul in two bodies." The spirit of the student beckoned to its old preceptor and he went. Theirs were two beautiful and most fitting deaths. Each had done his work manfully and according to the light with which he had been endowed. Each had discharged his obligations to the world and faced the future with a sublime trust in the justice of his Maker. To each was it permitted to pass into the shadow with mental faculties unimpaired and bodily powers unwasted by lingering disease; like two warriors, were they fallen with harness on.

That freedom of discussion, which, kept within legitimate channels, is of utmost value in laying bare dishonesty, hypocrisy, and incompetency, but which too often degenerates into reckless and unblushing license to belie and defame, exerted itself cruelly and shamelessly against both of these patriotic and high-minded men. But the poisoned shafts beat harmless against flawless mail. Long after their detractors shall have been lost in oblivion, they will live in the esteem of the wise and good. Truth will do them justice. Their deeds will be read of men in the ever-changing

records of the great commonwealth which they served. The words of Omar Khayyam fit this hour:

> "The moving finger writes, and having writ,
> Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all your tears wash out a breath of it."

General James H. Baker said:

In Horace Austin, the sixth governor of the state of Minnesota, there is much to admire and respect. By profession a lawyer, he came to the bench of the Sixth Judicial District because of the general conviction that he was well fitted for the office. It was soon observed that he was an independent, upright, and fearless judge. This fact paved the way for greater preferment, and in 1869, backed by his entire judicial district, he was nominated for governor. The firmness and decisive character which he developed commended him more to the people than it did to the politicians. He advocated a complete revision of the criminal code; he opposed special legislation; he urged that the state and federal elections should occur on the same day; and when a subservient legislature apportioned the internal improvement lands among certain railroad corporations, he promptly vetoed the proposition, and secured the adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the legislature from squandering these lands without consent of the voters.

These and like vigorous measures so commended him to the people that he was re-elected by a largely increased majority. There was about him so much independence of spirit, and such courage of his convictions, that he was not possessed of those qualities which fitted him for popularity or political prosperity. He had a certain sharpness and asperity of character. His nature was somewhat imperious, self-reliant and self-assertive, and he sometimes dealt harshly with those opposed to his views.

When the Sioux outbreak came and threatened the border with devastation, he attested his patriotic devotion by promptly offering his services to the state, and he made a splendid record in

defense of the homes of the frontier. At Camp Baker it was my fortune to see him lead a gallant charge against the infuriated savages.

When he retired from the gubernatorial office, he seemed to abandon the purpose or the hope of further political preferment, though he held several subordinate appointive offices, which he filled with dignity and honor. The uprightness of his character, his general intelligence and pertinent views on all public questions, made him a welcome guest among a large circle of friends. His private life was one of unsullied purity. His religious views were strict, but, in all, liberal. In some measure his life was incomplete, an admirable fragment, of which we could wish there had been more.

If you will study the roster of our governors with comparative care, you will find that Horace Austin stands well up in the front row, and he bequeaths to the state an honorable record as one of the best of its executives.

It is sorrowful indeed to see that our governors are passing away. Within one week, two unique personalities departed to the impenetrable beyond, Horace Austin and Andrew Ryan McGill. They were the Damon and Pythias of our executives, the Gemini of the gubernatorial constellation. All their lives they were the most intimate of friends. Each had his rise and development in the same city of St. Peter, a city famous for its governors. It has furnished the state four executives, Swift, Austin, McGill, and Johnson. If Virginia was the mother of presidents, surely St. Peter is the prolific mother of governors.

Henry A. Swift, her first governor, was as clean, able and accomplished a man as ever honored the gubernatorial chair of our state. The two following we are now considering; and I may add that St. Peter's last offering, upon the chief magistrate's altar, gives abundant promise, by his fair, manly and graceful deportment, to add a fresh laurel to the brow of his native city.

There was something dramatic in the lives of these two governors. Their unexpected departure to the "pale realms of shade" recalls facts in their history, showing how they had traveled life's

dusty paths together, in sympathy and co-operation. In life, as in death, their intimacy was manifest.

When Austin became governor, he took McGill with him as private secretary. In due time Austin promoted McGill to be insurance commissioner, which position he held for thirteen years. In turn, when McGill became governor, he appointed Austin as railroad commissioner. In their orbit, as statesmen, neither of them affected to soar high. Neither of them was an orator, and thus they could not rely upon the magnetic power of speech to advance their interest. The plurality of each at the election was only about 2,000, being the lowest ever given to Republican candidates.

McGill's administration was characterized by faithful and meritorious work. He urged the simplification of the tax laws, the abolition of contract prison labor, and the establishment of that noble institution, the Soldiers' Home. He made a very firm and memorable stand in favor of high license and local option. These all stand to his honor and credit. He was one of the organizers of Acker Post, G. A. R., and ever remained one of its most efficient members. There is nothing to recall about McGill which is not pleasant and sweet to remember. Notwithstanding that he had been set aside in renomination by his party, he did not go over to the enemy; but resumed his wonted place in the ranks with dignity, and performed every party duty uncomplainingly. He had done no wrong, and many subsequent rewards came to him by reason of his dignified and manly course.

That his party refused him a renomination was a political injustice. By every usage of the party, and by his excellent administration, he was entitled to it.

Governor McGill was justly esteemed as a citizen and a man. His affections bound him to his country and to his friends. Always kind and considerate of friend or foe, with a personal deportment beyond the reach of criticism, his constant civilities won upon all. Anger and resentment were unknown to him in his conduct of life. He was always, at all times and above all, a gentleman. He was truly the gentleman in politics. Above all, he possessed a spotless character; and character, like gold coin, passes

current among all men and in all countries. His private life was pure and sweet, and his friendship a benediction.

Death closes all questions, and hides all faults; but it is probable that these two friends had as little to cover and conceal as any two public men in the state. Their unexpected departure, the quick severance of all earthly ties, the sudden "loosing of the silver cord," while cruel for friends to bear, I fully believe was in complete accord with the personal desire of each. In the language of the poet, we may say to them, as they might well say to each other:

> " 'T is hard to part, when friends are dear,
> Perhaps 't will cost a sigh, a tear,—
> Then steal away,—give little warning;
> Choose thine own time; say not 'Good night,'
> But in some brighter clime bid me 'Good morning!' "

GOVERNOR LUCIUS F. HUBBARD said:

Surely those of us who have listened to the memorial addresses of General Childs and General Baker, as indeed all who knew Governors Austin and McGill in life, will cordially subscribe to the sentiments of respect and eulogy which they have so well expressed I feel that I will be unable to add anything, except perhaps a brief reminiscence of a personal nature.

It was my good fortune to become somewhat intimate with Governor McGill in an official as well as in a personal relation, for he was a member of my official family during the time I occupied the executive office. His conduct of the office of State Insurance Commissioner during that time brought us much in contact, and gave me opportunity to accurately measure and appreciate the qualities of character that most distinguished him and dominated his relations in life. I had not known Governor McGill well prior to the time of which I speak, but I knew his reputation and qualifications as a public officer, and it was this knowledge, aside from all other considerations, that made me feel that the public interests would be best served by his continued occupation of the position. His long service in that office and the marked success of his administration of its affairs, as also his subsequent public service,

constitute a notable tribute to his ability and conscientious devotion to duty.

Officially and otherwise I always found Governor McGill to be a safe adviser. While deliberate in forming an opinion, he was logical and sound in his final judgment. It required time and much communication with him to learn and to appreciate at their value the sterling qualities that were an essential feature of his character. One quality that always impressed me was his loyalty to his friends and to his spoken word. Those who knew him well ever placed absolute confidence in any assurance he gave respecting the affairs of life or the more intimate relations between man and man.

Following our official relations, there continued until the day of his death a feeling upon my part that in Governor McGill I had a friend whose devotion would only be qualified by his sense of right and duty.

The death of Governor McGill creates the third vacancy in the official group who first occupied this building, in the early and middle '80s, in charge of the state administration. Attorney General Hahn and Auditor Braden preceded him to the mystic beyond some years ago. The narrowing circumference of that circle is surely an admonition to those who survive and to all of us as well, that the span of life is but brief at best.

Though my acquaintance with Governor Austin was more limited, it was sufficient to enable me to accept as my own the judgment of his immediate friends and of the public at large in their high regard for his ability and integrity as a man and a public official. I was a member of the legislature during a part of the time he served as governor of the state, and among my reminiscences of that period is a vivid recollection of the kindly relations Governor Austin sought to maintain with his fellow workers in the public service.

Minnesota will honor the memory of these public servants as among those who have left their impress for good that will long endure upon the institutions of our state, and whose ability, integrity and patriotic effort characterized in an especial manner all their public acts.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. JOHNSON, who was prevented from being present at this meeting by official business in a distant part of the state, wrote the following tribute in a letter which was read by the secretary:

It will be impossible for me to accept your invitation to be present on this occasion. I sincerely regret my inability to be with you.

I had but a slight acquaintance with Governor Austin. He was one of the early pioneers of Minnesota and settled in St. Peter, my native city, several years before I was born. His activity there as a citizen and as a public official was very largely before my time and beyond my recollection. Because of his prominence, I have often heard him spoken of by the older citizens, and always in those complimentary terms which beget admiration for men. He was a man of the most rugged honesty, absolutely fearless in the conscientious discharge of his duty, and his name was always a synonymn for the very best things in human life. It was my pleasure to know him casually later in life. He was a man, I imagine, somewhat after the style of our great martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. While apparently a man of serious moods, there was beneath all that a vein of the kindest humor, which made him one of the most attractive of men.

His service to the state, both as Judge and Governor, was most valuable. We have had more dramatic and more theatrical figures than Governor Austin, but I doubt that we have had in the governor's chair a more conscientious, learned and able executive.

It was my personal privilege to know Governor McGill very intimately. For over twenty years we had been warm personal friends. I knew him as the editor of the St. Peter Tribune, and as a private citizen, and as a fellow member of the State Senate. I knew him in almost every capacity, and I think I can truthfully say that I have never known a kinder, truer, better friend than he was. As a member of the State Senate, it was permitted him always to be a commanding and leading figure. While not a strong man in debate, his counsel and his advice were always in demand. When he spoke, which was not frequent, he commanded

the respect and attention of the body as few other men could; this because of his honesty and sincerity of purpose. He was a friend of the common people and served the people faithfully and well. His record, both legislative and executive, is so well established that comment upon it is unnecessary, and yet I cannot refrain from saying that Minnesota has had no better public officer, either as Governor or as Senator, than Andrew R. McGill. I think of him most, however, as the individual citizen. His kindness, his thoughtfulness, his honesty, and, above all, his absolute devotion and loyalty to his friends, made him a man to be admired and revered. Exalted as he was by his fellow men and rising to eminent positions, he never forgot that he came from the people and that it was his duty to serve the people. His whole life, both as a private citizen and as a public officer, is an inspiration to the present and coming generations. Measured by every standard, except that of the selfish end of gaining money, his life was a rounded success.

The state can ill afford to lose such men. There must have been a Divine purpose in the taking away of these two close personal and political friends in such rapid succession. As close to each other as Damon and Pythias, there is something sad and pathetic in their passing away within such a short interval.

Under all the circumstances surrounding their official career and mine, it seems as though I must be with you on this occasion, and I regret more than I can tell you that the press of official duties makes it impossible for me to follow my own desire.

H. P. Hall.

Minnesota Historical Society.
Vol. XII. Plate XXXIII.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF HARLAN PAGE HALL.

PRESENTED IN A MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY WITH THE MINNESOTA EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION, IN THE SENATE CHAMBER OF THE OLD CAPITOL, ST. PAUL, ON MONDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 14, 1908.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. JOHNSON presided in this meeting, and spoke briefly of his personal acquaintance with Mr. Hall.

CAPTAIN HENRY A. CASTLE, of St. Paul, read the following address:

Minnesota has just celebrated, modestly but impressively, the fiftieth anniversary of her admission to the Union as a state. She has chosen to do this by some expansion of the splendid annual exhibit of her agricultural, manufacturing and mineral industries. More attention might with propriety have been given to exploiting the development of her educational interests, not the least of which is the public press.

The journalism of a commonwealth is at once the inspiration, the record, and to some extent the beneficiary of its advancement. The true-hearted journalists of a new state are the advance agents of prosperity and civilization, too few of whom reap where they have sown.

True civilization and true journalism must be coexistent; as to which may be the major, which the minor premise, let fools contest. Freedom of the press must be a recognized principle of fundamental, constitutional law, in any real civilization. The free school, the open Bible, the unfettered press, are prime factors of the only progress that reaches and illumines the universal brotherhood of man. None other is genuine. The civilizations

which preceded newspapers were local; their blessings were for the smallest circles. Centuries elapsed before the common people of Europe knew that America had been discovered; ages rolled on while the simplest inventions were slowly breaking their way through crusts of ignorance and prejudice, to the hand and home of the toiler.

During the fifty years of Minnesota's statehood, her metropolitan journals have advanced from the 4-page, 5-column daily (Mondays excepted), with its intelligence from Europe a month old and its acknowledgments to citizens returning from the East "for New York papers with the freshest of last week's general news," to seven issues a week of papers containing from 16 to 60 pages each, printed from stereotyped plates on perfecting presses, with cablegrams from London, Tokyo, Auckland, and Cape Town, all profusely illustrated, and the latest, choicest morsels of gossip and criticism. The weekly newspapers have increased in value at a corresponding ratio.

Marvel not that with this progress of the press, and largely because of it, Minnesota has increased in population during this half century from 150,000 to 2,000,000; that her magnificent resources have been developed in an equal proportion; that an enormous foreign immigration has been absorbed and Americanized; and that her people are among the most intelligent, progressive and prosperous of the nation's 90,000,000 happy citizens.

That the press had its full share in promoting this progress, as it has had in promoting all modern progress, is universally conceded. The wisest men of the past have been readiest in their ascriptions of honor to this agency. Thomas Jefferson asserted his preference to have newspapers without a government, rather than a government without newspapers. Thiers averred that national liberty and the freedom of the press cannot exist separately. Lord Mansfield boasted that the courts of justice sit every day in the newspapers. Bulwer called them sleepless watchmen that report every danger which menaces the institutions of the country. Macaulay plaintively pronounced it the crowning misfortune of the English laborers in the days of the Stuarts that no newspapers pleaded their cause. De Tocqueville said that the newspaper is the intellectual familiar to all men, dropping the same

thought into ten thousand minds at the same moment. Wendell Phillips calls it parent, school, college, theater, all in one; and says every drop of our blood is colored by it.

Minnesota, as a territory and as a state, early acquired a highly creditable reputation in Eastern political and financial centers for the quality of the men she sent to represent her. The polished and scholarly Ramsey, the Rices, Sibley, Wilkinson, Windom, and Donnelly, were in such marked contrast to the shirtsleeve senators and sod-corn representatives usually chosen in the beginning by Western constituencies, that a standard of presumably refined and cultivated citizenship behind them was established, which has been of inestimable benefit to their successors.

Contemporary with these broad, cultured and honored state-builders of the early days, was a galaxy of able editors, remarkable for the energy and success with which they spread abroad the glories of glorious Minnesota, while at the same time battling, according to their several lights, for good laws, honest government, and a square deal for all.

Their lines went out through all the earth; there was no speech nor language where their voice was not heard. Antiseptic thought and sterilized expression were not always available, but their real meaning was seldom misapprehended.

To mention the names of James M. Goodhue, Joseph R. Brown, Earle S. Goodrich, Thomas Foster, T. M. Newson, William R. Marshall, Joseph A. Wheelock, Daniel Sinclair, Frederick Driscoll, William S. King, D. S. B. Johnston, J. A. Leonard, W. B. Mitchell, and L. E. Fisher, is to catalogue only a few of those who, with varying measures of ability and diverse standards of social and political ethics, rallied loyally around the state flag and worked strenuously in building up the moral, material, and educational interests of Minnesota.

No new state ever had better public men, better journalists, or better citizens. Let our fervent prayer be that their successors, with presumably better equipment and enlarged opportunities, may worthily carry on their noble work.

Academic discussion as to the real influence of the press on government and civilization is always fascinating. Whether journalism is a sound or only the echo of a sound, whether the news-

papers run the world or the world runs the newspapers, are fruitful themes of controversy even among editors themselves. But as to the potency of Minnesota newspapers in developing the state, there is and there can be no dispute.

It is true that there have been notable historic examples of learning and refinement without newspaperas. Rome, Athens, and Alexandria, with hundreds of lesser lights, each shed its radiance over a short radius, then went out in the darkness of barbarism. We cannot, even yet, equal their masterly achievements, nor so much as conceive how they were accomplished,—literature most entrancing, sculpture in breathing beauty wrought, prodigies of architecture, classic and ideal all, thrilling the ages with a deathless wonder.

These phenomenal outbursts of noble culture were half miraculous episodes in history. But viewed from our long focal distance, how provincial, how isolated, how evanescent! They flourished without the press. Perhaps they faded through lack of it; who can tell?

Without newspapers, the men of culture were so shelled in and shut off from the masses that no electric currents of sympathy or intelligence ever flashed between. Freedom and civilization starved because they thrust no rootlets into the popular intellect. Even the tidings of the glories and achievements of these epochs scarcely reached contemporaries beyond the walls of the constellation of cities which girt the Mediterranean with blazing stars.

We now enjoy an era of the diffusion of knowledge. Through the press and the school the best thought and the best solutions of life's problems are spread abroad among all the people in enlightened lands. Hence the average man is better informed and more prosperous than his predecessors.

While journalism is an occupation but partially recognized as a profession, its pursuit requires a versatility and a devotion demanded of few others. Within the wide periphery of this calling are found all grades and conditions of men. The motives, the opportunities, and the rewards, attached to its different orders, are so infinitely varied that the amplest possible range of character and intellect will be found in its ranks. Between the inky but

anxious oracle of the back settlements, half emerged from a mechanical chrysalis, also justice of the peace and postmaster, and the pampered dilettante of the metropolitan daily, "swimming with clogged wings through melted sugar of roses," whose dainty nostrils sniff with disdain the faintest aroma of perspiration, all intermediate species stand aligned.

But in a new state all who earnestly, honestly, fearlessly strive, within their several spheres, for the better things of life, deserve an equitable share in the grand aggregate of honor.

When the full history of Minnesota comes to be written, and a fair distribution of the individual honors is made, no small portion will be awarded to the zealous journalist, genial comrade and valued citizen, in commemoration of whose conspicuous services to the commonwealth, the Minnesota Historical Society and the Minnesota Editorial Association have specially dedicated this evening's exercises.

Harlan Page Hall was born in Ravenna, Ohio, August 27, 1838, and died at Saint Paul, Minnesota, April 9, 1907, aged nearly sixty-nine years.

He came of Puritan ancestry, long settled in New England. His forefathers there were military officers, from the time of the Colonial wars. The family has preserved a commission issued March 24, 1760, by Governor Fitch to Jabez Hall as "first lieutenant of the fourth company of a regiment of foot," enrolled to invade Canada and "reduce Montreal." Another commission, signed by John Hancock, "Governour of Massachusetts," dated 1788, gives to "Lyman Hall, gentleman," who was a son of Jabez Hall, the rank of captain in the Revolutionary army. The son of Lyman Hall was a lieutenant in the same company, and his son, in turn, the grandfather of Harlan P. Hall, took part in the war of 1812, and in the line of duty contracted the illness of which he died.

A prominent member of the family during the Revolutionary period was another Lyman Hall, a Yale graduate, who was governor of Georgia and a member of the Continental Congress.

Lyman Walcott Hall, the father of H. P. Hall, devoted himself to a civil career which became conspicuous. He was a lawyer and an editor, like his son. He was strongly antislavery; he

helped to form the Republican party, and he first brought James A. Garfield into political prominence.

Lyman Walcott Hall was born at Lanesboro, Mass., in 1808, and removed to the "Western Reserve" of northern Ohio in 1830. He began there his newspaper work in 1836, and for more than forty years was an influential journalist in that region, notable for its uncompromising antislavery sentiment which he was largely instrumental in awakening and directing. Among his contemporaries and political associates were Salmon P. Chase, Joshua R. Giddings, Joseph Medill, and Benjamin F. Wade. Having retired from his editorial duties, he removed to Saint Paul in 1878, and died here at his son's home in 1897.

Harlan P. Hall was thus, as it were, a born newspaper man. Heredity, environment, and inclination, all combined to shape his destiny. As early as his eighth year he began, as a recreation, to learn type-setting in his father's office. Until his seventeenth year he performed various duties around the printing office, when not attending school.

After going through the local schools at Ravenna, he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, where he graduated in 1861. Returning from college he worked as a printer and writer in his father's office, devoting his evenings to the study of law. He was admitted to the bar and formed a partnership with O. P. Brown, then a leading lawyer at Ravenna.

While at college Mr. Hall met his future wife, Harriet G. Lamb, daughter of Ezra Lamb, a promient citizen of Phillipston, Massachusetts. On April 9, 1862, Mr. Hall and Miss Lamb were married at the First Congregational church in Cleveland. One sister of Miss Lamb married John N. Davidson, another James H. Davidson,—the three sisters becoming residents of Saint Paul.

The delicate health of Mrs. Hall induced the young lawyer to give up the legal profession, temporarily, as he supposed, and to seek a more salubrious climate. By the advice of Governor Swift of Minnesota, who was also a native of Ravenna, they came to this state, with the gratifying result that the invalid wife recovered and survived forty-three years, or until 1905.

They arrived in St. Paul in October, 1862. Finding a prospect of more immediate returns in a newspaper office than at the bar, Mr. Hall obtained work as a compositor on the St. Paul Press, a daily morning paper. The business records of the office, still extant, show that he served "at the case" four days, when he was transferred to the staff of the newly established St. Paul Union, as a reporter. Frederick Driscoll, publisher of the Union, another morning daily, became state printer; Mr. Hall reported the proceedings of the Legislative session of 1863, thus getting his first taste of state politics, and he remained with the paper as reporter and editorial writer, until it was merged with the Press, thereafter conducted by Wheelock and Driscoll. Both papers were always staunchly Republican, and loyal supporters of Lincoln's war policy.

Mr. Hall served some time on the staff of the Press, during which period he wrote and printed on February 22, the famous satirical editorial on George Washington which he delighted in reproducing in the Dispatch or Globe years later, on the recurrence of the anniversary, jocosely attributing it to Mr. J. A. Wheelock, the responsible editor of the Press, who was born a subject of the King of Great Britain.

While performing various and simultaneous duties, including that of night editor of the Union and the Press, Mr. Hall contracted the habit of all-night work, keeping the forms open until four or five o'clock in the morning, and often carrying the papers to the stage office on his way home to an early breakfast. He was thus able, on several occasions, to execute brilliant journalistic "scoops" on the Democratic rival sheet, the Pioneer, whose force had a less voracious appetite for prolonged exertion.

In 1864, "Commodore" William F. Davidson, the steamboat king of the time, quarreled with the Press people over some questions of river navigation, and purchased the Daily Pioneer, placing his nephew, John X. Davidson, and H. P. Hall in charge of it, the latter as editor. All concerned in the purchase and management were Republicans.

But the Democrats of the city and state were lost without their organ, and within a few months the Pioneer again changed ownership and its politics, at a greatly advanced figure. The two young men retired with a fair capital.

With his share, Mr. Hall entered into a partnership with David Ramaley as job printers and publishers of a weekly commercial paper in St. Paul, the firm doing a prosperous business.

On the basis of this printing plant and with little other capital beyond their individual or joint experience, energy, and genuine newspaper talent, Ramaley and Hall began, February 29, 1868, the publication of the St. Paul Daily Dispatch, which has not missed an issue for forty years and has grown to be one of the leading journals of the state and nation. At first the Dispatch was small, but it was always lively; it did not get the associated press news, but it made up with its local enterprise and its editorial pith and point for its deficiencies in this respect. It sprang, at once, into a merited popularity.

I first met Harlan P. Hall in February, 1867, at the gathering in St. Paul which organized the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association. He represented, with his partner, Mr. Ramaley, their weekly St. Paul Commercial, then issued in this city, while I represented the Anoka Union. Mr. Hall was noticeably busy and helpful, as he was during forty annual meetings thereafter, in the proceedings of the session, and especially in the entertainment of visiting editors. I then formed an acquaintance with him, which ripened into a close personal friendship that, in spite of occasional sharp political antagonisms, endured uninterrupted during the remainder of his life.

When the Dispatch was founded, I naturally watched its development with much interest, was gratified with its success, and occasionally contributed to its columns, having, early in 1868, become a permanent resident of St. Paul. Mr. Hall soon purchased Mr. Ramaley's interest in the paper, separating it from the job printing office which the latter retained. A little later, the exclusive right to the day service of the associated press was secured, which placed the paper on a secure footing and constitutes a highly valuable franchise retained by the Dispatch to this day.

Mr. Hall was among the first conductors of city newspapers to recognize and give effect to the power of the so-called country press. As truly as that all men are wiser than any man, so truly the collective democracy of the profession is more potent than its autocracy. As long as the landslide in the morning is the statesman's warning will the "opinions of the press," gathered from a score of a hundred local publications which stand with finger tips on the nation's pulse, be the keynote to the coming diapason of cheer or fury. They constitute the concentrated impact of projectiles multitudinous. It is always safe to suspect the man who sneers at newspapers. And he who underestimates the merits or the influence of the humblest of honest, intelligent, country editors, betrays incapacity to compass the dynamics of destiny.

Early in his connection with the Dispatch an esteemed contemporary attributed to Mr. Hall the assertion that his chief mission in life was "to raise hell and sell newspapers." It is probable that our subject never spoke thus of himself, but it is certain that he cheerfully accepted the characterization as a neat if crude tribute to his concept of live journalism.

The Dispatch was the most successful of H. P. Hall's numerous ventures in the journalistic field, and in a peculiar sense he was the Dispatch, or, rather, the Dispatch was Hall incarnate. It bristled all over with his peculiarities. It was avowedly Republican, but was signally independent. It led in what was called the "Donnelly bolt" of 1868; supported Austin for governor in 1869, with some misgivings, and, more earnestly, Averill for Congress in 1870. In 1872 it advocated the election of Horace Greeley for President as a Liberal Republican. It first proposed Cushman K. Davis as a candidate for Governor in 1873, and opposed the election of Alexander Ramsey to the United States Senate for a third term in 1875. The incidents of these contests have been picturesquely portrayed in Mr. Hall's permanent record. It is enough to say that he not only wrote and printed his unmistakable views on these campaigns, but he personally went to the front in many caucuses and conventions, marshalling his cohorts to victory or leading a forlorn hope, with equal hilarity and enthusiasm.

Great assemblages were his newspaper specialty, and he delighted in them as political incidents. It is said that he personally attended, and reported for his various papers, sixteen national conventions of different parties between 1872 and 1900. His reports were always graphic and accurate.

By 1876, the Dispatch, through a combination of circumstances, had become nominally, at least, Democratic, and was supporting Samuel J. Tilden for President. Mr. Hall had prospered. In addition to his profitable newspaper, he had built up a lucrative "patent inside" business. But his ambition was not satisfied. He yearned to enter the "morning field," to himself own and control a model morning newspaper, affording, he believed, a wider scope than that he now had, for his tireless energies. Politics was a minor consideration; real, live, aggressive, successful journalism was his objective point. He looked over the situation carefully and thought he now saw his opportunity.

The Republican Press and the Democratic Pioneer had been consolidated into the Pioneer Press, conducted by Wheelock and Driscoll on a platform of independent politics. This left one morning associated press franchise vacant, and it left the Republicans of Minnesota without an avowed organ at the state capital. The Republicans wanted such an organ at once, and H. P. Hall wanted, in the near future, to establish a morning paper.

Accordingly an association of active Republicans was formed in September, 1876, which purchased the Dispatch of Mr. Hall and on September 13, less than two months before the election, changed its politics "between two days," to the consternation of one set of partisans and the jubilant joy of another.

I was a party to this purchase and to the negotiations which brought it about. At the request of my associates, I left my law practice to assume, temporarily, the editorship of the paper, a position which I continued to hold almost continuously until 1885, adding to it in 1881 that of publisher and sole owner of the Dispatch.

In the course of the business transactions connected with this purchase, and in many complicated matters of settlement, as well as other financial adjustments extending through a series of years,

I found Mr. Hall, as others always found him, the soul of integrity and honor, ever prompt, reliable and trustworthy.

Time and effort were expended, diplomacy and pressure were brought to bear, in securing the morning franchise for Mr. Hall's new venture, and it was not until January 15, 1878, that the first issue of his St. Paul Globe made its appearance. It was Democratic in politics. It brought the innovation of seven papers a week. It was in other respects notable, but it never fully realized the hope of its too optimistic founder. In 1885, the Globe was sold to Lewis Baker. A few years later when the property was in the custody of the court, Mr. Hall held the management for a time, under the receivership.

For several years, in the political course of both the Dispatch and the Globe, Mr. Hall seemed to follow the fortunes of Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, one of the ablest, most eloquent, most magnetic, and easily the most uniformly unsuccessful, of the public men this state has developed.

As to which of the two was the actual leader in promoting candidacies and shaping policies, it is difficult to determine. But from 1870 to 1882, I believe the devoted editor loyally and enthusiastically supported the perennial aspirant in all his races, under different party designations, for Congressman, senator, and governor, each race ending in defeat, but none quenching the ardor of contestant or backer.

In one of these contests Mr. Hall introduced a characteristic newspaper novelty. In 1878 Mr. Donnelly was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Hon. W. D. Washburn, in the district then embracing St. Paul, Minneapolis, and all the counties north and west, which now send six representatives to Washington. It was toward the close of the "grasshopper" era, and a burning state issue was grain inspection, having no relevancy whatever to Congressional politics, but that was of little consequence.

One morning the Globe came out with its party slogan "Down with Washburn and his Little Brass Kettle" (the instrument used for grading wheat), printed at the end of every telegram, editorial, news item, and advertisement in the entire sheet. The sentence was thus repeated hundreds of times, and no reader could

escape it. The result was ludicrous but effective. The amazed Globe subscriber read: "Mr. Jones died last night; down with Washburn and his little brass kettle." "Miss Smith and Mr. Brown were married yesterday; down with Washburn and his little brass kettle." "Wanted—a competent cook; down with Washburn and his little brass kettle." And so on, up one column and down the next,—everywhere. Nevertheless, Donnelly was defeated, as usual.

The Globe, although a Democratic organ, being the only Democratic daily in the State, did not hesitate to play an active part in the internal feuds of the Republican party, then securely dominant. This course was adopted in pursuance of Mr. Hall's partisan policy, to stimulate dissensions among his opponents, and of his journalistic policy, to publish a live, readable newspaper. It opposed the nomination of Governor John S. Pillsbury for a third term in 1879, which he succeeded in getting, and for a fourth term in 1881, wherein he failed. It opposed the re-election of William Windom as United States senator in 1883, and was the first to propose the name of D. M. Sabin, who was finally chosen by the Legislature as Windom's successor, through a combination of Democrats with anti-Windom Republicans.

Mr. Hall, in the Globe and by outside influence, ardently advocated the election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in 1884. Minnesota cast her electoral vote for Blaine, but Cleveland triumphed. Thus, the oft-baffled editor had at least one opportunity of celebrating a great victory,—which victory doubtless more fully satisfied him by the subsequent splendid record of the victor, than by any sympathy with certain planks of the party platform.

At this period Harlan P. Hall's activities were incessant and his power of endurance was marvelous. He was, to the Globe, owner, editor, business manager, financier, advertising solicitor, and mechanical expert, all in one. He habitually attended at the office from 9 A. M. until the paper went to press, often until it went to the carriers and the mails at 5 o'clock the next morning, —and this seven days in the week. At times, for many days in succession, his five or six hours of sleep were taken on a lounge in his sanctum.

The building had no elevator, but he made the trip from the editorial rooms on the third floor to the business office on the first floor and to the press room in the basement scores of times every day, climbing the stairs with nervous celerity two steps at a time, and often, it was facetiously said, sliding down the banisters in his resistless haste to descend.

He watched every detail of his business, editorial, reportorial, financial and mechanical. He had served an apprenticeship in each specialty, and he appeared at unlooked-for times in unexpected places, to see for himself if all was going well.

On his frequent flying trips to Chicago, he would spend the day in business negotiations; browse around in the morning newspaper offices all night, picking up new ideas in mechanism, management, and politics; leave for St. Paul by special permit on the fast mail train at 3 A. M.; catch a little sleep on the mail bags in the postal car, and show up at the office at 2 P. M., fresh and ready for the responsibilities that had accumulated during his absence.

The Globe was always issued promptly, in spite of unreliable helpers at times in different departments, who were retained through his abundant good nature. He would do the work of any one or more missing employees, from editorial writer to mailing clerk or messenger boy, in addition to his own.

These practices are not held up for imitation. He could not do so much and do all things well. He was certain to fail at some point or break down his health,—and he did both. But he kept up the whirlwind pace of exertion longer, and he met with more success, than one in a thousand of his contemporaries could have done under the same conditions.

Besides, nobody could imitate him. He was unique, sui generis, inimitable. Few would care to imitate or emulate him.

Nevertheless, his ubiquitous presence and encyclopedic knowledge of men and events made the Globe more valuable, and its readers reaped the benefits. Mr. Hall saw every news item and every local report in manuscript. He would make quick, terse editorial comment on the former, or "touch up" the latter with some timely personal allusion, which would give it added color and point. He was "editor" in fact, as well as in name.

He never tried to make language bore deeper by twisting it into a corkscrew. But he often straightened the corkscrew of another writer into a brad-awl, and pierced home with it.

After selling the Globe, Mr. Hall embarked in a daily evening enterprise in this city, The News. Within three years he sold it and became connected with a telegraphic news company with headquarters in Chicago, but retained his family residence in St. Paul. He established in this city the Morning Call, which had a brief career in the early "nineties." Having engaged in various branches of newspaper work until 1897, he then purchased the St. Paul Trade Journal, which he published successfully until 1903, giving to it much of his old-time vigor. His last important contribution to journalism was a series of "Reminiscences," printed during the winter of 1906-7 in the Dispatch, and widely complimented.

Mr. Hall aspired to few or none of the public positions he was so prolific and useful in helping others to attain. He was nominated by President Grant as United States pension agent at St. Paul, a very desirable office, about 1870. But the appointment was politically obnoxious to Senator Ramsey, and on his protest it was cancelled before taking effect,—to the serious impairment of Ramsey's subsequent career. He served as commissioner from Minnesota at the Buffalo Exposition of 1901. He was at one time influentially proposed as a Democratic candidate for governor, but declined. He was an ex-president of the Minnesota Editorial Association; a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society; and a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Elks, the Commercial Club, the Ohio Society, and other organizations.

At the time of his death, he was clerk of the State Senate Committee on general legislation, and the Senate placed on its records a Memorial, which contained the following tribute:

> In the course of a long and unusually active career, unselfishly devoted to the interests of this State, he left a lasting impression on its political and commercial history. The story of his life is a lesson of unselfish devotion to the public good, with little thought of self-advancement or self-interest.

Mr. Hall died suddenly of heart failure, while sitting in a chair in the waiting room of his physician, whom he desired to consult in regard to his increasing bodily infirmities. His life

of ceaseless industry and of unsparing drafts on the vital forces, while pursuing his beloved occupation, had vanquished an inherited longevity by finally breaking down his exceptionally rugged constitution.

The funeral was held under the auspices of the Order of Elks, religious services being conducted by Dr. Samuel G. Smith, of the People's Church, a friend of many years' standing. The interment was at Oakland cemetery, St. Paul.

His honorary pall-bearers, all of whom had been for a long period co-workers with him in the ranks of journalism, were: Governor John A. Johnson, David Ramaley, Webster Wheelock, J. H. Lewis, Conde Hamlin, E. A. Paradis, George Thompson, and C. P. Stine, St. Paul; W. B. Mitchell and Alvah Eastman, St. Cloud; B. B. Herbert, Chicago; H. S. Halstead, Brainerd; Joseph Leicht, Winona; C. S. Mitchell, Duluth; G. S. Pease, Anoka; C. C. Whitney, Marshall; F. J. Meyst, Minneapolis; and John C. Wise, Mankato.

The immediate surviving relatives of Mr. Hall were his daughters, Miss Elizabeth Hall and Mrs. Robert Gardner; his son, Harlan W. Hall; his sisters, Mrs. Hattie Vance and Miss Laura W. Hall; and his brother, H. R. W. Hall.

About four years ago Mr. Hall published a book under the title of "Observations," which contained a series of disconnected reminiscences of his experiences with the leading men of Minnesota and the stirring events of her political history. It is a readable and valuable volume, throwing instructive side-lights on many spectacular occurrences, giving much previously unwritten history, yet necessarily omitting, as the writer naively confesses, much that would be still more interesting. This he does avowedly out of respect to the feelings of some who are living and the memory of many who are dead. He does not spare admissions of his party prejudices and inconsistencies; in fact, he is often unjust to himself in failing to give due explanation of some matters that seem to reflect on his own steadiness of purpose and sincerity.

His success in this, his only venture in authorship, inspires a regret that he did not see fit to write more in book form, and to present what he did write more systematically. Of this production one of his eulogists says: "There has been no man in

the Northwest, we doubt if there have been many men in this country, who had so abundantly the charming gossipy quality of the old Chronicles of Froissart. The history of Minnesota would have been less interesting if Mr. Hall had not taken a hand in it; it certainly would have been less at hand if he had not written down his knowledge and his reflections."

The personality of H. P. Hall, on first acquaintance, was scarcely prepossessing. Below medium height, he was thin and wiry, and probably never weighed over 120 pounds. He had muscles of iron and nerves of steel, yet he displayed none of the physical impressiveness and corporeal dignity which come of bodily height, breadth, and thickness.

But he had what is perhaps better, that smile of the eye and illumination of countenance which beams a welcome to friends and glows with comradely good fellowship. Men who are doing practical righteousness need never regret the lack of angelic features.

We have been told, by one of those near poets the world would willingly forget, that all his ancestry prayed and felt gleams in the glance of Roosevelt, or words to that effect. Mr. Hall's personal traits showed many traces of his New England ancestors,—the shrewdness, frankness, industry, and independence, born of generations of struggles for the survival of the fittest, together with a bodily make-up that would have been proof against the ordinary wear and tear of that placid modern existence which he did not permit himself to indulge in.

And all that his forefathers thought and fought and felt and prayed, was by no means fully exemplified in his variegated career. He must have often amused himself with imagining what their reflections would have been could they have foreknown some of his excursions into by and forbidden political paths, and their consternation at the reprehensible political associates whom he was often forced by circumstances to accept.

A man with Harlan P. Hall's traits and characteristics was necessarily widely popular.. He had hosts of devoted friends in all walks of life, from highest to lowest. But he was especially entrenched in the confidence, esteem, and affection of substantially

the entire body of the printers, publishers, editors, and newspaper employees of Minnesota and the Northwest.

He had an irrepressible sense of humor that made him easily the life and leader of any company of congenial spirits into which he was thrown. He was quite fertile in originating unexpected and enjoyable episodes at the meetings of editors and on their excursions. At the Chicago Exposition of 1893, the Minnesota Editorial Association, at the suggestion and under the direction of H. P. Hall, dedicated the State's building on the fair grounds a day in advance of that set by the Governor and officials for that important ceremony. The function was elaborately performed by the editors, with at least outward decorum, with impromptu speeches and patriotic songs, and was so conspicuously successful that the formal exercises planned for the following day were wisely abandoned.

Mr. Hall was a journalist in every aspiration and every attribute of his being. He rejoiced from his youth in that peculiar charm of the newspaper calling which asserts itself on every level and in every sphere. "The poor space-rater, the unrecognized slave of assignment, the lowly interviewer," feels this charm as vividly as the proud writer of leaders, the untrammeled special correspondent, or the editor-in-chief.

This charm of journalism, born of a consciousness of being in the center of things, of dwelling among the secrets of the world and helping to exploit them, he keenly felt and unreservedly enjoyed to his latest hour. All the journals issued under his exclusive management were sensational but healthy. His idea of a good and successful newspaper was that it must be bright, condensed, independent, honest and clean.

A live, wholesome newspaper, such as he tried to produce, educates the entire community through each of its departments. Its columns scatter profuse treasures of information and inspire to local enterprise and improvement. Its comments on public questions, whether voiced in metropolitan thunder, or in the still, small utterance of village oracles, stimulate thought, discussion, and wise action. Even its advertisements bring the reader in contact with all the rushing activities of the race. A live, vile newspaper may do more in a week to corrupt the people through

prurient sensations and contaminating advertisements, than the glittering homiletics of its hypocritical editor can antidote in a century. Mr. Hall hated such sheets as he did a pestilence.

Pitiless exposures of official dereliction; wide publicity to infamous crime, that its perpetrators may be detected and punished; raw rasps of merited criticisms; withering denunciations of vicious schemes; remorseless puncture of pompous fraud and sham,—none of these are intrinsically degrading. But a Zolaesque revel in realistic garbage and the abominations of mephitic detail is unprofessional, unscientific, corrupting, and altogether execrable. Nature would not conceal the viscera and their functions, if a view of them could be either instructive, elevating, or edifying. Patrons are entitled to protection from enforced contact with vice and companionship with the profligate, through the columns of the sleepless, necessary newspaper.

While the reader has a right to know of certain disasters, crimes, vices and immoralities, as incidents of civilization, it is the function of the editor to defend him from the fascination, the contagion, and the taint, which an improper presentation necessarily involves. The presentation should stimulate reflection and not the riot of sensual feeling. All this Harlan P. Hall steadfastly believed.

He was not himself a noisy thinker, but if there had been no such thing as thunder he would have invented it, for strictly newspaper use. He liked the explosions which attract attention by their luridity and resonance rather than by their putrescent odor. It is always better to set a man thinking, than to give him thoughts.

Too often, perhaps, he affected an inability to take himself, or anybody else, seriously. But when an emergency arose he could be terribly in earnest, so desperately bent on attaining a desired object as to inspire his followers with confidence and strike dismay to his adversaries.

He never claimed anything unless he thought he had a right to it. Having settled that point, he never failed to get it through lack of assurance and persistence in seeking it

He was a model of domestic virtues, affectionate and considerate in all the relations of life. As a son, brother, husband, and father, his conduct was irreproachable.

He was a steadfast and devoted friend to those who had proved worthy of his confidence, and to some, indeed, who had proved unworthy.

Notwithstanding frequent temptations, Mr. Hall held firmly to high ideals as to correct journalism. The coward's plea of ignorance or inadvertance found no recognition with him. The journalist who adopts a low ideal deliberately assassinates heaven's holy truth, crucifies his own manhood, scarifies his own conscience, perjures his own soul, repulses the beckoning seraphs who would anoint his eyelids with balm and bathe his brow in the spray of the beautiful river.

Like others in all walks of life, Mr. Hall often failed to reach the standards set for himself, but no one can truthfully say that he willfully lowered the tone of his profession.

He was unique among newspaper managers in his intelligent recognition of his reportorial force. The toil-blanched reporter, who develops the news of the passing day out of his primal protozoa, moulds it into shape, and breathes into it the animating spark that makes it fly screaming around the planet, is possibly the grand tycoon of the craft. His quota of product is the determinate element of success, the vital necessity which makes journalism possible. Good reporters are as scarce as good poets, and much more to be desired. On the reporter's local gleanings the telegrams are founded, that whisper across the nations and under the seas. Unseen and unacknowledged factor in the resplendent totality, wiser generations than ours will rejoice to crown him with chaplets of honor.

Mr. Hall was especially appreciative of good service rendered in collecting and presenting the local news of the day. He had none of the executive ability which grinds the maximum of work out of poorly paid subordinates, but he had that chivalrous consideration which commands faithful service and loyal devotion from fellow toilers. Hands may be hired, but not hearts.

He was full of public spirit, always ready to talk, or write, or fight, for the interests of the city of his home and his pride. For many years he was a director of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, when that body was the special champion of all measures looking to the growth and prosperity of the community. He was versatile on the floor and active on committees; his judgment was usually sound, and his policy ever aggressive. He saw from the beginning the vision of this great Northwest as it was to be, and he never lost faith or ceased to work, even when other men faltered or his own good fortune faltered.

As a speaker on public occasions, and also in conversation and in writing, he was prone to assume an air of cynicism and to indulge in bitter sarcasm, all foreign to his real nature, which was one of rare cheerfulness, optimism, and geniality. This amiable affectation in style, however, was very efficacious in commanding attention to his utterances and increasing their force.

Mr. Hall was a born iconoclast, a smasher of graven images. He had no toleration for pretentious frauds and humbugs. Yet there was a method in his selections and a system in his assaults which were discernible.

He had no respect for old age unless it was respectable. He had no use for the rich unless they were useful. He had no friendship for his friends unless they were friendly, nor hatred toward his enemies unless they were hateful.

He professed no adulation for political loot, lungs, larceny, and lunacy. He was somewhat skeptical as to the prevalence of plain living and high thinking among the active partisans with whom he co-operated. He praised some bad men with manifest reservations; he denounced some good men with transparent reluctance. He crooked no supple knee to a de-facto Governor; he stood in no awe of the immaculate sages of the Senate and the infallible patriots of the House, whether in St. Paul or Washington.

Mr. Hall did not maintain, at least in his later years, connection with any religious sect. He found little time in his phenomenally busy life for hearing sermons or studying creeds. But he was a man of deep religious convictions. Often mercilessly ridiculing hypocrisy, he had a profound respect for true piety. His moral character was free from reproach or suspicion. With him, the

secret of consecration was simply concentration on some high service. His life was one long and ceaseless benefaction to others, frequently going beyond the just limit of his resources, and always tending to soften affliction and relieve distress. In the saving graces of human kindness and loyalty and helpfulness, he was full to overflowing. The world was brighter, the state and nation were better, and his fellow men were happier, through the life and work of Harlan P. Hall.

As to the permanent influence of that life and work,—who can formulate it? If each printed sheet of every public journal stamps some impress on an immortal soul, who can comprehend the responsibility and the far-flying outreach of the unwearying editor? Future generations will reap the benefit, and

> "Though they may forget the singer,
> They will not forget the song."

The St. Paul Dispatch, which was founded by him but which passed out of his hands thirty years ago, said at the time of his death: "We should call Mr. Hall not only a successful historian and a successful maker of history, but a successful man. A man's success, his career, is not to be measured by what he amassed of this world's goods, for there is a reaction in such success; it takes a man's energy to look after the mere mass of such success. But Mr. Hall was, instead of continually taking, continually giving of himself to the city and the state. And few men have given their services so spontaneously, so whole-heartedly."

There was no taint or trace of avarice in his make-up. He seemed to care little for financial prosperity or the amassing of wealth. He lived in an atmosphere apart from sordid schemes and money-makers. A friend has said of him: "He was the same plain, unpretentious man all his life. He was always in touch and in sympathy with struggling humanity—himself a struggler. Hence his memory will be cherished as one who lived a successful life."

He arrogated to himself no undue meed of praise for his achievements. He keenly realized that, after all, the best of successful journals is only a reflection of prevalent, intelligent public opinion.

Since only beneath the rule of men entirely great is the pen mightier than its foremost competitor, our millennial anthems must still lie tethered in abeyance. The newspaper ready to assume a position so far above the average, either of writers or readers, as to incur the suspicion of superior virtue and wisdom, courts a renown that is inevitably fatal. Not always the "ablest" journals survive—simply those ablest to achieve survival.

There is a popular instinct of right which no perversion or faithlessness of guidance can long lead astray. The dismantled hulks of a thousand newspaper wrecks, shivered and sunk by the petards of self conceit, should teach ambitious fledglings that the press, as a rule, has only led the people where they desired to go. While they desire to go right, but neither too rapidly, nor too radically, he who aspires to leadership must time his pace to reasonable moderation, and must pilot his course by the pole star of Truth, or he will vainly yearn for the wages of fame and the sweets of power.

The public press is the supremest human authority only when and solely because it is the ultimate register of a sovereign public opinion, before which all lesser sovereigns bend and abdicate and vanish.

An alleged philosopher has said that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile. If that be true, we fear that much of our newsgathering is the by-product of thoughtlessness and that too many of our editorials are problems in the unthinkable.

We cannot expect perfection, and if we found it, we would not appreciate it. If editors were supernal in mind and motive, readers would nevertheless remain as now, earthy, sensual, unsanctified; and the shrunken mail lists would mutely plead for a reinstatement of hydrostatic paradox. Vastly superior is this age to its predecessors; superior, not perhaps in frostwork and veneering, but in solid values, in morals, in practical culture, in opportunity, in the diffusion of life's joys and blessings. But the average man is only average still; his growing wings, mere bud and prophecy.

So long as a sparse or full attendance in the pews modifies the theology of the pulpit; so long as dicta that are vehemently urged and successfully maintained by paid attorneys at the bar

become good law for the bench; so long as the surgeon's skill and care are intensified by the magnitude of the prospective fee; so long as science, through our patent laws, remains tied to the cash register,—so long will the subscription list and the advertising pages influence the editorial column, and so long will the able editor find a remunerative market for his occasional silence.

Only of late has the ideal newspaper become possible, and it has not yet become actual. Journalism, rich fruitage of the riper times, could neither be, nor be imagined, in the eras which have perished to produce these culminating years that welcome it so royally. The discovery of the art of printing opened vistas of hope in the world; and the public press is the latest, perhaps the last, certainly the most significant of its developments.

Books were printed profusely in Europe during two hundred years before newspapers were thought of; newspapers were printed two hundred years before even the crude journalism of today became possible. The functions must not be confused. Books are the solid specie basis of literature. Newspapers are the circulating medium, the instrument which necessity has devised for increasing the thought currency of mankind. Journalism is the coming science which will in due time preside over the adjustment of the proper relations of this currency to its basis and the demand for its issue.

But Hawthorne truly says that the most ephemeral local journals become, if preserved, the most valuable historical documents of their period. He intimates that one mutilated volume of a quaint New England newspaper of the eighteenth century contains for us more of vivid human interest than all the musty books of theology and polemics that have come down from that remarkable era.

Language preceded thought by many centuries. For other centuries, written language was employed to conceal thought or to obscure it. The treasures of Literature, the mandates of Law and Gospel, were locked up in dead or foreign tongues, to which only a fortunate fraction of mankind had the key.

All this is changed. Thought is flying on innumerable swift and tireless wings everywhere. All the people get the richest fruits of the highest culture in their own vernacular speech. The

poorest man may become a priest in the temple of learning, a prince in the kingdom of glory.

The public press has done its full share to bring this about. As a tribute to one of its faithful servants during his long and industrious life, we are assembled tonight to honor the memory of Harlan P. Hall.

The perfected journalism of the future can only now be dimly discerned. But it will come, as other good things have come, with the onward march of the race toward the goal of its cloudless destiny. Our friend and associate helped to smooth the way. This perfected journalism will be a millennial harbinger. It will probe to festering abscesses in the body politic; will blot out old shapes of foul disease, and quench the narrowing lust for gold. It will be the spontaneous utterance of the human spirit, manifold in faculty and capacity, but one in beneficent purpose to disentangle the truth; to dissipate prejudice; to solve social problems and recrystalize social forces; to elucidate political theorems; to defend the oppressed; to expose corruption; to mass all the red flaming artillery of its vengeance against the bastioned citadels of iniquity.

It will be the buttress and bulwark of liberty regulated by law. It will be to "pallid waste and labor stark" an evangel of hope. It will stand, unbought and unawed, robed in fire and splendor, proclaiming the everlasting Truth, in testimony whereof the canonized heroes and martyrs of the ages, men worthy to live but willing to die, have lived and died gloriously. It will be an exemplar in morals; to religion undefiled a messenger, with the dews of Eden on its lips and its voice attuned to the songs of cherubim.

David Ramaley, of St. Paul, in further commemoration of Mr. Hall, read the following paper, "The Progressive Steps in a Busy Life."

Harlan Page Hall, at ten years of age, had learned the type cases, and was permitted to set up miscellaneous copy and do chores about the printing office of his father. In connection with his common school education he had a four years course or apprenticeship in the office as carrier boy, roller boy, compositor, job printer, local editor, and all other duties naturally following in

the routine of a country printing office. In this apprenticeship he was treated in the same manner as another boy would have been treated who had no relationship with the proprietor of the newspaper.

At the age of nineteen he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, and graduated therefrom in the summer of 1861. He studied law for a year, and was admitted to the bar in Canton, Ohio, in the spring of 1862, and immediately entered into a law partnership with an established lawyer in his native town.

He was married on the 9th of April, 1862, apparently intending to settle down as a country lawyer and politician. The moving cause of his change of plans for his lifework was the delicate health of his wife and the advice of physicians that an immediate change of climate was necessary, and St. Paul was the Mecca of his pilgrimage, where he arrived on October 6, 1862. His necessity for work brought him to the Pioneer office, where the writer was then the foreman, and from this point began that personal friendship which lasted for forty-four years, many of them in close business connections, and all of them without a jar to mar the harmony of their business or social relations.

From this point we must start with the business and political history of our friend. The special session of the legislature called by Governor Ramsey on account of the Indian outbreak had adjourned, and reporters were in demand; with the help of his country newspaper experience, Mr. Hall's ability was at once utilized. Politics were running high, and Frederick Driscoll, then a country newspaper man from Belle Plaine and a state senator, was induced to start a daily newspaper in St. Paul, in the interest of one of the Republican factions. This was the starting point of the Daily Union, on the third day of November, 1862, with H. P. Hall as reporter, news editor, and editor-in-chief in the absence of Mr. Driscoll from his office.

The Daily Press having been established in 1860, for the purpose of uniting discordant elements in the Republican party, and having absorbed the Daily Times and the Minnesotian, was awarded the state printing, and was the avowed champion of the Ramsey faction, and for the election of Governor Ramsey to the United States Senate. The opposition had concentrated on Hon. Cyrus

Aldrich, then a member of Congress; and it was in opposition to Governor Ramsey that the Daily Union was started. It may be reasonable to suppose that this first education was the dominating influence during Mr. Hall's political career that brought him almost invariably on the losing side of politics.

The election of Governor Ramsey as senator, by the legislature of 1863, made it necessary to close up the party breach, and by a master political move Mr. Driscoll was elected state printer, with the understanding that the two newspapers should be consolidated. This consolidation was accomplished in March, 1863, by Mr. Driscoll purchasing a half interest in the Daily Press and discontinuing the Daily Union. Mr. Wheelock, who was the original editor of the Press, was retained as the political editor; and Mr. Hall was dignified as the exchange and telegraph editor, in which position he continued until November, 1865.

On the 8th day of that month the greatest strategy in newspaper history in the state of Minnesota was perpetrated by Mr. Hall in the purchase of the Daily Pioneer, the then Democratic paper of the city, and its immediate conversion into an independent Republican journal. The purchaser was the well-known steamboat king, noted as Commodore W. F. Davidson, with H. P. Hall and John N. Davidson as proprietors. This is the starting point of Mr. Hall's career as a full-fledged political editor. He was then twenty-seven years of age. In announcing the change of proprietors, and the platform for the future conduct of the paper, he said:

> **The St. Paul Pioneer will hereafter be published as an Independent Union journal. Believing in exact justice to all men, we shall fearlessly oppose what we believe to be wrong . . . . No politician owns or controls in any way a single dollar in this establishment, and no politician was consulted in reference to, or in any manner advised of the proposed transfer until it had become a fixed fact.**

The Pioneer was continued under Mr. Hall's management until July 29, 1866. He then announced that he had disposed of his interest in the Pioneer. In a final editorial he states that $25,000 was paid for the paper in November, and the sale back to Democrats was made for $45,000. During the time that Mr. Hall had charge of the Pioneer, there was no indication of the future individuality of the man in running a daily newspaper.

At this point Mr. Hall and the writer were brought into business relations. With a portion of the money received from the sale of the Pioneer, there was formed a copartnership under the firm name of Ramaley & Hall. During the greater part of the year 1867, Mr. Hall was in charge of the firm's business, Mr. Ramaley having undertaken the establishment of the Minneapolis Tribune. In the desire to enlarge business, Mr. Hall started a small commercial paper, hoping to establish a paper in the interest of the wholesale trade, which was just beginning to break away from the retail business. This was not continued for any length of time. In the meantime the writer withdrew from the Tribune, returning to St. Paul, and we were casting about for an increase in business. Both of us were competent to handle a daily newspaper, or at least we thought so, and I had ten years more experience than Mr. Hall. We evolved the idea of an afternoon daily. The name "Daily Evening Dispatch" was selected, because of a successful evening paper of that name in Pittsburgh, my native town. We expected opposition, and it came good and plenty from the Press, Mr. Hall's former employer. The original intention was an afternoon newspaper, without politics, but the fight was so persistent against the paper receiving the afternoon associated press franchise, and particularly so on the part of the management of the Press, that there was no alternative but to fight back; and thus the Dispatch became a factor in Republican politics.

It was the first year of the Dispatch when the Donnelly fight for renomination to Congress came up, with his determination to defeat Senator Ramsey for the second term as senator and to place the toga upon himself. Early in the game, the Dispatch necessarily took the Donnelly side. This fight resulted in the election of a Democrat, Eugene M. Wilson, of Minneapolis, to Congress, and the defeat of Donnelly's political aspirations.

It was in the summer of 1870 that the pension episode occurred, and this can be best told in Mr. Hall's own words:

> About 4 o'clock one morning, in the early summer of 1870, there was a tapping on the outside window of my sleeping apartment, which awoke me. A newspaper friend, on his way home, had called to tell me that the Associated Press to the morning paper which he represented had brought the news that I was appointed pension agent for the state of Minnesota. Having anticipated nothing of the kind,

the information came to me as a matter of great surprise, and I may add, as well, as a matter of great pleasure.

At that time the pension office was considered one of the choicest plums in the state, though there were probably others with larger compensation. It carried with it a net revenue of $6,000 per annum, which is not an uncomfortable revenue to add to any man's business.

My first effort, when I arose, was to ascertain how it happened. I ultimately learned that I was indebted to General Garfield (later President of the United States) for the position . . . . .

Looking back at the incident after the lapse of over thirty years, it is positively amusing to me to recall the almost blanched cheeks of my political opponents as I met them on the street that day.

I had been publishing the Dispatch for two or three years, and during nearly all the time was involved in a bitter factional controversy inside the Republican party. As I had not learned at that time to spare anyone who seemed to me to deserve criticism, I fancy that I had obtained about as sincere and bitter political enemies as any man can secure in politics. The result was that there were numerous conferences that day among my enemies to determine what could be done to prevent Hall from being pension agent. Unfortunately, the Atlantic cable had been laid a short time previous to this episode, and that was my undoing. Senator Ramsey was in Paris at the time negotiating a new postal treaty with France, and the waters of the ocean sizzled that day with messages from St. Paul to Paris protesting against this appointment.

The result was that Senator Ramsey promptly cabled General Grant, asking that the appointment should be held up until he returned. . . . . .

In due time Senator Ramsey returned to the United States, but did not come to St. Paul. As the mountain would not come to Mahomet, I concluded that it was better for Mahomet to go to the mountain, and so I went down to Washington to see what could be done in the matter. . . . . .

I was publishing an independent newspaper whose chief occupation during the then short period of its existence was to make mischief for the Republican party; and I argued to myself that possibly it would be a good thing for the harmony of the party if I came into the fold, as I was and always had been up to that time a straight and strenuous Republican. . . . . .

As a matter of fact, my argument with Senator Ramsey implied, without absolutely saying so, that I would publish a good and straight Republican newspaper if my request was granted. . . . . But of course I didn't get it, and never had the remotest chance of getting it outside of my own imagination. . . . . .

My overtures for peace having been spurned by Senator Ramsey, I simply considered that my ambition in life was to be more obstreperous than ever, and felt there was nothing for me to do but to make mischief. The consequence was, I was continually looking for heads with a view of hitting them, and I generally found some.

The far-reaching consequences of this contest for the pension office, were the defeat of Hon. W. D. Washburn for the nomination of governor of Minnesota, and Hon. Alexander Ramsey for a third term as United States senator; and the bringing forward of Hon. C. K. Davis to be governor, and afterward to be a United States senator.

Sometime in 1870 the partnership of Ramaley & Hall was amicably dissolved, Mr. Hall taking entire control of the newspaper. In connection with the publication of the Dispatch, Mr. Hall established a ready-print plant, the object being to furnish one side of a country newspaper with prepared general matter of news and miscellany, so as to make it possible for the weekly newspaper men in small towns to issue a much better paper for their subscribers than they could do by printing both sides at home. This was a successful venture, but it did not interfere with the political hot water boiling up daily from the Dispatch caldron, creating trouble in both parties. In 1872, the Dispatch favored the liberal Republican party, and supported Horace Greeley for President. The natural trend of the editorial columns of the paper thereafter was toward the support of Democratic measures.

In 1875, the Pioneer and Press were consolidated and the name changed to Pioneer Press, and thereby the Democratic party was left without a party organ. The afternoon field at the time was handicapped, by much of the telegraphic news being held over for the more influential morning papers; and the advertising patronage was naturally doled out in larger measure to the morning press. Mr. Hall's ambition was aroused for the possible opportunity of establishing a morning paper, to be recognized as an out-and-out Democratic organ. The opportunity was here at hand.

On September 13, 1876, Mr. Hall announced the sale of the Dispatch "to an association of gentlemen who will hereafter conduct it." And further he said:

To say that I part from an institution without regret, which I may perhaps be pardoned for claiming to have largely created, would be untrue, but sooner or later, like all else human, the separation must come; and I hereby hasten, by my voluntary act, an event certain to ultimately transpire. I have no farewell homily to inflict upon the reader, but I wish to place in print one utterance, viz.: No matter how others have viewed the management of the Dispatch, I can retire from my journalistic labors, conscientiously saying that in support of, or opposition to, men and measures, I have been actuated solely by what I believed to be the best interests of the public, never knowingly allowing my columns to be used to do any man a wrong.

The sale of the Dispatch did not carry with it the ready-print plant, and Mr. Hall immediately commenced a fight for the Associated Press franchise, for the purpose of establishing a Democratic morning newspaper to take the place of the Pioneer. He was finally successful in securing the franchise, and issued the first number of the St. Paul Globe on the 15th day of January, 1878. This was probably the great business mistake of his life, because he had to part with the lucrative ready print business in 1882, to keep the Democratic Globe running. He continued the Globe until February 1, 1885, when it was sold to Lewis Baker, representing a syndicate of Democrats.

Presumably it was Mr. Hall's intention at this time to abandon the political field; for shortly afterward he established another ready-print business, which he conducted until November, 1887, when he sold out to the Kellogg Newspaper Co., and the plant is still successfully running in Minneapolis. The following year was mainly spent in California, primarily for the health of his family; but, not having the success he expected, he returned to Minnesota. In the spring of 1889, with other parties, he purchased the St. Paul Evening News, and continued as its manager until 1892, when he sold out in February, to take charge of a New York News Association, in opposition to the Associated Press, dividing his time between New York and Chicago.

On the announcement of his withdrawal from St. Paul journalism, his many newspaper friends united to give him a public testimonial. The previous year he had served as the President of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association, for the second time, and at the close of the 1892 session it was unanimously voted to tender to Mr. Hall a testimonial of esteem, and a com-

mittee was appointed for that purpose. This committee, Mr. Ed. A. Paradis, of the Midway News, Mr. H. G. Day, of the Albert Lea Standard, and Mr. C. P. Stine, now of the Commercial Club, united with the St. Paul Press Club in the tender of a banquet which was held at the Ryan hotel on April 2nd, and was presided over by Granville S. Pease, then president of the Association. This was a particularly happy love feast. Let me quote from the address of Captain Henry A. Castle, the chief orator of the occasion:

It is especially appropriate that the compliment should be tendered by the Press Club of St. Paul and the Editorial Association of the state of Minnesota, because those two organizations are composed of the two classes of men engaged in the newspaper business with whom Mr. Hall has always been especially identified, and from whom he has won, and honestly won, a full measure of personal popularity; and this popularity which he enjoys at their hands is a vivid illustration of a paraphrase which might be made of a saying by a distinguished American statesman, only a few years ago—"a man serves himself best who serves his profession best." There is a philosophy in this popularity which Mr. Hall enjoys from these two classes of journalistic workers. He has not gained that popularity because he has doted on the friendship of these men, because he has especially gone out of his way to seek their friendship, but simply and solely because, from the pure standpoint of his profession and his business, he has recognized the reporters of the city press as being not only enthusiastic, earnest, energetic, intelligent, active, industrious young men, but as constituting the very element and the force which gives interest to the daily press. It is the reportorial work, it is the collection of the news for the daily press, which gives distinctive value to the press, and makes it of special interest to its home readers—who are, after all, its most legitimate and powerful constituency. And, as I say, Mr. Hall has from the beginning and throughout his entire career as a newspaper man in St. Paul and the proprietor, at different times, of every one of its existing daily newspapers published in the English language, I believe, appreciated this fact in the control of his papers. What has always made his newspaper a success as a local newspaper in the city, is the recognition of the value of the work of the reporters; and that recognition has made those reporters, for the last twenty or thirty years, every individual man of them, Mr. Hall's friends.

On a broader scale, as we might say, or a wider scale, the same fact is true of his appreciation and recognition of the work of the country editors, who comprise the membership of the State Editorial Association. Mr. Hall has been one of the few . . . . . with only one or two exceptions, he has been the only man in control of a

daily newspaper in St. Paul who has recognized the fact that the editors of the country newspapers, the weekly newspapers of the state collectively, are the crowning and controlling influence in directing the political power of the state. This is as true as the fact that all men are wiser than one man; and yet there are men or have been men . . . . . in this state who seemed to think and act throughout their career as though their individual wisdom in the conduct of a newspaper was superior to the collective wisdom of all their contemporaries. Mr. Hall has not been that kind of a man. He has recognized the fact that the most powerful influence in the control of the political part of the functions of journalism has been the collection of the opinions, sentiments and views of the country editors of the state; and he has done that, not as some other editors, I am afraid, have done it—for the sake of courting popularity with those men—but because it was practical politics and genuine journalistic enterprise. That is the reason he has done it; and he has made of his work a success by doing it; he has made his paper powerful by doing it; and, indirectly, that accounts for the affection, friendship and popularity in which he is held by the country editors of the state.

Following the address of Captain Castle was the presentation of an elegant gold watch and chain as the testimonial of the Minnesota Editorial Association.

The New York business did not pan out to his satisfaction, and Mr. Hall returned to St. Paul in 1893. Finding that the Globe, which he had so fondly cradled in infancy, had died an early death and was about to be buried out of sight, he took charge of the obsequies, until the final decree of court placed its remains in charge of another set of men who were willing to undertake a resurrection.

Two months later, and his final act of newspaper exploitation, was the establishment of the Morning Call, which was independent in name, the first number being issued September 1, 1894. In the meantime the Globe had been brought to life, but again changed hands in 1895, and the first of their business exploits was the purchase of the Morning Call and its final extinguishment, on the first of June, 1895, and thus ends the political newspaper career of H. P. Hall. After this, in 1898, Mr. Hall became the publisher of the St. Paul Trade Journal and secretary of the Jobbers Union of St. Paul. He sold this trade paper in June, 1902.

While publisher of the Trade Journal, he was appointed by Governor Van Sant as one of the commissioners for the state of Minnesota to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and succeeded in making a most creditable exhibition of Minnesota products, considering the amount of money at the disposal of the commissioners.

Aside from his editorial contributions to his various newspapers, he leaves no literary monument, except his one book, "H. P. Hall's Observations" (384 pages, published in 1904), which are in part a personal history of the inner machinery of the party leaders during the first thirty years of Minnesota statehood.

This paper has been prepared for the purpose of putting on record a concise statement of the various newspaper enterprises with which Mr. Hall was connected. During his whole career in running daily newspapers, he was financially handicapped, and was perhaps more or less influenced thereby in his political writings. He was ambitious, but not to hold political office. He was brilliant in many ways, quick at repartee, and to see the humorous side of things. He was the first to suggest the organization of the Minnesota Editorial Association, served two terms as its president, and for many years was on its executive committee. His editorial course was an indirect factor in shaping the politics of the state for many years, but, notwithstanding all his energy to most of his friends the later years of his life were a disappointment.

C. F. McDonald, of St. Cloud, read an address, "H. P. Hall and his Relations with the County Editor," as follows:

To speak of H. P. Hall is to recall an average lifetime of mutual respect, of disinterested friendship, aye of love between man and man, that extended back forty years to the date of the organization of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association, February 20, 1867. Harlan P. Hall was one of the three editors who united in the call for the initial meeting; he was present at the first meeting of editors and publishers, and was active in the formation of the Association. From that date until his sudden

death, April 9, 1907, he was one of its most enthusistic, zealous and loyal members. He attended every meeting and participated in every summer outing or excursion of the editors and their wives. In 1900 this Association changed its name to the Minnesota Editorial Association.

At a few of the earlier meetings, the leading editors and publishers of the Twin Cities took much interest in its success, such men as C. W. Nash, of the Pioneer; Frederick Driscoll, of the Press; C. H. Lienau, of the Volkszeitung; and Dr. Thomas Foster, of the Minnesotian. But, as the years went by and the metropolitan journals grew larger and demanded more of their constant daily attention, the editors and publishers at St. Paul and Minneapolis gradually ceased their attendance, until now not a single editor, publisher, or manager of a Twin City daily journal can be found upon the membership rolls of the Association. And so it gradually became, and is today, an organization of country editors,—as a rule, the really free, untrammeled and independent journalists of our day.

During all these years, H. P. Hall remained a zealous and loyal member. He took a deep interest in our meetings. His warm clasp of the hand, his cheery words of greeting, his friendly inquiries as to the business of "the paper," his many humorous as well as valuable addresses during our sessions, won for him a place in the hearts of the country editors of Minnesota which no other individual ever occupied, nor ever will attain. In some way they came to speak of him as "Old Hall," a designation which was intended to express the affection which they entertained for him,—it was the Minnesota editors' term of endearment for one they all truly admired and loved.

At our "smoke socials," banquets, outings, and annual excursions, Brother Hall was at his best. He was the very life of these occasions, and his happy disposition and never-ending good nature and jollity added greatly to their enjoyment. For years, as a member of the executive committee, it was his duty to aid in arranging these outings and excursions. In so doing he gave no heed to loss of valuable time, personal expense, or physical weariness. His sole object was the comfort and enjoyment of the members and their families. It is not strange, therefore, that the relations be-

tween H. P. Hall and the country editor led to the strong personal friendship and affection thus described. And when adversity overtook our friend, when death removed the wife who was the stay and comfort of his declining years, and when business reverses came upon him, the country editor extended true-hearted and affectionate sympathy and comfort, and endeavored to lighten his burden of sorrow by kindly words, sympathetic hand clasp, and many acts of a tangible character.

Brother Hall's last meeting with the Association was in St. Paul on February 14 and 15, 1907, forty years from its organization. The legislature was in session, and he was employed as a committee clerk. He was with us on the first day. On the second I met him at the foot of the stairway, and he said he did not feel able to go up. He delegated me to say to the members that he could not be with them at that session. He hoped soon to leave for California, and thought it very probable that this was the last annual meeting he would ever be able to attend. I delivered the message, saying to the editors present: "Brother Hall bids you all a kind farewell, believing he may never meet with us again."

His premonition was well founded, for he died within two months. His death was universally mourned by the country editors of Minnesota. Every paper in the state gave expression to sorrow at his demise, and paid touching tribute to his many excellent and lovable qualities of mind and heart. I have examined hundreds of these articles, and have been profoundly impressed with the story they tell, in tender, heartfelt, loving words.

These editorial expressions would fill a volume, and their publication in some such form for deposit in the Historical Society Library would be of value as a partial biography of one who for forty-five years was intimately connected with Minnesota history and Minnesota journalism. I submit a very few extracts from these editorial tributes, as samples of all:

> There were few dry eyes in Minnesota printshops when the news was flashed over the wires that "Old Hall" was dead. His life was spent in working for others. His virtues were many, and even his vices were lovable.

> He was known personally to every newspaper man in the state, and there is sadness in their hearts and homes by the death of this revered friend and well-wisher.

There will be sad hearts and a vacant place when next the boys assemble, and many will be the tributes offered to one who deserves them all.

He, without doubt, had more warm personal friends among the newspaper men of the state than any other man in Minnesota.

"Old Hall," as the boys loved to call him, was the life of every session of that body, and no truer friend of the newspaper men ever lived.

Hall was one of the early editors of Minnesota. He was kind and gentle,—a sort of man that children loved intuitively, and men and women reverence because of his great generosity and innate goodness and unselfishness.

Never in the history of Minnesota has a man died who was so universally mourned as is H. P. Hall, and in every exchange comes the expression of deep sorrow.

I have endeavored to portray the feeling which the newspaper men of Minnesota entertained for Harlan P. Hall, yet I feel that I have given but a poor and imperfect insight into the lovable relations that existed between him and the state's newspaper men.

Dear "Old Hall!" Long will his memory be cherished in fondest remembrance by the country editor. His name will be recalled at every annual meeting, and, not until the present generation shall have joined him on the other shore, will he cease to be tenderly and lovingly remembered by the country editors of Minnesota.

Moses K Armstrong

MOSES KIMBALL ARMSTRONG.

In the meeting of the Executive Council, February 12, 1906, the following memorial sketch was presented by the Secretary:

Moses Kimball Armstrong, a life member of this Society, who died on January 11, is entitled to its grateful remembrance for his long and active interest in its work, and for his generous donation to it of the Armstrong Fund. As a territorial delegate in Congress, a prominent pioneer in Minnesota and Dakota, a banker, a newspaper editor, and an author of several books, his wide experience and multifold honors made him a most desirable and influential member in such a society as this, devoted to preservation of local history.

He was born in Milan, Ohio, September 19, 1832, and obtained his education at Huron Institute and Western Reserve College, Ohio. He took special high rank in mathematics. From eighteen to twenty years of age, he engaged in surveying in northern Iowa. In 1852 he came to Minnesota Territory, and was elected surveyor of Mower county in 1856. He was a delegate to the first Democratic state convention, which nominated Sibley for governor.

The Surveyor General of Minnesota appointed him one of his assistants, and in 1858 he surveyed the wild lands of Watonwan county. He surveyed many of the townsites in what is now Dakota, and, in 1861, when that territory was organized, he was a member of its first legislature. During the second term of the legislature he was speaker of the House.

In 1864 he was clerk of the Supreme Court of Dakota, and the following year was elected Territorial treasurer. In 1866 he prepared and published the early history of Dakota Territory, and for ten years he was secretary of the Dakota Historical Society.

He was a senator in the Territorial legislature of Dakota, 1866-67, and was elected delegate to Congress in 1870. The Dakota Herald, the first permanent Democratic newspaper in that territory,

which is still published, was founded by Mr. Armstrong; and he also established the first national bank in Dakota.

After serving two terms as delegate in Congress, 1871 to 1875, he refused a nomination for a third term, and again engaged in surveying, having charge of the survey of the Cuthead Sioux Indian Reservation, on the south side of Devil's lake.

In 1877 he removed to St. James, Minnesota, where he engaged in banking and many other business enterprises. For many years he was eminently successful in financial affairs; but during the latter part of his life the decrease in real estate values and the difficulty of attending to so many varied undertakings led to reverses that finally, about three years before his death, involved him in bankruptcy.

Before these misfortunes overtook him, he had donated to this Historical Society the entire proceeds to be derived from the sale of one of his books, "The Early Empire Builders of the Great West," published in 1901.

The sum thus realized exceeds $2,000, and has been invested by the officers of this Society in interest-bearing railroad bonds. This fund is expected to be preserved intact, in accordance with his wish when making this donation, until fitting occasion arises to use the whole amount for some appropriate and permanent purpose as a memorial of him.

Besides the book already mentioned, he published in 1903 a volume of light and rather humorous sketches, called "Vacation Travels from Northern Snows to Southern Seas;" and, many years earlier, in 1866, he wrote "History and Resources of Dakota, Montana, and Idaho." In 1876 he delivered an address at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, on Dakota Territory, which was printed and widely distributed.

His wife died in St. James, July 31, 1905, and later, on account of his feeble health, Mr. Armstrong was cared for at Albert Lea by a nephew residing there. At this home he died January 11, 1906. He was buried in Lakewood Cemetery, Minneapolis.

Mr. Armstrong was elected to life membership in this Society November 10, 1890; and through the last fifteen years, since January 19, 1891, he had been a member of its Executive Council.

JACOB VRADENBERG BROWER.

The following biographic sketch was contributed by JOSIAH B. CHANEY to the Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota (Volume I, 1906, pages 335-9).

Jacob Vradenberg Brower was born January 21, 1844, on a farm in the town of York, county of Washtenaw, Michigan, and died June 1, 1905, in Saint Cloud, Minnesota. He was the fourth son of Abraham Duryea and Mary (Stevens) Brower.

The ancestors of the Brower family in America emigrated from Holland to New Amsterdam (now New York City) about the year 1642; they were people of some note in that colony soon after that date. The name was then spelled Brouwer, as shown in the old Dutch Record of that period.

The parents of J. V. Brower moved from New York state to Michigan, and engaged in farming. In the spring of 1860, the family came to Minnesota, and settled on a farm on Long Prairie, in what is now Todd county. This was their first place of residence in Minnesota.

The school education of young Brower began and ended in the district schools of his native town. He was an apt and industrious student, and made good use of the meager facilities afforded in a district school of that period. After coming to Minnesota, he continued his pursuit of knowledge under the supervision of his father, who was highly educated and hence competent to give his son a firm foundation upon which to build the thorough education which his published works show that he possessed. His education was of a practical and useful character; he was an able and accurate land surveyor, a topographer, geographer, and archaeologist. He was conscientious and painstaking in all he undertook to perform. He was not self-opinionated to an extent that detracted from the value of his work. He endeavored to find the facts, rather than to find seeming arguments in support of a pre-conceived opinion of his own. At the age of seventeen years he was a school teacher, after having passed a thorough examination.

On the 16th of October, 1862, Mr. Brower, then in his nineteenth year, enlisted in Company D of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers, Minnesota Volunteers, a regiment authorized by

the war department, to assist in quelling the Sioux outbreak of that year. In that service he participated with his company in the battles of Big Mound, July 24, 1863; Dead Buffalo lake, July 26; Stony lake, July 28; and Apple creek (the Battle of the Missouri), July 29. He was mustered out of the service with his company, November 4, 1863.

Soon after his muster out of the army, he went to St. Louis, Mo., and entered government service as a civilian, and was sent to Duval's Bluff, Arkansas, to work on some government buildings being erected at that place.

While working at Duval's Bluff, he enlisted in the United States navy as a seaman, and was assigned to the ironclad steamer "Exchange," which was one of the "Mosquito Fleet," so called. This steamer was in service on White river and the lower Mississippi, until August, 1865, when it went out of commission, and the force was discharged. Upon his discharge from the navy, he returned to his home in Minnesota.

In 1867, he was married to Armina E. Shava. (She died December 22, 1904.) They left two children: Ripley B., Minnesota state senator, and Miss Josephine V., of the faculty of the State Normal School at Saint Cloud, Minnesota.

The estimation in which Mr. Brower was held by his fellow citizens is evidenced by the responsible public positions held by him. His first official position was that of auditor of Todd county, at its organization, January 1, 1867, when he was not quite twenty-three years old. This office he held for several years. In 1872 he was elected a representative in the Minnesota legislature from the 41st district, composed of the following counties: Otter Tail, Wilkin, Wadena, Todd, Beltrami, Polk, Clay, Becker, Traverse, and Pembina,—a very large district. He was also register of the United States land office, at Saint Cloud, for several years, and later was receiver of the same. He moved his family to Saint Cloud in 1873, and that city has been the home of the family since then.

In 1881, an adventurer, in search of material upon which to construct a work of fiction, hired a small party of men and proceeded to Lake Itasca, and after spending a few hours of daylight, left. In 1887 his book was published. In it he claimed to have

discovered Elk lake, and that it was the source of the Mississippi river. His book was so full of absurdities and plagiarisms that the Minnesota Historical Society took notice of it, and appointed a committee to investigate the man's claim of discovery. The committee, after thoroughly investigating said claim, made its report to the society repudiating the man and his pretended discoveries. The report was adopted February 8, 1887.

In October, 1888, Mr. Brower, with two other gentlemen, made a trip to Lake Itasca for the purpose of seeing for themselves how much ground there was for the claim of original discovery. Early in 1889, Mr. Brower asked the Minnesota Historical Society for authority to definitely examine and survey the source of the Mississippi river. His request was granted, and a commission, with the seal of the Society attached, was given to him. The resolution authorizing the issuance of the commission, expressly stipulated that the society assumed no financial obligation in the matter, and that he was to make his report to the society; he wanting simply some official authority to give the result of his survey an official recognititon. Volume VII of the society's Collections is his report. It contains elaborate hydrographical and topographical maps and charts, besides numerous photographic half-tones; and proves, conclusively, the falsity of the adventurer's claim to anything.

Mr. Brower's exhaustive report on the sources of the Mississippi river made it evident that the Itasca basin would make an ideal state park; and also that, unless some legal steps were soon taken to put an end to the lumbering operations about the source of the river, the volume of water would inevitably soon be ruinously decreased. By his earnest work, cordially endorsed by the Minnesota Historical Society and a few influential friends of the proposition, the legislature, by legal enactment, created the Itasca State Park. For this happy result, Mr. Jacob V. Brower is entitled to most of the credit. Without his personal and persistent hard work, it would not have been accomplished. Very properly he was appointed its first commissioner.

About 1860, Mr. Brower became interested in archæology, and as opportunity offered, he collected specimens, especially implements and utensils made and used by the prehistoric races of people who once inhabited this continent in large numbers, and also

those used by the present tribes of Indians before white men came here. His personal researches in this line extended over the entire Northwest, from Wisconsin to the Rocky mountains, and as far south as Missouri. His collections also included human bones and crania from the prehistoric mounds and earthworks.

His entire collection, the result of many years of energetic work, and of great historical value, was entirely destroyed by fire on the night of December 19, 1896. This was not only a great loss to him, but also to all engaged in this line of work, as well. On the morning following the fire, he came to me, and, holding out his empty hands, said: "Chaney, these are all I have left of more than thirty years of hard work." But, not discouraged by this great misfortune, he immediately set about repairing his loss, so far as possible, by making another collection. In that fire he lost, not only his archæological specimens, but also nearly all his private papers, and a large amount of historical matter designed for publication.

The specimens for his new collection, as they accumulated, were stored in the vaults of the Historical Society, where they were perfectly safe, even if the building should be destroyed by fire. On the removal of the state executive officers to the new capitol, he secured from the governor the use of the rooms formerly occupied by the state auditor, in the old capitol, and had them nicely fitted up with new show cases and drawers; and everything was in readiness to begin getting the specimens in shape and place for the public to examine, as soon as he returned from that trip which proved to be his last one. His health was failing rapidly, and he knew that he had no long lease of life, and had no time to lose if he completed his work. He told me that he wanted to live about two years longer, that he might finish his archæological history of Minnesota, specifically, and the Northwest in general. He was failing so rapidly that it was noticeable day by day; and when, the day before he left for that final exploration, he informed me that he could not hold his pen five minutes at a time, it was evident enough that he had about reached the end of his labor, whether or not his task was completed. We advised him to postpone that trip, and to go to some quiet place and take a rest from all labor; but he said he must go. When I bade him goodbye that day, I felt it was the last time I would see him alive, and therefore, when I learned of his death

a few days later, I was not much surprised. His demise was a great loss, not alone to his personal friends, but to the scientific world in the lines of his work, and he wrought in several departments of science, and was an expert in all of them,—geography, topography, ethnology, and archæology. His command of technical language in all these departments was remarkable. His accuracy in surveying and charting the Itasca basin was amply verified by the United States topographical engineers, who, in 1890, surveyed and triangulated the same for the government, equipped with a full set of instruments for such work; the result of their survey showing no essential variation from his survey of several years before, with less facilities.

To J. V. Brower the geographical world is indebted for the discovery of the utmost visible source of the Mississippi river; also for the precise location of Quivira, the goal of Coronado's long and disastrous march from Mexico, in 1541.

Mr. Brower was a prolific and lucid writer in several lines of study; he did not, knowingly, write fiction; he searched industriously for facts, in whatever field of research he was engaged; and, having found them, he impartially recorded them.

Among his most elaborate publications are the following:

The Mississippi River and Its Source; Volume VII, Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 1893, 360 pages.

Itasca State Park, an Illustrated History; Volume XI in the same series, 1905, 285 pages.

Prehistoric Man at the Headwater Basin of the Mississippi; 1895, 77 pages.

The Missouri River and Its Utmost Source; 1896, 150 pages, and a second edition, 1897, 206 pages.

Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi, a series of eight quarto volumes:

I. Quivira, 1898, 96 pages;

II. Harahey, 1899, 133 pages;

III. Mille Lac, 1900, 140 pages;

IV. Kathio, 1901, 136 pages;

V. Kakabikansing, 1902, 126 pages;

VI. Minnesota, Discovery of Its Area, 1903, 127 pages;

VII. Kansas, Monumental Perpetuation of Its Earliest History, 1541-1896, 1903, 119 pages;

VIII. Mandan, 1904, 158 pages.

All these books are not only very valuable historical works, but are very interesting reading as well, and are also profusely illustrated with maps, portraits, and views from photographs.

Having exhausted the space assigned for this sketch, I will say, in closing, that I regret my inability to do anything like justice to the memory of my friend Jacob Vradenberg Brower, whose companionship I so much enjoyed upon our exploration trips and all other occasions when we were together.

[Mr. Brower was elected as a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society, February 8, 1897; and had been a member of its Council since September 11, 1899.]

JOSIAH BLODGET CHANEY.

The following biographic memorial of Mr. Chaney, prepared mostly by his daughter, Delia E. Chaney, from the series of diaries and journals kept by him during more than sixty years, was read by the Secretary at the monthy meeting of the Executive Council, October 12, 1908.

Josiah Blodget Chaney was born in Falmouth, Maine, October 16, 1828. He was the second son and fourth child of Josiah and Elizabeth (Gowen) Chaney. His paternal great-grandfather and grandfather, each named John Chaney, were soldiers in the War for Independence, and his father was in the War of 1812-15.

When he was quite young, his parents returned to Chesterville, Maine, where they had resided before, and there his childhood and early youth were passed and his few terms of school education were obtained.

His father was a shipbuilder, and superintended the construction of some important vessels of those days in the United States navy yards at Kittery, Maine, and Charlestown, Massachusetts. He was also a millwright, and built and operated large mills at Chesterville, in which young Josiah began to work at the age of seven or eight years.

In 1841, when about thirteen years old, he began his apprenticeship as a printer in the Morning Star office in Dover, New Hampshire, where he spent several years.

In 1846 he started for Moline, Illinois, and arrived there January 4, 1847, where he worked for some time as a carpenter, with his brother-in-law. In 1848 he went to Mineral Point, Wisconsin, where he was employed in the Wisconsin Tribune office until 1850, when he returned to Maine on a visit and worked in the large printing establishment of Brown Thurston in Portland.

He returned west late the next year, and in January, 1852, went into partnership with G. W. Bliss, his former employer, at Mineral Point, the name of their newspaper being changed to the Mineral Point Tribune.

April 9, 1854, Mr. Chaney was married to Miss Melissa A. Moore, daughter of Lucretius and Almeda Moore, of Platteville, Wisconsin. In the late autumn they went on a visit to New England, where during the next two years he was employed as a printer in Lancaster and Dover, New Hampshire, Portland, Maine, and in the Riverside Press office, Cambridge, Massachusetts. They returned to the west in the spring of 1857, locating in Aledo, Illinois, Mr. Chaney's work there being as a compositor and general assistant in the Aledo Record office.

In the spring of 1858, Mr. and Mrs. Chaney left Aledo, embarked at Galena, May 20, on the steamer Northern Light, and two days later landed at St. Paul and went forward by stage to St. Anthony, where he had accepted a situation in the office of the daily Falls Evening News and the weekly Minnesota Republican, both published by Croffut and Clark. He was employed on these newspapers until after the breaking out of the Civil War. In the summer of 1859, at the organization of the St. Anthony and Minneapolis Typographical Union, No. 42, Mr. Chaney was one of its charter members and was elected its treasurer.

December 16, 1861, he enlisted in the Second Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters, William F. Russell, captain. April 21, 1862, he left Minnesota with his company, going to Washington and thence to Yorktown and Camp Winfield Scott, where on May 7 the company reported for duty with the First United States Sharpshooters, commanded by Colonel Hiram Berdan. On May 30 this company was assigned to duty with the First Minnesota Regiment, and continued with that regiment until November, 1863. Mr. Chaney participated in the battles of Hanover Court House, Fair

Oaks, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, Nelson's Farm (or White Oak Swamp), Malvern Hill, etc. In September, on account of sickness, he was sent to the Finley Hospital in Washington, whence on October 22, 1862, he received an honorable discharge from the service. He returned at once to St. Anthony, his health being broken down for a long time to come. His diary during this army service, and his letters sent home, are filled with interesting and valuable war history and incidents.

Late in November, 1862, Mr. Chaney resumed his work as a printer, in the office of the State Atlas, Minneapolis, though his ill health hardly permitted him to do so.

Nearly two years after this, on November 10, 1864, he removed with his family to St. Paul, which was ever afterward his home. For some time before the removal, he had been employed in this city, in the office of the Pioneer, boarding here through the week and returning home to St. Anthony, a distance of ten miles, on Saturday night, often walking the whole way.

He worked mostly with David Ramaley and H. P. Hall during the years 1865 to 1870, and was pressman for them in printing the first number of the St. Paul Dispatch, February 29, 1868.

In 1872, David Ramaley, Mr. Chaney, Hiram G. DeGraw, and Edward F. Ricker, formed a firm of book and job printers, under the name of Ramaley, Chaney & Co., which continued about two years. While a member of this firm, Mr. Chaney was for some time the state printer, thus issuing in 1872 the reprinted Volume I of this Society's Historical Collections.

January 15, 1878, Mr. Chaney printed for H. P. Hall the first number of the St. Paul Daily Globe, and continued in work on that newspaper several years. He also was connected at different times with the publishing offices of the Northwestern Chronicle, Der Wanderer, and the Volkszeitung.

In 1887, Mr. Chaney gave up his work as a printer, and on May 12 entered the service of this Historical Society as an assistant in its Library with John Fletcher Williams, who during twenty years had worked unaided as the secretary and librarian. From that date, Mr. Chaney was continuously in charge of the Newspaper Department of this Library through twenty-one years, in which time this collection of Minnesota newspapers increased

from about 1,200 bound volumes in 1887 to 7,840 at the beginning of the year 1908.

He also had the care of the Society's general museum, cataloguing and placing on exhibition its many historical relics.

During the archæological explorations of the late Hon. J. V. Brower for this Society, Mr. Chaney occasionally accompanied him in excursions to the Itasca State Park, Little Falls, and elsewhere; and he constantly took a great interest in the extensive collections gathered by Mr. Brower, as also in the very large and valuable archæologic collections donated to the museum by Rev. Edward C. Mitchell.

For all historical dates and events of which Mr. Chaney had personal knowledge, or in which he was interested, he possessed a very comprehensive and reliable memory, making him almost an encyclopedia for answering the many and varied inquiries of visitors and readers in this Library. If he did not have the items at his tongue's end, he generally knew the book, pamphlet, or newspaper, in which they could be found.

Throughout his life, after leaving his boyhood home in Maine at the age of eighteen years, he kept a diary, or, for considerable periods, a more elaborate journal, noting not only personal memoranda but many public events, statistics, and biographies with the dates of death of prominent men. These diaries and journals recording his experiences as a soldier in 1862, and his yearly notebooks through all the time of his assistant librarianship for this Society, contain much that will be prized by future historians.

Mr. Chaney was one of the founders, a life member, and the librarian, of the St. Paul Academy of Natural Sciences, organized in 1870, which flourished during several years and gathered a valuable museum collection that was destroyed in the burning of the capitol, March 1, 1881.

In all his diary records the weather received attention. So early as in 1849 he took regular observations for publication in the Mineral Point newspaper. During the last forty years of his life, with the use of a good set of meteorological instruments, he kept a continuous register of the weather, which for many years he reported to the Smithsonian Institution as one of its volunteer observers.

He had a very long Masonic record, having joined the order by initiation to the Mineral Point Lodge, No. 1, July 13, 1852; became a master mason in August of that year; joined the Ancient Landmark Lodge, No. 5, St. Paul, in 1880; and was a charter member of Summit Lodge, No. 163, in 1884-85. Having been a Mason fifty years, in 1902 he became a member of the Masonic Veterans Association.

He was a master workman in the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and compiled a history of that order in Minnesota.

To the Grand Army of the Republic he was most heartily devoted, being one of the charter members of Acker Post, No. 21, in which he held at different times nearly every office up to and including that of Commander. During many years, until the last, he served on the Committee for the Decoration or Memorial Day, affectionately marking the soldiers' graves in the cemeteries of this city. In 1892 he published an interesting history of this G. A. R. post.

During several years Mr. Chaney was clerk of the Universalist State Convention, and was active in the work of that denomination in St. Paul.

In 1872-75 he was a member of the city Board of Education, being chairman of its Committee on Expenses.

The Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota elected him an honorary member, and for many years he served the association as corresponding secretary.

March 11, 1867, he became a member of this Historical Society; and from December 14, 1868, until his death, almost forty years, he was continuously, by triennial re-elections, a member of its Council. During all that time he missed attendance at probably less than a half dozen of the monthly council meetings.

Several historical pamphlets and sketches were published by Mr. Chaney, as follows:

History of Acker Post, G. A. R., St. Paul, Minn., with a Complete Roster of the Post and a Memoir of Capt. William H. Acker; 1892, 79 pages.

Narrative of the Second Company of Sharpshooters, with Roster; pages 513-518, in Volume I, 1890, Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865.

The Historical Value of Newspapers; pages 111-119, Volume VIII, 1898, Minnesota Historical Society Collections.

H. W. Chisholm

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Early Bridges and Changes of the Land and Water Surface in the City of St. Paul; pages 131-148, in the present volume.

Biographic Sketch of Hon. J. V. Brower; reprinted in the preceding pages, from Volume I, 1906, of the Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Besides the large series of annual memorandum books, from 1846 to 1907, written in the form of concise diaries, Mr. Chaney left the following manuscript books and essays:

Journal of First Years in the West, 1846-47, 578 pages.

Letters from Camp, Field, and Hospital, 1862, 307 pages.

Ancient Earthworks, an essay read in 1881 before the St. Paul Academy of Natural Sciences.

History of Chesterville, Maine, 1782 to 1893, 200 pages.

Maine and the Missouri Compromise, 1894, 128 pages.

History of the Ancient Order of United Workmen in Minnesota.

Care of Sick Soldiers in 1862 and 1898, a Study in Comparison.

Mr. Chaney's wife died August 28, 1892. He survived her nearly sixteen years, attaining the age of almost four score, with generally good health and scarcely impaired vigor of body and mind. He was stricken with a partial paralysis May 21, 1908, and died of a second stroke three weeks later, June 11. He was buried with Masonic and military honors in Oakland Cemetery.

This Society has had no member more devoted to its interests, faithful in every duty, and revered and beloved by all who knew him.

HENRY WARREN CHILDS.

In the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 10, 1906, WILLIAM H. LIGHTNER, councilor, presented the following memorial and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Henry Warren Childs was born in Belgium, New York, November 24, 1848; and died in St. Paul, Minnesota, August 30, 1906, in his fifty-eighth year.

He was graduated at Central Conference Seminary, Cazenovia, New York. Thereafter for some years he was engaged in teaching and took up the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1881, and removed in 1883 to Fergus Falls, Minnesota. There he

continued the practice of his profession until 1887, when he accepted the position of Assistant Attorney General and removed to St. Paul. In 1893 he was elected Attorney General of this state, succeeding Moses E. Clapp, with whom he had been associated as his assistant. General Childs was twice re-elected and continued in the office of Attorney General until 1899, when he retired to the private practice of his profession, becoming the head of the firm of Childs, Edgerton and Wickwire, and later Childs and Edgerton.

As attorney general, he was ex officio a member of the Executive Council of this Historical Society. On December 11, 1899, he became an annual member, and in 1904 a life member. November 14, 1904, he was elected second vice president of this Society; and on February 13, 1905, became first vice president, which office he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Childs was a man of great ability, an earnest student, and possessed sound judgment. He attained a deservedly high position at the bar and gained the esteem of his fellow citizens. In all matters affecting the public interest, Mr. Childs was active and zealous in promoting the welfare of the people. His work on the tax commission was able and thorough. His services were frequently in demand before the legislature and municipal bodies. The records of the attorney general's office, and the records of the courts of this state in the many cases in which he appeared, contain a lasting testimonial of his great ability, industry, and integrity.

In this Society he has been a very valuable member, and has contributed addresses which deservedly appear in our printed publications.

He was in the prime of life, robust in health, engaged in a congenial pursuit, esteemed by the entire community, and had the prospect of a long and successful career, when a sudden illness, lasting but a few days, terminated his earthly existence. Such was his character and life work that we may believe that the sudden summons to another world found him prepared.

Resolved by the Minnesota Historical Society, That in the death of Henry Warren Childs, our first vice president, this Society has lost one of its most valuable and esteemed members; and that, with great appreciation of his noble character, this Society extends

to his widow and family its most sincere sympathy in their great loss.

Resolved, That this preamble and these resolutions be spread at length upon the records of this Society, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the widow and family of the deceased.

Senator Moses E. Clapp said:

It is impossible to do justice to the memory of Henry W. Childs without indulging in expressions which, to those who did not know the man, would seem extravagant and overdrawn.

It was my privilege to be intimately acquainted with General Childs for twenty-five years, and to know him under all circumstances, and it is no exaggeration to say that I never knew a man more absolutely, yet quietly, loyal to his convictions than he. To him duty seemed a matter of course. It never occurred to him to shirk it, nor did he ever perform a duty under the sense of sacrifice. It was simply in his way to do that which was his duty.

While General Childs was a ripe and profound lawyer, he found time for and enjoyment in study beyond the strict limits of his profession, and as a scholar he had but few equals. Some of his efforts might justly be called masterpieces. His address on the occasion of the Columbian Anniversary in 1892, published in the sixth volume of this Society's Historical Collections, is a marvel of research and elegant diction. He was ever conscientious in his preparation, whether for the trial of a lawsuit or a literary effort.

General Childs was a potential factor in the State. Studious and of a retiring disposition, he did not enjoy popularity as it is usually understood, but his strength lay in the appreciation of his virtues by those who knew him; and, being widely known, he was influential, and his influence was ever on the side of the right. While he was not an office seeker, still he was ever ready to serve the public, as willing in unofficial as official need.

We are more or less prone to emphasize the relation of the individual to society, but it can with truth be said that society can illy afford to lose such a man as General Childs.

JOHN DWIGHT LUDDEN.

A Memorial Presented by the Secretary.

Among the early lumbermen who settled in Minnesota at the beginning of her territorial period was John D. Ludden who shared in the upbuilding of the business and educational interests of the territory and state during nearly sixty years. He was born in Easthampton, Massachusetts, April 5, 1819; and died in St. Paul, October 14, 1907.

He was educated in the common schools and Williston Seminary of his native town.

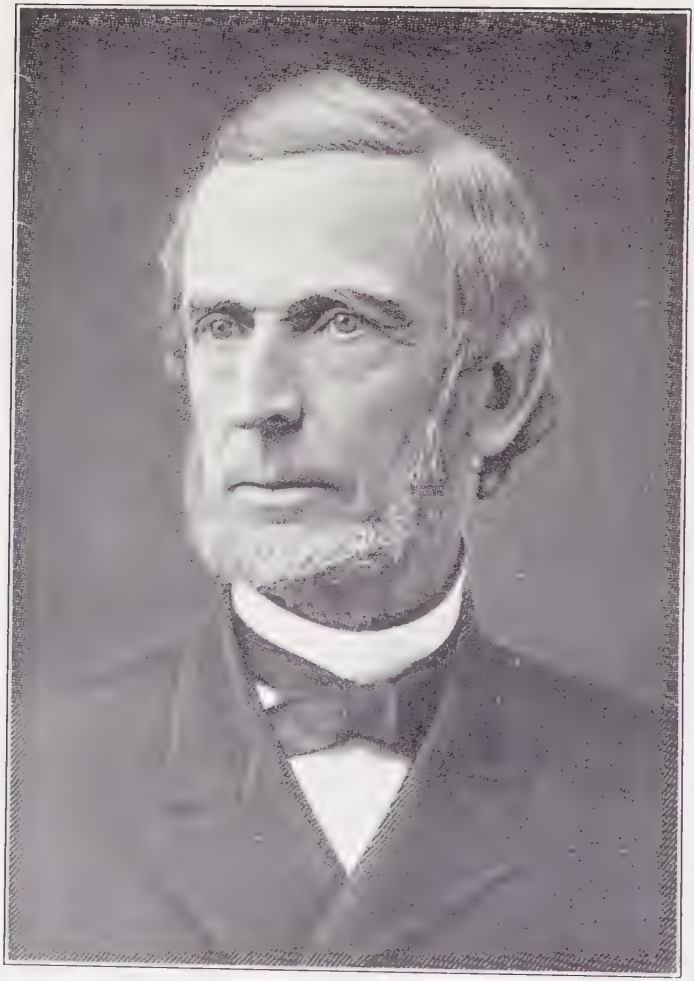
At the age of twenty-one years he left his home in Massachusetts, resided a short time in New York, and afterward engaged in lead mining at Galena, Illinois.

From there he came, in 1845, into Wisconsin, and engaged in logging in the St. Croix valley. Crossing the river, he lived at Marine Mills from 1849 to 1857, and at Stillwater for the next four years. During these sixteen years of arduous toil as a pioneer lumberman, he was far from railroads and the conveniences of civilization.

In 1861, Mr. Ludden removed to the city of St. Paul, where he ever afterward resided. With J. P. Gribben he built and operated a sawmill at Pine City, but after several years this mill was destroyed by fire. Later they formed a partnership under the firm name of Gribben and Ludden, and conducted an extensive lumber business in St. Paul.

During the later years of his life Mr. Ludden was vice president of the State Saving Bank in St. Paul, which he had helped to organize.

While his energies were chiefly employed by his business interests, he was too public-spirited to neglect the duties of a citizen to the community in which he lived. He was a representative in the Territorial Legislature for three terms, 1851-1853, and was elected Speaker of the House in 1852. Afterward, in 1856 and 1857, he was a member of the Territorial Council, in which he was one of the most active opponents of the effort for removal of the capital to St. Peter.



John D. Ludden

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His membership in the Minnesota Historical Society, and his devotion to promote its work, deserve special mention. He became a member in 1866; was one of its Executive Council in 1867-70; and two years later was again elected a member of the Council, and continued to hold this position by triennial re-elections, until his death. For many years he served as a member of the Committee on Finance and as chairman of the Committee on Obituaries. By a bequest in his will, he donated a large part of his library to this Society.

Mr. Ludden married, in early life, Miss Margaret Rhodes, like himself a native of Massachusetts, who died in 1894.

He was one of the founders of the Unity Church in St. Paul, of which he continued a lifelong member.

His benevolences were quietly and unostentatiously bestowed. Many young men and young women were enabled to obtain an education through his friendly interest and the financial aid which he advanced to them. As he had no children and few near relatives, the main portion of his estate was given, in part several years before his death, for educational and charitable uses, the State Agricultural School, a branch of the University of Minnesota, being the largest beneficiary.

He died at the home which he built soon after coming to St. Paul, at the northwest corner of Wabasha street and Iglehart avenue, and was buried beside his wife in Oakland Cemetery.

WILLIAM FINDLAY MASON.

The following memorial was presented by Rev. Edward C. Mitchell, councilor, in the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, October 12, 1908.

In speaking of a friend who has recently passed into the spiritual world, it is seldom that one feels the full satisfaction with which he can speak of William F. Mason.

He was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 23, 1837; came to Minnesota in 1858, settling in St. Paul, and established the first wholesale hat and cap business here; resided nearly forty

years at No. 544 Wabasha street, close north of the old capitol; and died there, May 31, 1908. He was elected April 9, 1900, to membership in this Society.

I first met Mr. Mason in 1852, when I entered the Central High School of Philadelphia, in its collegiate department, where he had already been attending for two years, having entered in 1850, at the exceptionally youthful age of thirteen years. But, notwithstanding his extreme youth, Mason always maintained a high position in scholarship; and at the end of the four years' course he graduated No. 1 of his class, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During his college career, he always held the confidence and respect of the sixteen professors with whom he came into constant association. He was known as a serious boy, who had no silliness of word or deed, and who would not make a false statement.

The professors learned to trust William Mason, and to accept his statements as honest and accurate, without requiring any verification. If anything happened, and the general collection of boys and young men did not volunteer to state the facts, the professors would ask Mason; and if he knew the facts of the case, the matter would soon be cleared up. The general sentiment of the professors was that he would not lie.

His steadfast character was not owing to easy circumstances in his school life. On the contrary, the class of which he was a member was an especially troublesome class, because of the presence in it of several youths who were bright but unreliable and tricky, and who at times tried many unfair schemes to put down William Mason from his position as head of his class. But they did not succeed; he kept the even tenor of his way, and they failed to disturb him.

My close association with him closed at the time of his graduation, although we met occasionally; but whenever and wherever I inquired about him, I found that he had the same reputation of personal integrity and strict truthfulness.

Later, in 1872, on my coming to St. Paul, I found him here, in business on Third street; and I found that the same reputation accompanied him, in all his walk of life.

At the time of his death, he had been an elder in the Central Presbyterian Church of this city for about forty years. He died as he lived, with strict adherence to truth and to good principles, as he knew them, in all life's details. And such a character of fixed integrity is an excellent spiritual asset for any man to carry with him into the great beyond. The principles which are good and true here will be good and true on the other side.

In our language of the natural world, we say that William Mason has died. But those who are now with him, on the other side, say that he has just entered into the fullness of human life, in the grander world above.

DANIEL ROGERS NOYES.

In the Council Meeting on May 11, 1908, Councilor Mitchell read this memorial.

A conspicuous member of the Minnesota Historical Society has recently closed his long career on earth and has gone forward to the greater life beyond, leaving behind him in this working world a good name and a fragrant memory.

Daniel Rogers Noyes was born in Lyme, Connecticut, November 10, 1836. His father was engaged in mercantile business, and from his father he learned that practical business sense which later became one of his conspicuous traits.

In early life Mr. Noyes was not robust; and, in search of health, he came to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1868.

Later, in the same year, he formed a partnership here with his brother, Charles P. Noyes, and they opened a wholesale drug house, in which they were soon afterward joined by Mr. Edward H. Cutler. Their business has steadily and largely increased, until at present it stands with the first in importance among the wholesale drug houses of America.

Mr. Noyes possessed a mind which was open in almost every direction. He was a capable and honorable business man. He was a patriotic and useful citizen, in city, state and country. Every good cause found a ready response on his part. He was a generous friend of all worthy charities, and a generous giver of money, time, and effort. He did his part well in civil life.

He became a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society on August 8, 1870. An address by him, on "Charities in Minnesota," is published in this volume (pages 167-182).

He was also a member of the following societies: the Commercial Club of St. Paul; the Business League of St. Paul; the National Red Cross Society (Minnesota Branch); the Sons of the American Revolution; the Society of the Colonial Wars; the St. Paul Relief Society; the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty; the Minnesota Humane Society; the American Historical Association; the Century Club of New York City; the National Geographic Society; the American Social Science Association, etc.

Mr. Noyes was a director of the Merchants' Bank of St. Paul; president of the old Chamber of Commerce, and of the St. Paul Jobbers' Union; president of the National Wholesale Druggists' Association; and a director in the Equitable Life Insurance Company of New York.

He was active in the affairs of Carleton College, at Northfield, Minn., of which he was a trustee for many years; and he was also a regent of the State University.

In the Civil War, Mr. Noyes was a corporal in Company G, Twenty-second Regiment, Fourth Brigade, First Division, New York Militia; and he was a member of Acker Post, G. A. R., of this city.

In church matters, he was an active Presbyterian, and a leading member of the House of Hope Church of St. Paul.

Thus his life showed many lines of activity; and in each direction he was always an active and working and useful member. The writer has been associated with him during the last thirty years, in eight or ten societies, and has always found him ready to do his full share of the work.

In association with Mr. Noyes, one could not avoid noticing a conspicuous trait in his character, that is, his practical good business judgment. When there was anything to be done and the managers of a society met together for action, he had always thought on the subject, and always had a practical plan to suggest, and it was a good and feasible plan.

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A few days before his death, Mr. Noyes was warned as to his physical condition by a sinking spell. From that time he was confined to his home, and he was unconscious during the latter part of the time. He passed away early on Monday morning, April 13, 1908, from Bright's disease and heart failure. He will be greatly missed from the ranks of the workers in many lines.

His funeral was on Wednesday afternoon, April 15, in the House of Hope Church, and was conducted by the pastor, Rev. Dr. Henry C. Swearingen, assisted by Rev. William Adams Brown, of New York City, a son-in-law of Mr. Noyes.

The employees of Noyes Brothers & Cutler attended the funeral in a body, as did also the retail druggists of the city; and many of the jobbers and manufacturers were present in the large congregation, to bear their testimony of respect for a man who during a long and eventful career kept himself "unspotted from the world."

He left a record of a life well spent, with a helping hand extended to all who needed it. Let us cherish his memory.

JOSEPH ALBERT WHEELOCK.

The following biographic memorial was presented at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 14, 1906, by the Secretary.

Sadness filled the hearts of our citizens when news of the death of the veteran journalist, Joseph A. Wheelock, was made known. Through half a century he had formed and guided the opinions of a multitude of readers; and his moral sense had established the standard of rectitude, and led many reforms in our city and state, while his influence was also powerful in national affairs. Brilliant, versatile, well informed, clear and decisive in thought, firm and forceful in utterance, he won the homage that mankind must give to a great mind and a strong character.

Joseph Albert Wheelock was born in Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, February 8, 1831. His parents were religious people, and he was carefully educated at home and early developed a great love of reading. In 1850, after spending a few months in Boston, he

came to Minnesota, hoping that this climate might be beneficial in relieving a serious lung trouble. His first work here was as the clerk of Franklin Steele, the sutler at Fort Snelling. During the next several years, young Wheelock made long horseback trips over the wild regions of this new Territory.

In November, 1854, with Charles H. Parker, he commenced the publication of the Financial and Real Estate Advertiser, in St. Paul. In 1858 this paper was sold to the Pioneer, and the next year Wheelock became associate editor of the Pioneer and Democrat.

He was a warm friend of Governor Ramsey, and by him was appointed commissioner of statistics of Minnesota in 1860; and during Ramsey's second senatorial term he was postmaster of St. Paul five years, from 1870 to 1875.

January 1, 1861, William R. Marshall, with Mr. Wheelock as assistant editor, established the St. Paul Press, a Republican paper which warmly supported Ramsey. In August, 1862, when Marshall went to the war as lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Minnesota regiment, the Press was left in the hands of his young associate. In 1875 this paper was consolidated with the Pioneer, and the paper thus formed still continues as the Pioneer Press. David Blakeley and Wheelock were the first editors, and Wheelock remained as its editor until his death.

His writings were confined almost wholly to newspaper editorials, but in them were comprehended a wide range of subjects, and they showed a great amount of patient study and a fearless assertion of his personal views and convictions. During the reconstruction period his utterances were not altogether in accord with the Washington leaders of the Republican party, but time has shown how advanced and wise his opinions were. On the tariff question and on free silver his editorials commanded the attention of the whole state and nation.

Mr. Wheelock published only one book, a volume of 174 pages, entitled "Minnesota, Its Place Among the States," which is a statistical report of Minnesota's resources, issued in 1860.

During his later years much thought and care were given to his work as a member of this city's park board, of which he had been president since 1893. By his wise foresight Como Park was ac-

quired, and he was an earnest advocate of every judicious measure proposed for the improvement of St. Paul.

In 1860 he became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society, and was one of its councilors four years, from 1860 to 1864.

As for several years past, Mr. Wheelock had spent the winter in Redlands, California, and two days after returning he died suddenly on Wednesday morning, May 9, 1906, at his home in this city. Funeral services were held in the House of Hope church, and were attended by a great number of his old companions and friends, and by many other citizens who knew him mainly by his work.

In the Pioneer Press, on the next day after his death, May 10, were many tributes of prominent citizens, among which I may quote the following:

Professor Folwell, of the University of Minnesota, said:

Mr. Wheelock has been the leading newspaper man of the state for forty years, and in his death not only have his friends suffered a personal loss but the state and the Northwest have lost a man who has played an important part in the development of this section of the country. Mr. Wheelock has always been a leading advocate of Republican principles, but he has never bowed to the party lash and he has done valuable service in warning the party away from bad politics. Personally, Mr. Wheelock was upright and lovable, a delightful companion. Although he did not practice public speaking to any great extent, he had a wonderful gift of expression, and when he did speak he was most eloquent. He held no narrow or petty views, but was at all times broad and liberal.

Nathaniel P. Langford, president of this Society, said:

I was well acquainted with Mr. Wheelock when he began his journalistic career in this city as the editor of a real estate paper and a few years later as the editor of the Press. From the first I regarded him as a man of deep convictions and decided opinions, whom it would be impossible to swerve from what he considered the path of duty. In 1860 I went to Montana and did not return to St. Paul until 1876. The years of my absence were perhaps among the most active and useful in Mr. Wheelock's life. He was a brilliant writer. I well remember a lecture which he delivered in the First Presbyterian church in 1857 on "Popular Prejudices." It contained several passages which so impressed me with their literary finish and trenchant sarcasm that I can repeat them today. His virile pen was of great service in shaping opinion on important questions, and in his death a mighty force for good is extinguished.

THOMAS B. WALKER, of Minneapolis, said:

Mr. Wheelock has been by all odds the prominent, conspicuous, and most influential newspaper man and writer in Minnesota. And while he was strongly prejudiced in the interests of St. Paul, as also of the state of Minnesota, I do not think he was inclined to do unjustly by Minneapolis, although the rivalry created a good deal of friction for many years. As a clear, concise, effective writer, his ability was such that he could rapidly review a subject in one writing, where many men of ability would have to write, correct, and rewrite often, taking much longer time. In Mr. Wheelock's death Minnesota has lost one of the foremost landmarks in its history. His influence has gone out more through the state than his personal reputation, as he was a quiet, modest man. Inasmuch as his editorials were not attributed specifically to him, as they did not bear his signature, he was not so well known personally as he ought to have been. Movements for the development of St. Paul and the state in the early days could be generally traced to the Pioneer Press, and penetrating further it would be found that Joseph Wheelock was at the helm.

HENRY P. UPHAM, of St. Paul, said:

There is no citizen of St. Paul, living or dead, whose death has been or could be such a loss to the city as that of Mr. Wheelock. I have known him for the last fifty years, and have always had the highest regard for him. He was always on the right side of any project for the benefit of the city, and through it all he never had any personal interests at stake. He was always unselfish, and the city owes much to him for his labors in its behalf.

IOWA HISTORICAL LIBRARY BUILDING, A MEMORIAL OF CHARLES ALDRICH.

OTHER DECEASED MEMBERS, 1905-08.

Charles Aldrich, elected to corresponding membership in this Society February 8, 1897, was born in Ellington, N. Y., October 2, 1828; and died at his home in Boone, Iowa, March 8, 1908. He came to Iowa in 1857, settling at Webster City and founding a newspaper, "The Freeman." In the Civil War he was adjutant of the Thirty-second Iowa regiment, 1862-64.

During many years after the war, Mr. Aldrich gave much care to forming a very extensive collection of autograph letters, portraits and other personal mementoes of distinguished citizens of Iowa. In 1884 he donated this collection to the state library. Later he made many additions to it, and in 1892, through his efforts, the legislature established the State Department of History, of which he was appointed curator, and continued to hold this position until his death.

For the Aldrich Collection, and for the Historical Library and State Portrait Gallery, the erection of a very commodious fireproof building, nearly adjoining the state capitol in Des Moines, was begun, under his direction, in 1898, of which one wing has been recently completed at a cost of about $400,000. The letters, photographs, etc., collected and donated by Mr. Aldrich, are arranged in exceedingly convenient and unique cases which he devised.

Herbert Cornelius Andrews, who was elected to corresponding membership in this Society November 14, 1904, representing southern California, was born in Chicago, Ill., March 19, 1883, and died in the same city May 31, 1905. He studied at Chicago University and Colorado College, but failure of health prevented his graduation. His last two years, spent in Pasadena and Los

Angeles, California, were devoted to work in genealogy and heraldry, including compilation of several family histories.

JAMES BAIN, JR., a corresponding member of this Society since March 8, 1897, was born in London, England, August 2, 1842, and died in Toronto, Canada, May 22, 1908. After coming to Canada in his youth and receiving his education in Toronto, he was engaged about twenty years in bookselling and publishing. In 1883 he was appointed chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, which position he held until his death.

JOHN H. BLISS was born at Fort Howard, Green Bay, Wis., October 4, 1823; and died in Honolulu, Hawaii, October 16, 1907. As a boy, when his father was commander of Fort Snelling, 1833 to 1836, he spent these three years in Minnesota. He obtained his education chiefly in Cincinnati, Ohio, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in New York in 1847. While residing later in Buffalo, N. Y., he was lieutenant colonel of the Seventy-fourth New York Militia.

During many years his home was in Erie, Pa., where he was engaged in the manufacture of steam engines and owned an interest in the Erie Iron Works. On account of failing health, he spent the last years of his life in Honolulu.

Colonel Bliss was elected to this Society as a corresponding member November 12, 1894. He contributed a paper, "Reminiscences of Fort Snelling," which is published in the Society's Historical Collections (Volume VI, 1894, pages 335-353, with a portrait of his father, Major John Bliss).

JOHN RICHARD CAREY was born in Bangor, Maine, March 3, 1830; and died at his home in Duluth, August 25, 1905. He came to Minnesota with a New England colony in 1853, but their plan of founding a town was abandoned. He remained two years in St. Paul, and then went to the head of Lake Superior, settling on the site of Duluth. He was judge of probate four successive terms, and was clerk of the district court twelve years, resigning to become register of the United States land office in Duluth.

Judge Carey was elected a life member of this Society on January 14, 1895; and he was a member of its Executive Council from October 14, 1901. An important service to our state history was rendered by him in writing his paper on the "History of Duluth and of St. Louis County to the Year 1870," published in this Society's Historical Collections (Volume IX, 1901, pages 241-278, with portrait).

Thomas Cochran was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., July 31, 1843; and died at his home in St. Paul, December 25, 1906. He was educated in the Polytechnic School in Brooklyn, the University of the City of New York, and Columbia Law College. He was admitted to the bar in New York, but soon afterward removed to Minnesota, settling in St. Paul, where he resided after 1868, engaging in real estate business. In 1896 he became president of the Northwestern Investment Company. August 8, 1870, he was elected to life membership in this Historical Society.

Mr. Cochran was widely known for his benevolences, and for his unselfish interest in public affairs. He was a member of the House of Hope Church, and was prominent in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. As a member of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, he was an active participant in many plans for material and moral advancement of this city and the state, often advocating them by public addresses and articles contributed to the press.

Through his influence the Chamber of Commerce in November, 1904, donated to this Society twenty-nine large framed portraits of prominent citizens of St. Paul and a group of sixty-eight separate photographs framed together. These are displayed in the portrait gallery at the old capitol.

Morris Robinson Conable was born in Fabius, N. Y., December 9, 1852; and died in Monrovia, Cal., September 15, 1907. He was educated at Cornell University as a civil engineer, and afterward taught in the William Penn Charter School of Philadelphia as professor of mathematics and science. Thence he removed to St. Paul, and in January, 1890, became a member of the firm of the H. L. Collins Company. About five years before his

death, on account of failing health, he removed to Monrovia, in southern California. He was elected to life membership in this Society on February 12, 1900.

William Crooks, the third son of Ramsay Crooks, president of the American Fur Company, was born in New York City, June 20, 1832; and died in Portland, Oregon, December 17, 1907. He attended the military academy at West Point, and later was assistant to John B. Jervis, the celebrated engineer. In 1857 Mr. Crooks came to Minnesota, settling in St. Paul. He engaged in railroad construction, and, as chief engineer, drove the first spike in the first railroad in this state, the old St. Paul and Pacific railroad, now a part of the Great Northern system. The first locomotive used in Minnesota was named "William Crooks" in his honor.

He served in the Civil War as colonel of the Sixth Minnesota regiment, 1862-64. In 1875-77 he was a representative in the state legislature, and in 1881 was a state senator. March 13, 1871, he was elected as a life member of this Society.

Colonel Crooks removed in 1895 to Portland, Oregon, with the hope of benefiting his health, and became vice-president of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Cmpany.

Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana, an original member of this Society in its first published membership list in 1850, who became a life member January 15, 1856, was born at Fort Sullivan, Eastport, Maine, April 15, 1822; and died at Portsmouth, N. H., July 15, 1905. He was graduated at West Point in 1842; served in the Mexican War; was a banker in St. Paul, 1855-61; was colonel of the First Minnesota regiment at the battle of Ball's Bluff; later was a brigadier general in all battles of the Army of the Potomac up to that of Antietam; and afterward was a major general to the end of the war.

After the Civil War, General Dana engaged in mining in the West; was agent of the American-Russian Commercial Company in Alaska and Washington, 1866-71; and at last during many years he resided in the city of Washington.

CHARLES WILLIAM DARLING, who was elected as a corresponding member of this Society, November 9, 1885, was born in New Haven, Conn., October 11, 1830; and died in Asbury Park, N. J., June 22, 1905. He served in the Civil War, attaining the rank of brigadier general; was for several years secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Utica, N. Y.; and through many years was corresponding secretary of the Oneida County Historical Society.

JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER, who was elected an honorary member of this Society June 13, 1864, was born in New York City, March 9, 1821; and died at his residence in the same city May 4, 1907. He was commissioned colonel of the 111th Regiment of New York State Infantry in 1846; and by a special act of the state legislature in 1866 he was made brevet major general of the State of New York for "meritorious services rendered to the National Guard and to the United States prior to and during the Rebellion." General De Peyster was the author of many books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, on the Netherlands, the Dutch people, the life of Napoleon, the battle of Waterloo, and other military and historical subjects.

DEAN DUDLEY, genealogist and author, elected an honorary member of this Society April 10, 1865, was born in Kingfield, Maine, May 23, 1823; and died in Wakefield, Mass., February 12, 1907. He published extended genealogies of the Dudley and Bangs families, and numerous directories of Massachusetts counties and cities, with historical notes. His autobiography is published (pages 725-8 and 930-51) in his "History of the Dudley Family" (1887-1894).

JOHN FARRINGTON, a pioneer of St. Paul, died in New York City, December 8, 1905. He was born in County Galway, Ireland, in 1827, and came to America when seven years of age. He lived in New Orleans and Chicago, and in 1850 came to reside in St. Paul.

In this city he built the first brick store, located on Third street near Exchange street. When Henry M. Rice was elected as delegate to Congress, Mr. Farrington succeeded him in the service of

the American Fur Company, the firm name being changed to Culver & Farrington. This firm carried on a large business in furs and Indian supplies until 1865, dealing chiefly with the Ojibways of the Red River district, and also later dealing in real estate and owning a bank.

In 1885, Mr. Farrington was appointed deputy collector of customs in St. Paul. Farrington avenue was named in his honor. He removed in 1903 to New York City, to reside with his daughter.

His name appears in the first published list of members of this Historical Society, in 1850; and he was elected to life membership November 13, 1882.

John Rose Ficklen, a corresponding member of this Society, thus elected February 8, 1897, was born in Falmouth, Va., December 14, 1858, and died in New Orleans, La., August 4, 1907. He was educated at the University of Virginia; became professor of history and rhetoric in Tulane University, New Orleans; and after 1893 was its professor of history and political science. He was the author of several books, one being "The Civil Government of Louisiana," published in 1901.

Silas Buck Foot was born in New Milford, Pa., November 7, 1834; and died at his home in Red Wing, Minn., May 22, 1908. He came to Minnesota in 1857, settling at Red Wing, which was ever afterward his home. At first opening a store of general merchandise, later dealing in real estate and establishing a wholesale and retail trade in shoes, Mr. Foot was one of the leading merchants of Red Wing nearly twenty-five years.

In 1881, with T. A. Schulze and others, under the firm name of Foot, Schulze & Co., he became a manufacturer of shoes in St. Paul; and for the remaining twenty-seven years of his life he usually went to and from St. Paul daily by the railway. The company occupies large buildings and employs about 600 operatives in making shoes and boots of superior quality.

Mr. Foot was an active member of Christ's Episcopal Church, Red Wing; was a public spirited citizen, and a pronounced temperance advocate; and in 1882-3 was mayor of that city, his administration being noted for its restriction of saloons.

October 10, 1904, he was elected to this Society as a life member. A biographic sketch and portrait of him are given in the Foote History and Genealogy, published in 1907.

Samuel Arthur Harris was born in Goshen, Ind., October 25, 1847; and died in Minneapolis, June 12, 1908. He came to Minnesota in 1868, settling at Minneapolis, and became assistant cashier of the Hennepin County Savings Bank in 1870. Nine years later he reorganized the Northwestern National Bank, of which he became assistant cashier, later cashier, and president after 1887. Having resigned this position in 1890, the following year he was elected president of the National Bank of Commerce, which office he held until his death. On September 10, 1900, he was elected to life membership in this Society.

Robert Henderson was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1834; came to the United States in 1851; and from 1852 to 1857 he served in the United States regular army, mostly in Indian campaigns on the Plains. In 1857 he settled at Logan Grove (as his home is now called), near Junction City, Kansas, where in 1902 the Quivira Monument was dedicated in that grove. He was elected April 14, 1902, as a corresponding member of this Society, on account of his great interest in the archæology and history of Kansas, and for his aid to Hon. J. V. Brower in his researches on the former Indian provinces of Quivira and Harahey and on the expedition of Coronado. Captain Henderson served with distinction from 1861 to 1865, through the Civil War, and in 1864 became captain of Company G, Sixth Kansas Cavalry. He died at his home January 6, 1906.

Roscoe Freeman Hersey, a resident of Minnesota for nearly forty years, was born in Milford, Maine, July 18, 1841; and died in Bangor, Maine, September 30, 1906. When he was six years old his parents removed to Bangor, and there he received most of his school training, completing his course at Hopedale, Mass. He entered the army in the Civil War as second lieutenant in the First Maine Heavy Artillery; was promoted to be captain in 1863; and was brevetted colonel for meritorious services in 1865.

He came to Minnesota in 1867, resided in Lake City five years and in Stillwater after 1872, and engaged in lumbering, milling and banking. With his associates under the firm name of Hersey & Bean, he built up an immense lumber and land business. In 1887 he removed to St. Paul, which was afterward his home. Having maintained business interests in Maine, while on a visit there he was stricken with his fatal illness and died, but was buried in Oakland Cemetery, St. Paul. He was a state senator in 1878, and was elected to life membership in this Society on June 11, 1883.

William Parker Jewett was born in Plainfield, Conn., August 25, 1848; came to Minnesota in 1855 with his parents, who settled at Faribault; was employed in his youth on United States land surveys in Minnesota and North Dakota; and later was draftsman and clerk in the office of the United States surveyor general at St. Paul. This city was his home after 1872. He studied law and was graduated from the law department of the University of Minnesota, his specialty being land laws. During twenty-one years, from 1882 to 1903, he was land commissioner of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railway Company, until its land grant was almost entirely sold and the office discontinued. He died of apoplexy in St. Paul, August 17, 1905.

Mr. Jewett was elected to life membership in this Historical Society, April 10, 1899.

Dwight H. Kelton was born in East Montpelier, Vt., October 4, 1843; and died in Montpelier, Vt., August 9, 1906. He was educated at Spaulding Academy in Barre, Vt., at Norwich University, Vt., and later at the Poughkeepsie Business College. He enlisted as a private in the Ninety-eighth New York regiment in 1864; became captain of a colored regiment the same year; and in 1866 became a lieutenant in the regular army. He retired from the army with the rank of captain in 1888, and in 1904 he was promoted to the rank of major on the retired list, on account of his Civil War service.

During his term of service in the army Captain Kelton was stationed at military posts in several territories and states, including Dakota and Minnesota. November 11, 1889, he was elected a corresponding member of this Historical Society.

Besides pamphlets on the Kelton and Sprague families, he was the author of "Annals of Fort Mackinac" (1884, 158 pages); "Indian Names of Places Near the Great Lakes" (1888, 55 pages), and "Indian Names, and History of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal" (1889, 32 pages).

Horatio Eugene Mann was born in Randolph, Mass., February 22, 1825; was educated at Norwich (Vt.) University and at the University of Vermont; began the practice of law at Charleston, Ill., and became acquainted with Abraham Lincoln; removed to Minnesota in 1857, settling in Minneapolis, and was a law partner with William D. Washburn and Judge Cornell; was a representative in the second state legislature, 1859-60; and during twenty years, from 1863 to 1883, was clerk of the United States Circuit Court and master in chancery, residing in St. Paul. Later he lived mainly in the South, returning to this city for the summer months; but during his last three years resided continuously here, until his death, July 10, 1906. He was elected February 8, 1904, a life member of this Society.

John Martin was born in Peacham, Vt., August 18, 1820; and died at his home in Minneapolis, May 25, 1905. He came to Minnesota in 1855, settling in Minneapolis, and was captain of a steamboat on the upper Mississippi river. During many years he engaged in lumbering and in the manufacture of flour. He was also largely interested in various railways, and was president of the First National Bank of Minneapolis.

A biographic sketch and portrait of Captain Martin were presented in the ninth volume of this Society's Historical Collections; and he was elected to its membership April 14, 1902.

George Reuben Metcalf was born in Brattleboro, Vt., December 17, 1848; was graduated at Amherst College in 1872; and received the degree of M. D. at the College of Physicians and

Surgeons, the medical department of Columbia University, New York City, in 1874. After practicing medicine several years in that city, he removed to St. Paul in 1881, and was a leader in his profession here during twenty-three years.

Dr. Metcalf was a member of various medical societies, and was prominent in the Masonic fraternity. January 14, 1895, he became a life member of this Historical Society; and on February 11, 1901, was elected to its Executive Council.

In May, 1904, he started for a tour of a year or more in the countries of central and southern Europe. Although he was apparently in excellent health when leaving Minnesota, and had continued well during nearly a year of this travel abroad, he died, after a short illness, in Orvieto, Italy, on the first day of March, 1905.

Stanford Newel was born in Providence, R. I., June 7, 1839; and died in St. Paul, April 6, 1907. He came to Minnesota in 1855 with his parents, who settled at St. Anthony. In 1861 he was graduated from Yale College, and three years later from the Harvard Law School. Thence he came to St. Paul, and began law practice in 1864. One of his fellow students in the law school was George B. Young, and after 1875 they practiced law as partners for several years in this city.

The Minnesota Club of St. Paul was founded principally by Mr. Newel, and he was several times its president.

Although never seeking political office, he was a regular attendant at city, county and state Republican conventions, and exerted great influence in the selection of candidates and in giving direction to the policies of his party. During six years he was chairman of the state central committee, and in 1884 and 1892 was a delegate to the national Republican conventions.

Mr. Newel was appointed United States minister to the Netherlands in 1897, and held this high position until 1905, when he returned to St. Paul. In 1899 he was a member of the first international peace conference, which was held at The Hague.

He became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1869, and was elected to life membership November 10, 1879.

JAMES OSCAR PIERCE was born in Syracuse, N. Y., in 1836; and died at Mound, Lake Minnetonka, Minn., April 12, 1907. He came west in 1857 with his parents, who settled in Horicon, Wis. On the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted and served in the First Wisconsin Infantry. Returning home, he completed his law studies and was admitted to the bar in 1862. Later he served as first lieutenant in the Twenty-ninth Wisconsin regiment, became assistant adjutant general on the staff of Gen. B. M. Prentiss, and was commissioned major of United States volunteers, May 8, 1863.

After the war he resided in Memphis, Tenn., where during the reconstruction period he was appointed judge of the municipal court. He was elected judge of the district court of Shelby county, Tennessee, in 1878, and held this position eight years.

In 1886 he removed to Minnesota, settling in Minneapolis, and this city was his home through the remainder of his life, which was devoted to the practice of law. During eighteen years he was a lecturer on constitutional law at the State University, and was a frequent contributor to legal periodicals. In 1906 he published "Studies in Constitutional History," a volume of 330 pages.

Major Pierce was an active member of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Loyal Legion.

February 8, 1897, he was elected to this Society; and a paper of his authorship, "Some Legacies of the Ordinance of 1787," was published in its Historical Collections (Volume IX, 1901, pages 509-518).

ALBERT SCHEFFER was born in Rheinberg, Germany, March 27, 1844; and died in St. Paul, September 29, 1905. He came to the United States with his parents when he was five years old. They settled at Frontenac, Minn., and in 1859 Albert Scheffer came to St. Paul, and was employed in the dry goods store of D. W. Ingersoll. He served during the last two years of the Civil War in Wisconsin regiments, and after the war he engaged in banking in St. Paul. In 1887 he became president of the Commercial National Bank, and in 1887 to 1889 he was a state senator. In the campaigns of 1886 and 1888 he was a prominent candidate

for the Republican nomination for governor. He was a life member of this Society since November 13, 1882.

Martin Juan Severance was born at Shelburne Falls, Mass., December 24, 1826; and died at his home in Mankato, Minn., July 10, 1907. He studied at Franklin Academy and at Williston Seminary in Easthampton, Mass.; and afterward studied law in Chicopee, Mass.; was admitted to the bar in 1854, and practiced law there two years. In 1856 he came to Minnesota, settling at Henderson. In 1862 he enlisted in the Tenth Minnesota regiment, and served till the end of the war, attaining the rank of captain. Afterward he lived in Le Sueur, practicing law, until 1870, when he removed to Mankato. He was a representative in the legislature in 1862, and was judge of the Sixth Judicial district from 1881 to 1900. Judge Severance became a member of this Society January 10, 1898.

Thomas Simpson was born in Yorkshire, England, though of Scotch parentage, May 31, 1836; and died at his home in Winona, Minn., April 26, 1905. While quite young, he came to the United States with his parents. He studied surveying, and in 1853, at the age of seventeen years, he took the government contract for running the guide meridians and standard parallels of the United States land surveys in the southeast part of Minnesota Territory.

In 1856 he settled in Winona, and in 1858 was admitted to the bar. Besides the practice of his profession, he engaged in many important business enterprises, and during many years was president of the State Normal School Board. He was one of the organizers, and for seven years was president, of the Second National Bank of Winona.

Mr. Simpson was elected to membership in this Historical Society on January 9, 1899; and contributed an interesting paper to its Collections (Volume X, 1905, pages 57-67, with portrait), on "The Early Government Land Surveys in Minnesota West of the Mississippi River."

William Blake Trask, historian, biographer and genealogist, elected to this Society as a corresponding member November 12, 1888, was born in Dorchester, Mass., November 25, 1812; and died at his home there December 9, 1906. His biography, with portrait, and notes of his writings, are published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1907 (Volume LXI, pages 323-330).

Horace B. Wilson was born in Bingham, Me., March 30, 1821; and died at his home in Red Wing, Minn., January 31, 1908. He was graduated at Maine Wesleyan College in 1840, and afterward engaged in teaching and civil engineering in Cincinnati, Ohio, and New Albany, Ind. In 1858 he removed to Minnesota, settling in Red Wing, and during the next four years taught there as professor of mathematics and civil engineering in Hamline University.

In 1862 he enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota regiment, was elected captain, and served in that position till the close of the war.

He returned to Minnesota in 1865; was county superintendent of schools for Goodhue county four years, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1870-1875. He was a representative in the legislature in 1877, and a state senator in 1879-81. As temporary president of the senate, he presided over that body during the impeachment trial of Judge E. St. Julien Cox.

Professor Wilson was elected to this Society February 10, 1873; became a life member on December 12, 1881; and was a member of the Council from 1879 to 1891.

George Brooks Young was born in Boston, Mass., July 25, 1840; and died at his home in St. Paul, December 30, 1906. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1860, and at Harvard Law School in 1863. The following year he was admitted to the bar in New York, and practiced there until 1870, when he came to Minnesota, settling at first in Minneapolis.

Governor Davis, in 1874, appointed him an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, to fill the vacancy caused by the advancement of Judge McMillan to the chief justiceship.

After serving a year, he left the bench, and at the same time removed to St. Paul, which was ever afterward his home. He formed a law partnership with Stanford Newel, and after 1883 was a member of the firm of Young & Lightner. He was a lecturer in the law school of the State University. One of his most important services to the state was as reporter of the Supreme Court for seventeen years, from 1875 to 1892, during which time he compiled and edited twenty-seven volumes of the Supreme Court reports. He was elected to the Minnesota Historical Society, as a life member, January 13, 1879.

Judge Young was employed in some of the most important cases that have ever come before the Minnesota courts, having been for many years counselor of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company and of its successor, the Great Northern Railway Company. He was chief counsel for the Northern Securities Company, in 1902 to 1904, in the suits brought against that company by the State of Minnesota and by the United States.

In 1870 he married Miss Ellen Fellows, of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, Mass. She died about two years before her husband, and they both were buried in the cemetery near her former home in Edgartown.

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